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Philadelphia

March 1851

HEEREN'S

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES.

AFRICA.

AFRICA
florentibus
Carthaginiensium Aegyptiorum
et
Aethiopum Rebus.
Nomina recentiora [ ] inclusa sunt.
denotant antiqua mercatorum.
HISPANIÆ PARS
Insulae Baleares
Prom. sacrum
Tartessus
Carthagenova
Gades
Fretum Herculis
Madera Ins.
Solee Prom. [Cap Blanco]
Cerne Ins.
Jus Fortunatae
Cap Bojador
AETHIOPES
AFRICA
GAETULIA
BILEDULGERID
Atlas M.
Urbes Metagonitae
NOMADES
MASSAESYLI
MASSYLI
MASSAESYLIA
POPULI
GYZANTES
MAXYES
ZAVECES
GINDANES
MACHLYES
REGIO SYRTICA
GINIENIUM DITIO
Syrtis minor
Cercina Ins.
Tripolis
Cynips fl.
Leptis maj.
Hippo Reg.
Vacca
Bulla Regia
ZEUGITANA
Carthago
SICILIA
Prom. Hermæum
Tunis
Adrumetum
Tysdrus
Leptis minor
Gaulos Ins.
Melite Ins.
Peloponnesus
Rhodus Ins.
Cyprus
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
CABALES
AUSCHISÆ
ASBYSTA
Hesperidum horti
Platea I.
Canobus
Alexandria
Nilometr.
Pelusium
[Suez]
ADYRMACHIDÆ
GILIGAMMÆ
Philaen. ar.
Aegila
Metraplis
Labyrinth.
Ælana
Nomina recentiora [ ] inclusa sunt.
denotant antiqua mercatorum.
AE GYP TUS
ARABIAE PARS
SINUS ARABICUS
MARE ERYTHRAEUM
ARABIA FELIX
GABAMANTES
PHASANIA
FEZZAN
Garama [Tsuila]
Mursuk
Tibesti M.
Lala
TIBBO
Oasis parva
Oasis magna
Chemmis
Thebae
Elephantine Debut
Talabscha
Sebua
Amada
Derr
Ipsambul
Aswan
metalla
Cataracta
Wadi Halfa
NUBIAE DES.
Napata vel Merave
Soleb
Cataracta
Atbara fl.
Astaboras fl.
Cargaz Ins.
Tadu
Meroe
Charis
Nage
Gerri
Messura
ROE
INS.
Nile
Axuma
BARNAGAZA
GOJAM
Nilus Aquilon
Nilus Fontes
LAGOWS POE
GALLA POE
Babelmandel fret
Aromata Prom. Cap. Gardefan
SAMALI
Regio turifera Herodoto cognita
AETHIOPES MACROBII
ATARANTES
[Tegesti]
ÆTHIOPES TROGLODYT.
[TIBBO]
[TUARIKS]
TUARIKS
[TIBBO]
Bilma
ATLANTES
Teg. asa
Mt. Gurin
Mt. Tibesti
ZANHAGA DES.
ZUENZIGA DES.
SAHARA
DESERTA
BORNU
Regnum
[KASCHNA R.]
[TOMBUCTOO]
Niger fl.
Lari
[Kuko]
Lac Tsaad
[Wangura]
Senegal fl.
Tymmana
Gambia fl.
Nat. currus
Niger fl. [Joliba]
Kong M.
NIGRITIA SUDAN
DARFUR
Regn.
Montes Lunae
Milliaria geographica
Longitude East from Ferro.
Heerens Reflections African Nations.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS, ETHIOPIANS, AND EGYPTIANS.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

THE SECOND EDITION,
CORRECTED THROUGHOUT, AND TO WHICH IS NOW FIRST ADDED AN INDEX,
NEW APPENDIXES, AND OTHER ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCL.

TRANSLATOR'S

Of the excellence of the work now presente
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the work now presented to the English

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and the degeneracy of her citizens.

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south; and that

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Of the excellence of the work now presented to the English reader little needs be said in this preface. The name of its author has long been most honourably connected with the literature of Germany and of Europe. His works have been pillaged to furnish matter for almost every respectable literary periodical of the age. This portion of them, in particular, has been described by a writer in one of the leading critical journals of this country, as, "a work of the very highest rank among those with which modern Germany has enriched the literature of Europe."[1] The same writer adds, "This author unites the laborious erudition of his countrymen with that animating spirit of real genius, which disposes into harmonious order and quickens into life that which, in meaner hands, lies in dull and heavy masses of unintelligible, or at least unattractive, learning." In these sentiments the translator of the following pages fully concurs. So long, indeed, as the sage institutions of ancient nations shall find admirers; so long as the investigation of their policy, commerce, colonies, and legislation shall be considered as the proper training for eminence in our own courts of law and legislative assemblies; so long, indeed, as that sacred book, the Bible, shall be regarded as the foundation of our civility, our morals, and our hope; so long must the work now presented to the English reader be known and appreciated.

In the review which the author takes of the Carthaginian state, we see a remarkable instance of the power, the opulence, the grandeur, and the political importance to which a nation may rise by commerce and navigation alone; and England, which in so many striking particulars resembles Carthage, may read an instructive lesson in her decline and fall, occasioned as it was by the corruption of her government, the factious spirit of her aristocracy, the failure of her navy, and the degeneracy of her citizens.

In the profound disquisition on the Ethiopians we see the whole framework of the powerful government of the Pharaohs, in connexion with the theocracy and its agents, the priest caste, traced up to its primary elements. Here again we see, in its monuments and temples, the archetypes of the stately edifices and the religion of Egypt. Here, too, are traced along the two banks of the Nile, from Memphis to Meroë, city after city—the temples of gigantic magnitude,—the grottoes or sepulchres hewn out of the solid rock, with colossal statues as their guardians:—all these are so exhibited before us—in such order and connexion—as to prove that civilization descended with the Nile from the south; and that the same religion, the same arts, the same institutions, manners, and civility, prevailed from almost the sources of that river till its junction with the Mediterranean. The learned author portrays commerce as the parent of

[1] The Quarterly Review, No. LXXXV.

such civilization, religion as its nurse, and the distant regions of the south as its cradle. He compares Herodotus with the Sacred Writings, and describes "Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, whose inhabitants are the tallest, most beautiful, and long-lived of the human race,"[1] as "the Sabeans, the men of stature," of one prophet,[2] and as "the mighty men—the Ethiopians, that handle the shield," of another;[3] and in other instances throws a considerable light on the sacred text.

In the researches on the primeval and mysterious Egypt is laid before us a concise but clear sketch of the first attempts at writing, together with the discoveries of Young and Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics—the land and its inhabitants—their divisions—their occupations—their literature—their religion, their laws and polity:—and, finally, the wonders of that land of marvels —its pyramids, its majestic and solemn temples—the stupendous colossi and monuments of the hundred-gated Thebes, are exhibited before us.

Considering the very interesting nature of these subjects, and the ability and learning displayed by Professor Heeren in their investigation and illustration, it is truly a matter of surprise that such a work has not before been made accessible to the English reader.

No one wishes more sincerely than he who has made this attempt, that it had been done by some one better qualified for the office. The translation was begun merely as a literary exercise, without any view to publication; and was continued solely from the interesting nature of the work, and the pleasure felt in its performance.

Of the high qualifications enumerated by a writer in the *Quarterly Review* as necessary for the proper performance of this task, but few are possessed by him who has undertaken it.[4] Nevertheless, he still hopes that what he has done will be found to be a correct version of the German: and he is led to state this with more confidence from its having received the sanction and commendation of Professor Heeren himself. That learned gentleman, at the request of the publisher of these volumes, kindly took upon himself the task of reading over the sheets before publication—a task to which his knowledge of the English language rendered him competent, and which the numerous corrections he has made, show him to have executed with much care and attention. Soon after the first thirteen sheets had been transmitted to him, the learned author writes, "I have read them with attention, and attest that they are made with a due knowledge of the two languages, and with all the accuracy which I could desire. I should be well content if the continuation should be executed with the same diligence; and if the whole of my works should be presented in this form to the English public." In a letter received a few days since, containing the Professor's corrections and emendations of the whole of the first volume and the principal part of the second, together with the Appendix IX., which has never before been published, he again expresses his approbation of the English version. A considerable part of the work was also revised by a gentleman distinguished for his accomplishments, and his high attainments in classical and German Literature, whose name (were I at liberty to mention it) would give the reader entire confidence in this part of the work.

[1] Herodotus, iii. 114. [2] Isaiah xlv. 14. [3] Jeremiah xlvi. 9.

[4] "We would gladly see the whole work made accessible to the English reader; but it would require no ordinary accomplishments to do so. Oriental, classical, and modern languages must be alike familiar to the person who should undertake the task." *Quarterly Review*, No. LXXXV. p. 118, note. The translator cannot but congratulate the public upon the able hands which the remaining parts of this work are now in.

Besides the Appendix just mentioned, there is prefixed to this translation the General Introduction of the author to his Reflections upon the Nations of Antiquity, which, in the German, is found at the beginning of the volume on the Persians. It has been thought proper to prefix it to this volume, as containing a concise and general development of the first rise of states and governments; of the influence of religion in their formation, and of its beneficial effects upon legislation; of the origin of commerce, and of its offspring, civilization, navigation, and finance. These particulars are so skilfully grouped, so luminously displayed, and the whole finished with so much judgment and taste, that it altogether forms a fine historical picture.

Although the business of translating be perhaps the most humble connected with literature, yet some anxiety is naturally felt for the success of what has cost us much labour. From this feeling the translator of the present work does not profess to be exempt: perhaps it is increased by this being the first literary attempt he has offered to the public. Nevertheless, as he has aimed at nothing beyond clothing the ideas of another in an English dress, he expects no higher praise than that of having executed his task with fidelity, and of having by so doing contributed his feeble efforts for the advancement of knowledge.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the Appendix VI. I have given the original Latin as well as an English version of the portions of Avienus, which Prof. Heeren has translated into German. The description given by Heeren of the early Carthaginian voyages in the Atlantic Ocean, receive no small confirmation from the ancient traditions of the Irish. No one but a genuine Irish antiquarian would, of course, contend that the Annals collected by Keating, Flaherty, and O'Connor, are to be received as implicitly as "Holy Writ," and no one but a confirmed sceptic would reject them as wholly unworthy of attention.[1] There is, in all the varying accounts given by the Irish historians, one fact in which all the traditions meet —that letters and some of the arts of civilized life were brought to their country by a people called Phenians; by a change, which, as Faber remarks, is very common in the traditions respecting the origin of nations, the people is sometimes spoken of as an individual, and the personified Phenius becomes the inventor of letters[2] and the parent of civilization. The route prescribed for the Phenians, or the descendants of the imaginary Phenius, brings them from some part of the Levantine coast to the western Mediterranean, and thence round Spain to the British islands. In the oldest legends no date is assigned to the successive steps of this migration, and the chronology given by Keating and

[1] Turner, *History of English Middle Ages*, i. 276, says, that of all their traditions, one of their most ancient and least irrational is that which deduces some part of their population from Spain.—A Greek writer, Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, mentions this tradition twice; and his account is valuable, as it shows that in the ninth century the Irish derived themselves from Spain, when they had no motive but their own traditions to do so.

[2] Much has been disputed about the Irish letters. The Bobeloth characters, the Beth-luisnon, Ogham, and Ogham-Crabh writing, have been eagerly dilated on. But also it has been fancied that Fenius Farsadh, the pronepos of Japhet, first invented Irish letters. Turner's *Middle Ages*, vi. 277.

O'Connor is manifestly a clumsy forgery by the monks in the middle ages. Still there are some circumstances which would lead to the conclusion that the period when the Phenians came to Ireland, must have been nearly that which is assigned for the voyage of Himilco. Of these the most remarkable is the tradition that a colony of Phenians worked the mines in the county of Wicklow, and that another discovered metallic treasures at Killarney. Now it is sufficiently well known, that the first mines worked by the Poeni, as the Carthaginians should properly be called, were those in Spain, and that the art of mining was brought there to some degree of perfection about the time of Himilco's expedition.

The appearance of the ancient shafts in different parts of Ireland is precisely similar to that which travellers in Spain assure us is presented by the remaining traces of Carthaginian works; the brazen instruments sometimes dug up in the Irish bogs, are found when assayed to have the same proportions of mixture in the metals, as the Carthaginian relics discovered in Sicily and Italy; and the shape of several ornaments found at various times is perfectly congruous to the description given of Carthaginian habits by the Roman historians. Of the coincidences in language it is useless to speak, for the only relic of the Carthaginian tongue is so hopelessly corrupt, that it may be wrested to support any system of which the wildest antiquarian ever dreamed.

The long-disputed question of the Milesian settlement in Ireland may be then settled, if we suppose that the Phenians were a Carthaginian colony; their acquiring the mastery of the country will not appear surprising when we reflect that a handful of Englishmen at the present moment rules over Hindostan; and the pretensions of the Irish to remote antiquity and an eastern origin will appear to have resulted from the adoption of the traditions, which the colonies that introduced letters brought with them from the parent state. In these traditions no note was taken of time, no attempt made to separate what occurred in the earlier steps of the migration from what happened in later periods. Hence room was afforded for the invention of all the fabulous tales that the fancy of flattering genealogists and dreaming monks could invent; but all these leave unchanged the simple fact, that the Irish traditions invariably ascribe the introduction of letters and the arts to a colony called Phenians, and ascribe to that colony a route precisely coincident with the progressive course of the Carthaginians.

Respecting the Cassiterides there are many interesting particulars in Turner's Anglo-Saxons, (vol. i. p. 51, etc.,) to which the reader is referred.

Oxford.

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question, which the very remoteness of their origin and the want of credible information renders so difficult, has been still more embarrassed by the practice of transferring to ancient times ideas drawn from the constitutions of existing nations, which are utterly inapplicable to those of Antiquity. The further we advance in such investigations, the more we shall have reason to be convinced, that the origin of political constitutions was, at the first, exceedingly simple, and as far as possible from being the effect of deliberate intention or established principles; being much more the result of circumstances and necessity. It is seldom, however, that the history of nations ascends so far: but our observations on such tribes as are still in their political infancy supply us with data respecting the progress of ancient nations, which we shall in vain expect from the history of the latter;[1] nor was there ever a period when the opportunities of making such observations were more copious than at present. What then are the general conclusions to which such observations lead us, and how do they agree with the records which have been preserved to us in Ancient history?

The first bond of community existing among men was, beyond all question, the natural one of *domestic* ties. It is greatly to be doubted whether any people ever existed, among whom the law of marriage, or the domestic alliance of the two sexes, did not prevail; and even if an instance or two could be cited, it may safely be pronounced that such a state of society would resolve itself into barbarism. The very bond, however, of domestic society implied an inequality which was necessarily productive of authority on the one hand and submission on the other. Among barbarous nations the husband is always the lord of his wife and of his children, so long as the latter are supported by him; and as the moral motives which should mitigate this authority are few and feeble, it is apt to degenerate into absolute despotism. His wife and his children are treated by the lordly savage as parts of his property; and all the laborious occupations of the household or the field, and every task which does not demand courage as well as strength, are laid upon the females of the family.

It cannot escape an attentive observer, that this sort of domestic tyranny, so early established and the fruitful source of so many evils, must also have been a serious obstacle to the establishment of a better order of things. By whatever means anything like a *constitution* may be effected, it presupposes the association and combination of a considerable number of separate families. Can it then be matter of surprise that we find so many abuses in civil constitutions, when their roots had already penetrated so deep into the domestic relations from which the latter were formed?

This bond, however, of consanguinity, is much more extensive and powerful among savage tribes than among civilized nations. The different members of the family do not, as with us, devote themselves, as soon as they have attained a certain age, to various occupations in the world without, and thus separate from the parent-stock. All pursue the same occupation, whether it be hunting or the tending of cattle. Consequently the families remain united: they gradually form Tribes, and the Tribes—Nations. The distinction of tribes is universally prevalent, and no less influential among the savages of North America or Australasia, than among the half-savage inhabitants of Central Asia, or of the deserts of Arabia and Africa. The members of the same tribe settle or migrate together: and although the first formation of such societies was undoubtedly the effect of a law of Nature, yet their common interest must have confirmed and strengthened the bond of union, as providing for their mutual defence and security during their continual petty wars. It is always the case that tribes of this sort are subjected to a despotic authority possessed by the head of their race; who owes his power to the patriarchal privileges of his birth, and consequently is sometimes tempted to indulge it, till it becomes an oppressive

[1] Among the works illustrative of the history and geography of nations which have appeared since the last edition of these Inquiries, deserves to be mentioned first, Mountstuart Elphinston's *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies*, London, 1815; the author of which had visited Afghanistan, as ambassador at the court of Cabul. The Afghans are at present precisely in a *transition-state*, half pastoral and half agricultural. Tribes of both classes live intermingled; and in no part of the world are there greater opportunities for studying with advantage the outlines of civil society in its infancy; respecting which the accomplished author has afforded us details as authentic as they are interesting.

tyranny: at the same time that the dependents of other chiefs are nowise sufferers in their personal freedom.

We must distinguish, however, between such patriarchal authorities, prevalent among wandering tribes, and the civil and political constitutions which presuppose settled habitations and territorial possessions. It is true that even the pastoral state of such tribes can hardly exist without the acknowledgment of certain laws of property: the herds, for instance, are considered to belong to certain individuals, and occasionally the pastures to certain tribes; but the occupations of such races of men, confined principally to the tending of cattle, are so exceedingly easy and simple, that they fail to supply motives for the development of their faculties. The questions which arise among them respecting their possessions are so little intricate, that the decision of the head of the tribe is sufficient to compose all their differences respecting the grand controversy of *Meum* and *Tuum*. Another state of things prevails when such wandering tribes obtain settled possessions, and the law of absolute proprietorship over certain lands and territories is introduced in favour of individuals. It is not easy to define in each instance, on historical grounds, how and when this came to pass: partly because our records rarely ascend so high, and partly because these changes rarely took place simultaneously, but for the most part gradually and insensibly. We may however allege a multitude of causes, connected with the climate, the nature of the soil, and the external relations of each nation, which contributed to effect this change, and will afford us abundant matter for observation.

The consequence of this adoption of settled habitations was the establishment of towns and cities, which severally possessed their respective territory, of greater or less extent. The effect of the formation of communities of this sort was the commencement of certain relations between the inhabitants of the same place; and the outline, however rude, of something like a civil constitution. The unity of their interests and their common security, required that they should be governed by councils common to all, and guided by the same leader. The authority of the heads of tribes and families declined in the same proportion: because as these cities increased in population they gave occasion for a great diversity of arts and occupations, which facilitated the resort of strangers, and contributed to break through the distinctions of clan and tribe.

Whatever may have been the original causes of the formation of such cities or communities, for the present inquiry one fact is amply sufficient,—that in several countries of the Old World, such as Egypt, Syria, Italy, etc., we find that cities existed at the earliest period to which our acquaintance with those countries ascends.

Such an origin of civil government was the frequent and perhaps universal source of the constitutions which we denominate Republican. To this inference we are led by all the evidence which Ancient history has preserved to us; without pretending to establish an hypothesis which might be made the basis of still broader conclusions. The free states of Antiquity, as far as we are acquainted with them, were nothing more than cities surrounded by their peculiar districts; and this character they continued to preserve, whatever degree of political consequence they may have subsequently attained. At the same time, the greatest differences prevailed with regard to the equality or inequality of rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of the country as compared with the citizens of the town. The Phœnician, Grecian, and Italian free states were of this description. It is easy to conceive, from what has been advanced, how such a state of things may have commenced and been established in a single city, or even throughout a territory of small extent (though in this case there always previously existed, or was soon formed, some chief town); while it is very difficult to imagine how an entire nation, dispersed over an extensive tract of country, could fall at once upon the expedient of adopting a free civil constitution.[1]

With respect to such constitutions, it is easy to see not only how they came to be greatly diversified, but also how some of them attained great importance. It

[1] The example of the Jewish confederacy is not a proof to the contrary. The various tribes which composed it would have been effectually dissolved in a complete anarchy, if the establishment of kingly power among them had not contributed to hold them together.

is true that their leading characteristics must always have continued essentially the same. When the state consisted of a number of citizens possessing equal rights, it was a necessary consequence that assemblies should be convened from time to time to debate on their common interests. In such assemblies all the inhabitants of the same town or its territory, being members of the same community, were entitled to appear in person: and this circumstance may furnish us with an answer to the question,—How it came to pass that the Representative System, as it obtains among the moderns, continued so long unknown to the ancients?—Because the very forms and constitution of their republics, implying as they did a right of voting in person, excluded the idea of *representation*. For several reasons, however, it was found necessary to remedy the defects inherent in a form of government purely democratical, by establishing another council, consisting of men of some experience, who might be constantly at hand to supply the place of assemblies which could not be always held, and to decide questions of a nature remote from the apprehension of a popular meeting. Such a council was formed under the name of a Senate, and consisted of the most considerable and most experienced citizens, constituting a distinct and independent body. Finally, as the various departments of the administration demanded a number of special functionaries, it became necessary to create Magistrates, who were intrusted with a greater or less degree of authority according to circumstances.

Such was necessarily the outline of the civil constitutions of all the ancient republics; Comitia—a Senate—and Magistrates, composing their principal parts. Yet, notwithstanding this general similarity, what a diversity of modifications may we expect to discover in them! It is impossible that in any state an absolute equality should exist between its members. The unavoidable differences of opulence and poverty will for the most part bring with them a political inequality also. The hereditary disposition of the more distinguished families to appropriate to themselves the exclusive possession of honours and offices necessarily tends to establish a patrician caste, which would engross the control of all public business. In this manner the constitution would become more or less aristocratic or democratic (to borrow the language of the Greeks); and the same principles will serve to show how individuals also came to acquire an authority more or less arbitrary. Differences no less important would obtain with respect to the senate, the number of its members, as well as the number, the offices, the authority, and the denominations of the magistrates. An example of such diversities we may remark in the free towns of Germany during the days of their liberty; and which is preserved in the few which still subsist. No other country has borrowed so largely from the political institutions of Antiquity, (as may be best seen by tracing back the history of such free towns for two or three hundred years,) notwithstanding some diversities which it does not belong to this place to point out.

Such republics were necessarily of small extent at their commencement: without, however, renouncing their original character, they were often enabled in various ways to extend the limits of their power and their territory, and even to become the mistresses of empires, as, for instance, Rome and Carthage. When several communities belonging to the same nation were situated near each other, they naturally formed a mutual alliance; especially when the pressure of enemies from without drove them to combine their means of resistance. In such cases it was natural that the most considerable state or city should place itself at the head of the confederation, and assume a precedence, which almost necessarily degenerated into a species of domination; of which we see examples in the conduct of Rome towards the Latin states, of Tyre with respect to the Phœnician, of Thebes with respect to those of Bœotia, etc. Nevertheless, the inferior cities would still continue to lay claim to a certain independence. In questions affecting the whole confederacy, such as those of peace and war, the superior state might sometimes carry its claims of precedence to the extent of an absolute supremacy; but so long as her general authority remained unquestioned, she did not much concern herself with the internal polity of the inferior states, or with matters which only affected them individually. Such a prece-

dence enjoyed by the principal state will readily explain how cities, insignificant in themselves, were able to attempt and achieve conquests, aided in many cases by a combination of favourable circumstances, with men of talent and spirit at the head of affairs, and enjoying the resources which their navigation, commerce, and mines supplied.

But besides this class of states, whose origin and formation we have endeavoured to illustrate, Ancient history presents us with another totally different in all the circumstances of their creation and constitution,—in the *Great Monarchies* of antiquity; of which the origin was often no less rapid than their extent was enormous. Some of them were of moderate size and consisted of a single people; the power of their kings being derived from the ancient hereditary law of patriarchal authority. In this manner in Epirus, Macedonia, and elsewhere, the family of their native princes maintained itself on the throne. Others, however, (and those in every respect the most considerable,) comprehended under one dominion a multitude of all nations and languages. It is not to be supposed that a number of independent nations should have voluntarily submitted themselves to one, and it is, *à priori*, much more probable that such a state of things was the result, for the most part, of the rapid growth and victorious progress of a conquering people. The sequel of these inquiries will convince us, in the case of Asia, that such conquering nations were, for the most part, wanderers and shepherds, who forsook their own barren abodes, allured by the prospect of booty and the hope of possessing richer and better cultivated regions, which they overran, pillaged, and subdued. Even if these conquerors had been less barbarous than they were, it is obvious that the whole political condition of such monarchies was necessarily formed on a model totally different from that which prevailed in republics, which owed their existence to the erection of cities and establishment of communities. In a kingdom founded upon the right of conquest, the authority of the ruler could only be maintained by force of arms; and even if a military despotism in its fullest extent were not the consequence, it is obvious that the constitution must partake of that character. An absolute monarchy is the inevitable result; sufficiently rigid to preclude such states from ever assuming the character of *free;* and this may already serve to explain in part the remarkable contrast which the great Monarchies present, in their internal constitution and development, to the Republics of antiquity.

If we are not at liberty to affirm that all the ancient forms of government originated in the manner we have described, it is at least certain that the greater number and the most powerful of the states then existing may be classed under one or other of these two descriptions. When we reflect, however, that all civil societies, which deserve the name, are associations of free men;—that it was not possible that anything like political wisdom or sound philosophy should have regulated their first formation;—that the very desire of security and mutual defence which contributed to their creation was not likely to be at all times equally urgent, and might sometimes be forgotten;—when all these considerations present themselves to the mind of the inquisitive historian, he feels that, in the infancy of the human race, such communities could not have been held together except by a more durable and powerful bond than all of these,—that of *Religion*. There is no conclusion which political history supplies more remarkable than this; that the farther we advance in the history of any nation, the greater becomes the influence of religion in state affairs: and it is the more necessary to advert to this early combination of Religion with Polity, because many circumstances in the following inquiries can only be illustrated by referring to such an union. On the present occasion I use the term Religion to express the barbarous reverence which uncivilized nations have always paid, by certain rites and customs, to imaginary deities, under whatever form they may have been represented or conceived to exist. Whether there may or may not exist some tribes among whom no traces of religion (in the above sense of the word) can be discovered, is a question which has not been perfectly ascertained, and which, in the present case, is immaterial; since, even if such exist, they form at all events exceptions of the rarest occurrence. Now, to convert such a religion into a bond of political union, it is only necessary that it should possess in each nation or

tribe a *national* character, as is generally the case; since, as is proved by a multitude of examples, every nation is easily led to adopt certain gods as its tutelary and peculiar deities. Such an idea,—of a tutelary deity the common protector of the whole nation,—is obviously an invisible bond of interest and alliance. From being an invisible bond of union it is calculated to become a visible one also, and in this respect is especially influential. As soon as the worship of their deities became connected with some particular spot, and took place in some national temple or sanctuary, with public festivals at which all the nation and only that nation assisted,—so soon was there established among them a principle of *unity*, independent of external circumstances, and allied to the innermost feelings of man. Of this we find abundant confirmation in every page of Ancient history.

A state consisting of a single city with its petty territory, in which the very circumstance of its inhabitants living together establishes a strong bond of union, can better subsist without this tie of a common religion, though even in this case it can hardly be altogether dispensed with. But the absolute necessity for such an alliance is best seen in the cases of confederations formed after the manner we have been describing. The very idea of combination implies a previous state of separation, and on this account extraordinary means are necessary to prevent the dissolution of the confederacy and a return to the original condition. It may be added, that as every such association imposes on its members certain common burdens, there is a natural tendency on the part of the combined states to release themselves from such obligations, so soon as circumstances may permit. What then shall insure the durability of such alliances? It is true that the pressure of foreign enemies and the necessity for a combined resistance may effect this for a time, but such occasions are transitory:—even the influence of a paramount authority can insure it only to a certain extent, and only while completely predominant:—Religion alone can maintain such an union, through the influence of common rites and temples, which confer an individuality, as it were, upon the nation;—which appeal to the senses, and the heart; which distinguish that from all other nations, and by that very circumstance infuse into it a spirit of *nationality*. In this manner the temple of the Tyrian Hercules became the centre of the Phœnician League,—that of Jupiter Latialis of the Latin Confederacy; and thus it was that the Grecian states, discordant in their forms of government and disunited by frequent wars, yet felt themselves to be members of one community, when assembled to celebrate the festival of the Olympian Jupiter.

It is true that Religion can afford no such bond of union to a variety of nations of different origin and various creeds, who formed one mighty mass only in consequence of the superior power of their common conquerors. In as far indeed as the religion of the conquering nation superseded those of the conquered, it exercised of course a considerable but not an universal influence; but its principal efficacy in such cases consisted in its introducing *legislation*, which opposed, as it were, some bounds to the overwhelming violence of military despots, and limited what it could not control. Legislation, to be effectual and to insure respect, demands the sanction of a higher authority. Among nations which have already attained a certain degree of intellectual cultivation and political constitution, the laws, it is true, will of themselves command respect, because men have had time to be convinced that obedience is a duty; but such sentiments were not to be looked for among rude and uneducated tribes, who were not disposed to venerate the laws, except as far as they were sanctioned by Religion. For this reason, in the earliest ages of antiquity, civil institutions, no less than those which were of a character strictly religious, bore the impress of Religion; and even in the present day we see an example of it in the case of all those nations which own the authority of the Koran. Among the Greeks and Romans also, the enactments of Lycurgus and Numa were sanctioned by the authority of the popular religion. Such a state of things naturally caused the establishment of a *sacerdotal* race, as a distinct order, or even *caste*, (the customs of the East differing in this respect from those of Greece and Rome,) which necessarily attained the highest influence in political questions; an influence which, although occasionally abused, was not without its good effects in limiting

the omnipotence of the monarch. Religion also prescribed certain ceremonies which all were equally bound to observe; and the duty of observing them, and the forms they imposed, placed some salutary limits to the power of the sovereign.

The above must be received as merely some general observations on the political constitutions of the Ancients, which in the sequel we shall have abundant occasion to apply to particular examples. A system of Polity, in the full sense of the term, is not the proper subject of researches which necessarily follow the course of history. Nevertheless, if I do not deceive myself, the remarks already offered suggest an explanation of some obscurities which, in the opinion of many of our theorists, involve the first origin of civil society. We do not consider the formation of such societies to be the result of a formal, social *compact* —the very idea of which is at variance with the condition of a people still in their infancy:—nor do we think that anything like the *discovery* of a constitution took place at a definite period; but we believe it to have grown insensibly out of the exigencies and the passions of mankind. All this was so far from being the result of theory, that it is probable the notion of a theory never entered the heads of the first founders of states, whatever may have been thought of subsequently; and in consequence of this want of system at their commencement, the different forms of government assumed a variety of character, which the theorist finds it hard to reduce to the classifications of modern systems.

The origin of *Commerce* is involved in no less obscurity than that of Government. Though we may be convinced that in general it must have originated in the wants of mankind, and the consequent interchange of various commodities, yet many important questions still remain, which history cannot solve satisfactorily. For instance, we are either altogether ignorant, or little less than ignorant, when and how men first came to convert simple *barter* to *commerce*, properly so called, by affixing an adventitious value to the precious metals as measures of the price of a commodity;—how this arrangement became universal, and what were its earliest effects on commerce and civilization;—when gold and silver were first stamped and became current as coinage, and how this discovery also was universally disseminated? Such inquiries are beside our present purpose, and would probably be of little utility, since all that can with any certainty be ascertained on these subjects, has been already said. It will be a much more necessary, and, it is to be hoped, a more profitable task, to take a general survey of ancient commerce at the period of its greatest prosperity, and to point out the peculiarities by which, as regards its objects and institutions, it was distinguished from the commerce of modern times.

It is obvious, that so long as the fourth and largest quarter of our globe remained undiscovered, not only the direction, but the very character of commerce in general must have been essentially different from that of our own times. The three great continents of the Ancient world were not separated by the ocean, and either actually touched or nearly approached each other; and the only sea which was interposed between them all, (the Mediterranean,) was of limited extent. This occasioned the distinctive character belonging to the commerce of antiquity as compared with that of our own days, namely, that the former was principally carried on by land; the trade by sea being merely an appendage to the land commerce. We are accustomed to consider improvements in commerce as inseparable from improvements in navigation; a way of judging totally inapplicable to ancient times, in which the navigation of the Mediterranean, or along certain coasts, however active it may have been, was principally serviceable as assisting and co-operating with land traffic, and as the means of transporting certain weighty commodities.

Commerce by sea, on the grand scale, owed its origin to the *discovery of America*. Up to that period the commerce of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages pursued, on the whole, the same course:—this great event alone formed an era in its history. The great high-way (as it may be termed) which led from the East to Europe and Africa, continued unchanged on the whole, however it may have been altered by some slight deviations; and the traffic which it was the means of carrying on, continued always the principal one. We may therefore

be permitted to doubt whether the circumnavigation of Africa could ever have produced those great and general results which followed upon the discovery of America. It is probable that the communication with India would have long continued to be a mere coasting trade, such as it originally was.

But the discovery of America alone, independently of the circumnavigation of Africa, was sufficient to give a new character to the commerce of the world. That vast continent was accessible only across the ocean; not to be approached by a timid navigation from promontory to promontory, or island to island. Either this great discovery, with all its immeasurable consequences, was to be renounced, or it was necessary to brave the perils of the Atlantic. The ports of the Mediterranean became deserted as soon as those on the western coasts of Europe were opened to fleets from both the Indies; and the ocean at last assumed its proper character and natural pre-eminence, as the high-way for the commerce of the world.

As the commerce of Antiquity was principally carried on by land, we shall be better able to appreciate its nature and extent by taking a survey of the general characteristics of land traffic.

It is evident that the countries which are the most fruitful in the most valuable commodities, (especially if these be peculiar to their soil,) must also be able to supply the greatest quantity of exports; which will be sought by other nations, however remote, who may have learnt the value of such productions. Now the interior of Europe, till the times of the Roman empire, continued in a state which made it incapable of assuming any importance in commerce. Some of the southernmost states of Greece and of Italy had, to a certain degree, emerged from barbarism:—the rest were so uncivilized—had so few wants, and so few commodities of their own to offer in exchange, that even if anything like trade was carried on with them, it was not sufficiently important to rank as a branch of general commerce. Even that of Greece and Rome could be little more than what was necessary to supply their own demands. What productions —raw or manufactured—had they to offer to the East in return for hers? An exception must be made in favour of the south of Spain, the precious metals of which found a ready market in every country.

It is obvious, then, that Asia and Africa, both of them inhabited in a great measure by civilized nations, and both—(more particularly the eastern regions of Asia)—renowned for their splendid natural productions,—must have become the grand emporia of Ancient commerce. Obstacles, however, unknown to modern Europeans, were presented by the vast extent of the Asiatic continent, the peculiarities of its geography and soil, the many deserts which intersect it, and the lawless hordes which infest them. The safety of the merchant accordingly demanded precautions unnecessary in our own countries. As it was impossible for single travellers to effect those long and hazardous journeys, it became necessary to collect companies either sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, or able to pay for the protection of a body of guards. Such bodies of men, which we are accustomed to designate by the word Caravans,[1] could not, however, be collected at a moment's notice, or in every place; and it was necessary that a rendezvous should be appointed, that the merchants and travellers might know where to join a sufficient force for their common defence. In like manner the places of resort for the sale as well as the purchase of their merchandise were necessarily fixed, being recommended by their favourable position, or by some other circumstance, such as long usage; because in such situations alone the sellers were sure to meet a sufficient number of purchasers, and *vice versâ*. For like reasons the very course of the caravan was not a matter of free choice but of established custom. In the vast *steppes* and sandy deserts which they had to traverse, Nature had sparingly allotted to the traveller a few scattered places of rest, where, under the shade of palm trees and beside the cool fountains at their feet, the merchant and his beast of burden might enjoy the refreshment rendered necessary by so much suffering. Such places of repose become also *entrepôts* of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of

[1] I follow the common pronunciation of the word, which is properly *Kiervan*.

temples and sanctuaries, under the protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade, and to which the pilgrim resorted; and these frequently increased to great and opulent cities, and contributed, by motives of interest or necessity, to attract to the same route the various bands of travellers.

From all this it is apparent why such commerce by caravans became subject to certain rules, and restricted to a definite course. It is not wonderful therefore that the routes of caravans should have continued, on the whole, invariable, for hundreds and even for thousands of years; notwithstanding they may have been partially diverted by the decay or destruction of particular cities, or the growth of others in their stead. The same considerations will show us how it came to pass that certain situations peculiarly favourable for the transactions of land commerce, such as Egypt and Babylon, so soon assumed a conspicuous place in history; which they continued to preserve through the Middle Ages no less than in those of Antiquity, notwithstanding some occasional diminutions of their splendour. We shall also find that similar reasons led to the effect we have already pointed out, namely, that the commerce of the Middle Ages continued, on the whole, to be the same in its operations with that of Antiquity, and could not in fact have been otherwise, except it had changed its nature to a sea commerce from a traffic by land. Till this took place, in other words, till the discovery of America, the species of commerce by land which was carried on, derived its characteristics not so much from the method it pursued and the countries it traversed, as from the nations by which it was maintained; and whether the grand channel of communication through Asia terminated at Tyre or at Alexandria, made no essential difference in the nature of the commerce itself.

The trade by caravans requires a multitude of beasts of burden, particularly of camels, an animal fitted above all others not only for supporting great burdens, but for enduring long and painful journeys through desert tracts sparingly supplied with water. In like manner a number of camel-drivers are necessary, accustomed to the care of these animals, and, like them, habituated to support fatigue and privation. The horse and the mule, though useful for such purposes, are far inferior in these qualities to the camel; and accordingly we do not find any large communication by means of caravans to have existed except in regions where the camel (the ship of the desert, as it is termed by the Arabs) is found. But this useful animal, though reduced to a state of perfect bondage, is not, like the horse or the mule, easily reared in the stable; it loves the free air and open country, and consequently the rearing of camels has, on the whole, continued at all times the occupation of nomadic tribes.

This will already explain how such tribes,—(even if their habitual mode of life had been less analogous than it was to that of the followers of a caravan,)—came to devote themselves so much to this mode of traffic. When they did not themselves become merchants they were accustomed (as we shall see by examples cited in the course of this work) to supply beasts of burden to the inhabitants of mercantile cities, and not unfrequently to undertake the transport of commodities for others;[1] and when we consider that one half of Asia and of Africa is occupied by such roving tribes and their herds,[2] can we be surprised that this description of traffic should have been so widely extended?

Whatever may be the strength of the camel, it was still too limited not to have the effect of restricting the commerce carried on by its means. Many hundred camels would scarcely suffice to convey the freight of one of our East Indiamen; and consequently the transport of wares by such means of conveyance must have been exceedingly confined. Articles of great weight or bulk are necessarily transported in much smaller quantities by land; and this will explain the fact how so many of the most valuable products of distant countries, though known

[1] See Elphinston's account of Cabul, p. 290, fol.

[2] The camel is found throughout the whole of Southern and Central Asia as far as 53° N. Lat.; as well as throughout the whole of Northern Africa. We have no means of knowing to what extent it is found in Southern Africa, but it would appear to be entirely unknown there; possibly never passing the great chain of mountains which divides that continent. I have pointed out in another work the effect which the importation of this useful animal might have on the commerce of those countries, *Hist. Works*, ii. 8, 420.

to exist, so seldom became articles of commerce among the Ancients. How, for instance, could rice, the most valuable of all the productions of the East, be conveyed in any large quantities to Europe? How could the sugar and saltpetre of Bengal be transported by land to the markets of the West? On the other hand, articles of less weight but great value, such as spices, perfumes, light apparel, the precious stones and metals, etc., were readily transported, and on that account also became objects of primary importance in Ancient commerce.

These remarks will have the effect of illustrating the great importance of the communication by means of caravans to the nations of Antiquity. Civilization being generally the result of commerce, it is obvious that the progress in this respect of the nations of Africa and Asia mainly depended on such a mode of intercourse; and a moment's consideration will teach us how it was calculated, in itself, to promote by twofold relations such a consequence. In the first place, a communication by caravans always creates a considerable *intermediate* commerce. The caravans necessarily traverse various countries and nations, and the demands of these, as well as the interest of the merchants, have the effect of promoting an interchange of articles of commerce. It is true that in many cases this continued for centuries extremely simple, and it would be an extremely hasty conclusion to assert that in every case a progressive improvement in civilization was the necessary result of such traffic; which is apt to be limited according to the luxuries or necessaries in demand. In proportion, however, as such interchange is confined to profitable and excludes injurious articles of commerce, it produces an immediate improvement in the economy of domestic life. Among more civilized nations it is proportionably extensive; and although the fixed track to which the caravans are confined prevents their disseminating very widely an equal degree of improvement, yet such a mode of communication has the effect, as we have already seen, of creating certain emporia of commerce along the line of its route, which being frequented by numbers attracted by the love of gain, gradually grow up into flourishing cities, and, following the usual progress of refinement, increase in wealth and civilization,—in luxury and corruption. The progress of commerce at large being intimately connected with this species of *intermediate* traffic, the importance of the latter is sufficiently obvious.

Notwithstanding the prevalence in Ancient times of land commerce, we must not lose sight of the trade then carried on by sea, particularly as it has been variously misrepresented by authors. Some have not scrupled to send the fleets of the Tyrians and Carthaginians to America; while others have denied their means of effecting the distant voyages of which we possess indisputable evidence.

The chief characteristic of the navigation of the Ancients was this, that it continued to be at all times a coasting navigation. The sailors of Antiquity never quitted the land except when constrained to do so by some unavoidable necessity, such as the violence of currents, or when the passage from one coast to the other was of the shortest duration. It is the general opinion, that they were compelled to adhere to the land for want of the mariner's compass; but the true reason must be sought in the scantiness of their geographical knowledge, which embraced only three parts of the world. To induce seamen to make distant voyages across an open sea some *object* is necessary, which, before the discovery of America, did not exist to any. Such long navigations were not attempted nor desired; and it may be doubted whether the bare circumstance of the invention of the compass could have ever given rise to them, had not a daring adventurer been conducted by it to the discovery of regions on the other side of the Atlantic. The mariner's compass had already been discovered more than a hundred years when Columbus first used it as his guide across the Ocean.

But while we admit the navigation of the Ancients to have been always carried on along the coast, we must be cautious how we attribute to it the degree of imperfection so liberally assigned it by many. It is certain that a coasting navigation is not only subject to greater difficulties and dangers than any other, but has the property, in consequence, of forming at all times the most expert seamen. Is it not true that at the present day the Newfoundland fisheries and the coal-trade form the best mariners of England? The greater frequency of danger in

such navigations habituates the sailor to overcome and despise it. It would be a most unwarrantable inference, therefore, to conclude that, because the nations of Antiquity confined themselves to coasting voyages of small extent, they were therefore deficient in maritime experience and skill. It was by the prosecution of such voyages that the Portuguese found their way to the East Indies. The very position of the three continents of the Ancient world precluded the possibility of fixing any absolute limit to navigation; and nothing was more likely to advance discovery than the long continuance of such coasting voyages. No insurmountable barrier prohibited further progress:—the love of lucre and the love of discovery perpetually allure the mariner onwards from the known to the unknown;—and when we reflect that the Carthaginians and Phœnicians were enabled to pursue at their leisure, and in profound peace, their long and adventurous voyages, we shall easily admit that they may have been gradually induced to extend them farther and farther till they had penetrated into very remote regions. Without attempting at present to draw any general inference from these observations, we may at least be convinced that it is a very unfounded proceeding to assert that the accounts we possess of the distant voyages of these nations along the coasts of Europe and Africa, and even of the circumnavigation of the latter, are fabulous, merely because they do not coincide with our own preconceived notions of the unskilfulness of Ancient mariners. If we would have some *external* evidence,—what corroboration can be more strong than the instance of the Normans during the Middle Ages? Can it be doubted that *they* circumnavigated Europe? Or can we deny the fact of their voyages, which, nevertheless, from the relative position of their native country, were prosecuted under circumstances of much greater difficulty and danger than were the expeditions of Tyre and Carthage, seated as these were on the coasts of the Mediterranean?

At the same time the navigation of the Ancients was not so exclusively a coasting one as not occasionally to venture across the open sea; but within very moderate limits, and only in the case of narrow seas. A glance at a map of the Eastern hemisphere of the globe will show us two seas of this description, both of great importance. The *Mediterranean*, with its subordinate portions, comprehending the Black Sea; and the *Indian Ocean*, lying between the coasts of Eastern Africa, Arabia, and Hindostan, and comprising the Arabian and Persian Gulfs.

The Mediterranean was obviously formed to be the principal scene of the commerce and navigation of the Ancients, by its position, in the centre of the three continents, and surrounded by the most fruitful and most civilized regions of the known world. The facility of its navigation was greatly increased by the abundance of islands strewed over its surface, the promontories which on every side stretch far into its bosom, and by the smallness of its total extent. It served as the medium of communication between the inhabitants of the three continents, who, beyond all question, would have continued as uncivilized as those of Central Africa, if the basin of the Mediterranean had been a *steppe*, like those of Mongolia.

In the Indian Ocean, within the limits we have mentioned, navigation is facilitated not only by the vicinity of the opposite shores, and by the frequent occurrence of islands, but also by periodical winds, which change their direction twice in the year. During all the summer half-year, from May to October, the prevailing south-west winds wafted from the coast of Africa to those of Malabar and Ceylon the fleets which the north wind, prevailing at the same time, had carried down the Arabian Gulf, and led through the straits of Babelmandeb: and in like manner, during our winter months, a constant north-easterly breeze served to conduct them home again, and taking a southerly direction as it entered the Arabian Gulf, conveyed them securely to its innermost recess.[1] The sequel of these observations will convince us that at a very early period the nations of the South availed themselves of the advantages thus afforded them by nature; and will at the same time show us how easy it was for the Ancients to

[1] The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf have both of them their monsoons, which differ in their directions. In the latter northerly winds prevail during the summer, and in the former south-westerly; which assist the navigation towards the coast of Malabar. On the other hand, during the winter months north-easterly winds prevail in the Ocean, and, in the Arabian Gulf, gales from the south; the effect of which is such as has been described.

prosecute the voyages referred to, without supposing the nature of their navigation to have undergone a change.

The extreme difference between the commerce of the Ancients and that of the Moderns must be apparent from what has been advanced, but it will be rendered yet more evident by a brief comparison of the system and objects of each.

The system of Ancient commerce was, on the whole, much more simple than that of modern nations; wanting many of the artificial improvements without which trade, as it now exists, could not be carried on. Its object was simply to supply certain demands of necessity or luxury; and these the merchant sought to sell at an advanced price, especially when he had bestowed upon them labour of his own. In this simple manner he acquired competence or wealth; but without carrying his speculations or his views any further. Consequently the commerce of the Ancients was characterized by this leading circumstance,—that it was a traffic or barter of *commodities*. In many cases, especially in very ancient times, these commodities were simply exchanged by way of barter; and even when the precious metals became the standard of value, they were at first employed with a reference to their weight, and only at a later period as coins properly so called. We know indeed that the Phœnicians, the Persians, and other nations possessed a coinage of their own, and we are certain that some species of coin (the Daric for instance) were current among the Greeks also; but it is not known to what extent this practice prevailed. One thing however is certain, that there was nothing like a *money trade* established among the Ancients, which at present forms a very principal branch of European commerce, and which, if it existed at all, was then merely in its infancy. In some of the great cities, such as Athens, Rome, Alexandria, etc., the constant influx of foreigners must have given rise to the trade of money-changers; but as long as there was no *exchange*, properly so called, such partial and incomplete interchanges of coinage could never become a branch of trade. The instances to the contrary which have been produced from certain Ancient authors are of an extremely doubtful nature, and appear to be nothing more than cases of orders of payment. It was natural that these should be drawn on a third person, but the art was not yet known of making them circulate, and converting them into articles of commerce. In modern days the money market at large is intimately connected with public credit, particularly with that of the great commercial states; and may be considered as a consequence of the habit so universally adopted and understood, of contracting and liquidating at a minimum price public debts. Such a practice was unknown, because unnecessary in Ancient times. The moderate expenditure of Ancient governments was supplied either by means of tribute, or, in the free states, extraordinary occasions were met by voluntary loans on the part of the citizens, which were subsequently repaid; without ever affording grounds for mercantile speculation. A regular system of exchange must be dependent on certain general laws affecting that branch of trade, and can scarcely be maintained without a well-organized system of *Posts;* since everything depends upon a certain, rapid, and constant correspondence between the different money markets. Yet we are not at liberty to suppose the commerce of the Ancients to have been as inefficient as ours would be if all communication by postage were suddenly removed; since it is a very different thing to be deprived of an advantage, and never to have possessed it: in the latter case the difficulty suggests of itself some partial remedy. It is not, however, the less certain, that many branches of modern commerce owe their present activity,—nay, their very existence,—to the communication established by the system of posts.

The greater simplicity of Ancient commerce is also shown by this circumstance, that a much less variety of employments was created by it, restricted as it was to the mere purchase and sale of commodities. Yet even in this respect we must not be too positive in our assertions. Who can pronounce with certainty all that passed in the great mercantile houses of Tyre or Carthage? We have many examples to prove that in commercial countries a great variety of employments has been always created by trade, besides those immediately devoted to it: for instance, in Egypt, the various mercantile agents, interpreters, brokers, etc.; and we are warranted by the unchangeable character of Oriental manners

to infer that such was probably the case in Ancient times. The principal difference, therefore, lies between the commerce of Europe as it is, and as it was. Even in the East, however, it is probable that the circumstances of those times made it impossible for the merchant to transact, as he does at present, a great proportion of his affairs by means of others: he was obliged himself to travel into foreign countries to purchase his commodities, particularly into regions which, (like Spain,) from their situation on the other side of the Mediterranean, and from the barbarism of their inhabitants, did not admit of any other mode of access. On this account also he was compelled, for the most part, to be at the same time the owner and captain of his vessel. All these observations are of course liable to many exceptions, but it may be safely asserted in general, that the very circumstance of the want of a regular communication by *posts* rendered it impossible for the Ancients to carry on their negotiations in the manner now established, by *commission*.

The *objects* of commerce must have been obviously much more limited then than in the present day, not only because many articles of trade now of great importance were then either unknown or little used, but also because the means of conveyance employed were insufficient, as we have seen, to transport the weightier merchandises.

Among these must be comprehended the most necessary article of all—*Corn*. Allowing that such a trade may to a certain extent have been carried on by land, it is clear that this necessary of life could not have been so transported in large quantities, or to any great distance. A trade in corn is especially dependent on navigation, and, in ancient times, was limited, in general, to the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and possibly also of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. The coasts of Barbary and Egypt, which at the present day are so productive, were then still more so, because more highly cultivated. Who does not know that Rome derived her very subsistence from their granaries, and those of Sicily?

The transport of Wine was attended with even greater difficulties; it being impossible to transport liquids in sufficient quantities on beasts of burden; and difficult and sometimes impossible for wagons to follow a caravan, from the want of roads, or the badness of them. There were also other circumstances which contributed to give a totally different character to the wine-trade of the Ancients. The western countries of Europe, which now almost exclusively supply the rest of the world with this article, then produced little or none, even for their own consumption; at the same time that they had little demand for this luxury, and (contrary to the present state of commerce in this respect) contributed little to increase its value as an article of trade. Every country was then content with a wine of its own; and the cultivation of the vine was the more considerable and the more widely disseminated, because there existed no religion which interdicted the use of the grape.

On the other hand, Oil was then a much more important article of commerce. It bears transportation better than some kinds of wine, and was at that time in universal request, in consequence of the little use of butter in the southern countries. It may be added, that the cultivation of the Olive has undergone little change: the districts which then produced that useful tree continue to produce it exclusively; and Sicily, and the southern coast of Italy, were then indebted to it for no small share of their prosperity.

The difficulties opposed to the conveyance of different articles of clothing were much less considerable, although the raw material could not be imported in such large quantities as at present. The most precious of these, silk, cotton, and fine wool, were peculiar to the East, and the sequel of these observations will show the high degree of importance attached to these commodities as articles of land commerce.

The precious productions of the East, spices and perfumes, particularly frankincense, poured in a rich stream through various channels from the coasts of India and Arabia, to supply the costly sacrifices of the Ancients. The subject will be treated more fully in the course of the present work, but it has been already remarked, that no article of commerce was so well adapted to land carriage.

The epochs of the Roman and Macedonian empires are far from being the most important or the most instructive, either as respects the polity or the trade of the Ancients. The variety which distinguished the ancient forms of government was necessarily overwhelmed by an universal dominion, and Commerce herself was apt to be fettered with the same bondage in which every other civil relation was confined. We must ascend to a more distant age, if we would contemplate the constitutions of the Ancients in all their diversity, and their commerce in its most tranquil and flourishing condition. The period immediately preceding the establishment, and during the continuance of the Persian monarchy, appears to offer to the historian the most satisfactory survey and the richest field of inquiry. By examining this epoch we shall be enabled to estimate correctly the commerce of Alexandria of a later date, and the questions arising out of the political systems of the Romans and Macedonians. In like manner, by ascending to the age referred to, we behold, as it were, everything in its proper place, before the success of one nation had deprived the rest of their independence:—every commercial state then occupied the rank and position in the general system for which it appeared to be designed by its peculiar advantages. The shores of the Mediterranean were inhabited in every direction by industrious and sea-faring nations: *Carthage* had occupied the greater part of the coast of Africa, and by opening her ports for the importation of foreign produce, had already begun to monopolize the commerce of the Interior. *Cyrene* was the immediate neighbour of Carthage, and had become her rival, by her possessions along the eastern portion of the same coast. Over against these cities the Grecian colonies of Sicily and Italy had grown, by the cultivation of their fruitful territories, to a degree of opulence and prosperity which in the end proved fatal to them. Their narrow limits could with difficulty produce as much oil and wine as was absorbed by the neighbouring country of Gaul, and the boundless continent of Africa; which were either altogether barren of these productions, or afforded them sparingly and with difficulty. Italy was then principally in the hands of the Etrusci; a nation who, in spite of the jealous rivalry of Carthage, maintained themselves in the Mediterranean: while the *Romans*, pent up as yet within the limits of Latium, were content to carry on a peaceful traffic, and conclude a treaty of commerce with their future enemies the Carthaginians. The internal commerce of Gaul was in the hands of *Massilia*, the most peaceful and prosperous of all the Grecian states; while, on the coast of Spain, *Gades* and other independent Phœnician colonies, were mistresses of fleets which even braved the waves of the Atlantic.

The States of Greece, more particularly Athens and Corinth, with their Ionian dependencies, had secured to themselves the commerce of the Ægean and the Black Sea; and even Egypt, exclusive as it was (under the dominion of the Pharaohs) in all its institutions, had opened at Naucratis a free port for Grecian commerce. The later kings of this ancient dynasty went still further, and with the hope of making themselves masters of Phœnicia and Syria, removed their residence from Memphis to Sais, and equipped fleets at the same time on the Arabian Gulf and the Mediterranean. The nations of Central Asia were brought into closer contact by the levies of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and even the compulsory migration of some conquered nations—(the first expedient which despotism in its infancy devised to maintain its conquests)—was not without some beneficial result, by making different nations better acquainted with each other,—with their productions and their demands. The haughty *Babylon*, formed by her very position for the seat of empire and of commerce to the rest of Asia, had already become the resort of the arts and civilization; while Tyre and the other Phœnician states maintained their rights as the principal channels of communication for the trade of Asia and Europe: a trade which, though momentarily disturbed by the Persian conquest, presently resumed its former current. Under the dominion of the last, the whole of Central Asia assumed the internal arrangement of a settled empire: the traveller pursued without difficulty his way along the high roads from Sardes to Persepolis and Bactria; and the very remains of their palaces, decorated with the representations of public feasts, on occasion of which the different nations are

portrayed as presenting their offerings before the throne of the monarch, are even now a striking proof of the industry and arts of the people, and the wise government of their kings.

If to this outline we add the commerce of Southern Africa and Ethiopia, carried on, as we shall have occasion to see, by means of caravans communicating with Carthage and Tyre across the deserts of that continent, we are presented (in the period we are contemplating) with a picture of life and activity—of the commerce and combinations of mankind,—extending over the fairest portions of the globe, and affording the historian a surprise and pleasure, proportioned to the multiplicity of the objects it embraces. Without pushing our inquiries to the utmost limits of recorded time, we take up our position at a period when the clear light of authentic History began to lose itself in the twilight of Tradition:—an obscurity which, in proportion as it is capable of being penetrated, allures the curiosity of the observer. Without attempting to explore it beyond the limits to which the torch of criticism may safely conduct us, we may hope that occasionally some scattered rays may shoot far into its recesses.

Of this splendid picture we shall attempt to delineate at least the principal features. To this end we must cause the warlike races which usually occupy the most prominent place on the stage of History, to withdraw awhile, and make room for more pacific and unpresuming nations. Let the march of devastating armies give place to that of peaceful caravans; and instead of ruined cities, let us contemplate the more pleasing spectacle of newly-founded and flourishing colonies.

PREFACE.

During the forty years which have now nearly elapsed since the first appearance of these Reflections upon Ancient Africa, a progress has been made in the exploration of this quarter of the globe, which far surpasses the highest expectations that could have been formed with any semblance of probability. Bruce's Travels, and the Narrative of Lucas, in the first part of the Proceedings of the African Society, were at that time the most important authorities to which I could have recourse for a comparison between the present Africa and the Ancient, which forms throughout the groundwork of these Researches. But the spirit of the age, which, with a power before unknown, achieved all it attempted, did wonders with regard to Africa. Hardy and enterprising adventurers, among whom were some of my personal friends, penetrated into its interior. The chief country, indeed, of this part of the world, once the cradle of civilization and science, unexpectedly obtained a political consequence which it had lost for centuries: it was the object of an expedition led on by the hero of the age, with a literary as well as an armed retinue; of an expedition which, from the new stores of information it opened, will never be forgotten.

The fruits of these enterprises, by the honourable liberality of our government, were placed at my disposal; and, encouraged by the indulgent reception which I saw vouchsafed to my first essay, I felt the obligation pressed upon me, to lay every new edition before the reader in as improved a state as possible. This I did in the second edition, which appeared in 1804, and which not only contained many additions and improvements, but was almost entirely rewritten. If this was rendered necessary formerly by the Travels of Hornemann, Denon, and others, it was not less so after the appearance of the great French work, *Description d'Egypte*, with its magnificent atlas of copper-plates, of which I made use in the third edition, published in 1815. It only remains for me now to state what has been done for the fourth.

Already, in the third edition, it was found necessary to divide the

Reflections upon the African Nations into two volumes; the first containing the Carthaginians and Ethiopians, the second the Egyptians. The same division has been observed in this fourth edition. But the vast increase made to our stock of information respecting this quarter of the globe within the last ten years, has made numerous additions and occasional alterations necessary. For the section on the Carthaginians, much new information has been derived from the Travels of Della Cella, which shows us, for the first time, what a rich harvest for the lovers of antiquity may be collected in the ancient Cyrenaica; from those of Captain Lyon, who, following the footsteps of Hornemann, conducts us into the very heart of Africa; and, above all, the important work of General Count Minutoli, by which the ichnography and picture of the ancient Ammonium are laid before us.

Others, of which premature accounts have reached the public, such as those of Major Denham and his companion, could only be quoted from periodical publications, such as the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, the *Quarterly Review*, etc.

Still more important is the information which has lately been afforded us respecting Ethiopia. The names of Burkhardt, Belzoni, Gau, and Caillaud, of whom the two first, alas! have fallen sacrifices to their enterprising spirit, here become illustrious. To Burkhardt we are indebted for an accurate description of the tribes inhabiting those regions. Of Niebuhr it may truly be said, that there scarcely ever existed a traveller whose merit has been so soon and so generally acknowledged as that of my immortal friend: his name is already an authority both in the East and the West. Belzoni has erected himself a lasting monument by rescuing from the desert the gigantic grotto of Ipsambul. The great work of Gau now lies before our eyes, displaying with the most scientific accuracy the monuments of Nubia as far as the cataract of Wadi Halfa. The bold enterprising spirit of Caillaud penetrated even still farther: the monuments of ancient Meroë could no longer remain concealed; and even the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon again presents itself to our admiring eyes. The fruits also of these enterprises, so far as they have yet been made public, are placed within my reach; and what interesting matter I found therein for enriching this new edition, the discernment of the reader will discover. The chapter upon Meroë has been almost entirely re-written. I was taught to regret the delayed publication of the *Travels of Gau and Caillaud*, by the use of the engravings; and even hesitated whether I ought not to defer the parts published till the appearance of the letter-press. The plates, however, lay almost complete before me; and it seemed

to me, as these at all events must form the groundwork of the inquiry, most advantageous to form it upon my own judgment and view of these, and to leave a future comparison to the reader, or to supply the omission in an Appendix to some following part. When, however, I applied through a common friend to MONSIEUR CAILLAUD, in order to obtain information respecting the appearance of his Travels, he gave me for answer that they would be ready for the public in a few months; and tendered me, in the most obliging manner, more early communications; a favour I felt bound in justice to decline. But, not unacquainted with my former researches, he added an assurance, which I here give in his own words: "Le jugement de M. Caillaud sur la position de Meroë," as he writes, "se rapporte parfaitement avec celui de M. Heeren; et il approuve beaucoup ce qu'il dit sur la marche de la civilisation entre l'Ethiopie et l'Egypte. Il pense, et atteste même, qu'un antique état de Meroë a joué un très grand rôle dans cette marche, et que les premiers progrès du développement des arts et de la civilisation sont descendus d'Ethiopie en Egypte, où ils se sont développés, et perfectionnés; qu'un grand nombre d'usages dans les cérémonies religieuses tout à fait perdus en Egypte, et que l'on retrouve dans les cérémonies anciennes, y sont encore conservés. Il a remarqué aussi, que le costume des habitans de certaines contrées a la plus grande resemblance avec le costume connu des peuples anciens. Il ajoute, qu'un grand nombre des monumens de ces contrées doivent dater d'une antiquité très reculée; que quant à beaucoup d'autres qui subsistent encore, et dont les restes sont encore bien conservés, il ne croit pas qu'ils soient très anciens: les pluies qui tombent si abondamment dans ces pays devant contribuer et contribuant à leur destruction." All this will undoubtedly be further explained and more accurately determined by the journal of Caillaud. The reader needs scarcely be told, that it gave me great pleasure to find this conformity of opinion between myself and a person who had been at the very place in question: whether it will give as much satisfaction to certain critics, who had already decreed that what has now come to pass could not be, and who would rather shut their eyes than see, I shall leave them to settle.

Quite of another kind are the discoveries which the successful exertions of Champollion in deciphering hieroglyphics, especially the names of the Pharaohs, promise us. It is certainly to Egypt that they have the closest relation, and it is therefore in that part of my work that I shall more fully consider them; still, however, they touch upon Ethiopia. When it is remembered how many particulars in regard to this subject remain still undetermined, although

the discovery of a phonetic alphabet is proved in general; if it be moreover considered, that without a knowledge of the Coptic no progress can here be made; it will not be expected that I in this path, following the footsteps of Champollion, should attempt blindly to grope my way. Still however I cannot pass over in total silence, as the reader will readily see, the relations which these discoveries bear to my researches. They will therefore be found quoted in a few places, not as proofs of my assertions, but merely to show the agreement of their results with my statements.

The advantages, then, of this new edition will appear from what I have now said. Everything available in the new discoveries for the improvement of my work has been carefully made use of; and with that discriminating caution which would render it most likely to shed a clearer light upon the subject. How far I have attained my end the reader must judge; yet I flatter myself that fair critics will not underrate my endeavours to impart to these researches that degree of clearness and precision which my means and ability would allow.

The new maps which are appended will, I hope, give a proof of this. They represent ancient Africa, so far as is necessary for the present work, *previous* to the Ptolemies and Romans. The modern names are always enclosed within brackets: of the ancient, no more places are specified than could be conveniently given upon a general map without overcharging it; namely, the countries, nations, and cities which have some historical importance.

With much greater confidence than I did the foregoing do I now deliver this edition into the hands of the reader; as my former statements are here confirmed by additional evidence in numerous and important particulars. *The monuments are still standing;* and stand too firm to be disputed away by the efforts of daring criticism.

Göttingen, May 4th, 1825.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

AFRICA, from the earliest times to the present, has always excited, in a more lively degree than any other quarter of the world, the curiosity of mankind; and yet it has never been drawn forth from the mysterious obscurity in which it is involved. The great difficulties which the nature of its interior opposes to every attempt made to explore it, have prevented any one of them, up to the present time, from being successful beyond a certain point; still this very mystery and obscurity, combined with the peculiar productions of its soil, have always offered a continual allurement to inquisitive spirits; and no sooner has one enterprise in part or altogether miscarried, than new ones have been formed. Nature seems to have destined Africa for her mysterious workshop: there peculiar races of men are formed; there the larger species of savage beasts, inhabitants of the desert, wander in safety; there a vegetable creation arises, the first glance at which tells us that it belongs to a distant and unknown region of the world.

Notwithstanding this, a considerable part of Africa broke through, at an early period, the thick darkness in which it seemed enveloped; and indeed, as a comparison of the latest discoveries with the earliest will show, a much greater portion than has hitherto been generally supposed. According to evidence, which has gained credit in an unusual manner, Africa was circumnavigated at a period of very remote antiquity;[1] and although this circumstance had no influence upon the further exploration of the southern part, it concurred with many favourable circumstances to promote that of the northern. Even in the earliest ages, the north-east coast of Africa was inhabited by civilized and commercial nations, who were natives of the soil like the Egyptians, or had migrated from other countries like the Carthaginians and Cyreneans. The extensive intercourse and multifarious connexions which these nations had, as the further prosecution of these inquiries will show, with the interior of this quarter of the globe, brought

[1] Herod. iv. 42.

many accounts from thence to the countries on the sea-coast; and it is possible that Herodotus might collect during his residence in Egypt, a place where merchants from every quarter met together, his admirable accounts of these countries: accounts which not only confirm the latest discoveries, but which often go beyond them and require further discoveries to establish their credibility. But the vicissitudes to which Africa was afterwards exposed must have assisted still more to extend the information respecting it. The dominion of the Ptolemies in Egypt was in more than one way conducive to this end. As the commerce of this country increased, the circle of geographical knowledge became of course extended. The necessity of obtaining elephants for their wars, which could only be procured from the interior of Africa, occasioned more minute inquiries to be made respecting it. The more accurate information thus obtained, and the connexions so formed, paved the way to those conquests, which under the third Ptolemy and Evergetes I. extended into the interior of Æthiopia. We need not, therefore, wonder at finding in the fragments which are left us of the works of the Alexandrine geographers, and especially of Agatharchides, so minute a description of those distant regions, which did not again become known till in the present age they were discovered by Bruce. The fall of Carthage also, much as that state had done in exploring Africa, tended rather to extend than to limit the information already obtained of its interior. As a Roman province, North Africa acquired a Roman character; and besides the wars carried on in the country of the Garamantes, which extended to the frontiers of Æthiopia, another circumstance aided the exploration of Africa. Its immense deserts were obliged to furnish the savage animals for the great combats of wild beasts that took place, principally under the emperors: and to which the Roman people became the more attached, in proportion as the state declined. The Roman historians sufficiently show the almost incredible pitch to which these amusements were carried at that time, and if we reflect upon the distance that it would be necessary to penetrate into the interior of the country to obtain the great number of lions, elephants, and other beasts requisite for them,[1] we shall scarcely be able to doubt but this

[1] Compare for example the catalogue of wild beasts of the emperor Philip, which must have been brought for the great procession and fight of wild beasts at the secular games (*ludi sæculares*) 1000 years from the building of Rome. Among others there were no less than ten giraffes (*camelopardi*). *Script. Hist. Aug.* ii. p. 58, *Bipont edition.* There is no

custom was of great importance in extending the information respecting those countries, although we cannot say exactly how much was actually gained thereby.

In this way antiquity obtained its knowledge of Africa, which was still further increased, in the middle ages, by the victories of the Arabs, and their settlement on its northern coasts; when all those places, Fez, Morocco, and others, now overrun by barbarians, were, under their dominion, the seats of science and literature. From this source, and from the discoveries of the Europeans in the latter part of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth centuries, have been drawn up, to the latest times, our accounts respecting Africa, as well as the names on our more early maps. The entire change which then took place in the colonial system of Europe, and which caused it to turn its whole attention to the two Indies, was without doubt the principal reason why curiosity respecting this quarter of the globe, which no longer seemed interesting, except to furnish slaves for planting distant possessions, lay dormant; till in our own days, by a conflux of fortunate circumstances, the spirit of discovery has again been roused, and in twenty years done more towards dispelling the mysterious darkness which hangs over Africa, than had been done in the two preceding centuries.

The physical features, however, of this quarter of the globe, notwithstanding all that has been done by ancient and modern research, have not been yet so well ascertained as to enable us to reduce them to any general division, as is done with regard to Asia. How little, indeed, do we know, even after the repeated journeys undertaken from the Cape of Good Hope, of the southern part, into which nobody up to the present time has penetrated beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, whilst all our information respecting the country northward of this is limited to a very unsatisfactory knowledge of the coasts.[1] Our present view therefore must be confined, as it would have been in ancient times, merely to the northern part, particularly as the object of these inquiries, limited to the period when that alone was known, requires no more.

foundation for the belief that these species of wild beasts were found at that time farther north; and we see, therefore, that the Roman hunters must have penetrated into the heart of Africa.

[1] Light, however, on these parts now begins to dawn; if the accounts drawn from the papers of the deceased Bowdich, formed upon the reports given him by the Portuguese, respecting the inland countries between Congo and Mozambique, be authentic, then these countries form a table land without high mountains; with streams flowing in various directions, and a great lake, Maravi, said to extend northwards as far as Mombazo, and probably forming a chain of lakes similar to those of North America. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1824.

The northern part of Africa is divided into three regions, which Herodotus has already very properly distinguished. He separates his Libya into the *inhabited*, situated on the Mediterranean, the *wild beast* territory, and the *desert* Libya.[1] This division, founded upon the natural features of the country, answers to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara; but the fertile and inhabited lands beyond the desert, which we comprise under the names of Nigritia or Soudan, are not included therein. They were not, however, as the prosecution of this inquiry will show, altogether unknown to Herodotus. But the part which he knew of it he gave to Æthiopia, the general name for the interior of Africa as far as it was inhabited by black or dark-coloured people.

The first region therefore comprises Mauritania, Numidia, the proper territory of Carthage, (which the Romans afterwards called, in a stricter sense, Africa,) Cyrenaica, and Marmarica; or the northern parts of the present kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, which are together comprised under the name of Barbary. Justly, indeed, does it merit the name of *habitable* Africa, which is pre-eminently given it by Herodotus, on account of the fertility which almost every where characterizes it. The coasts of Tripoli and the eastern part of Barca have, however, even to the sea, large sandy districts, but even these were inhabited in ancient times by nomad hordes.

Beyond this region, under latitude 30°, a chain of mountains runs across Africa, which in the western regions are comprised under the name of Atlas. Separate portions only of this chain are known up to the present time, although recent discoveries satisfactorily show that it extends in the same latitude across the whole continent of Africa, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Egypt. Its loftiest and broadest part seems to be in the west, where it usually bears the name of Atlas, and where it occupies the whole of the southern provinces of Morocco and Algiers; as it approaches Tripoli, where it takes the name of Harudsta, it becomes narrower, parched, and sterile; after which it continues along the north boundary of the desert, a chain of barren rocks, until it reaches Egypt.[2] In the western

[1] Herod. ii. cap. 32, and iv. 181.

[2] See Hornemann's *Journal of his Travels in Africa*. He is the first traveller, within my knowledge, who has opened to us the eastern half of this chain, and shown us that it extends athwart Africa. His accounts are confirmed and enlarged by the journey of Della Cella to Cyrenaica, as well as by that of General Minutoli. Although this chain, according to Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli alle frontiere occidentali dell' Egitto fatto nel*, 1817, p.

parts, where there is no lack of water, it is, more than in any other, the peculiar haunt of savage beasts; from which circumstance Herodotus, with great justice, calls it the *wild beast* country. By the Arabs it is called the Land of Dates,[1] from the great quantity of that fruit, so important to Africa, which grows there. The whole region, therefore, comprises the southern side of Atlas, together with the territory lying near it, extending as far as the great desert, between the 30th and 26th degrees of north latitude. The later Greek and Roman geographers call it Gætulia; and it is known even by their poets, as the native haunt of savage beasts. This whole district forms at present the southern parts of the before-mentioned kingdoms; but in consequence of the weakness of those wretched governments, several independent states have been formed there, as Fezzan (*Phazania Regio, Ptol.*) which formerly belonged to Tripoli, Sigilmessa, and others: but the inhabitants of these regions are, and have been from the earliest times, the greatest merchants and travellers in the world. Of these people the great caravans are principally composed, which at one time penetrate athwart the deserts into the golden regions of the interior of Africa, and at others pass to Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

Their country, which is only fertile in some of those places where water is found, loses itself by degrees in a barren desert; which Herodotus calls the *sandy regions*,[2] and which is comprised by the Arabs under the general name of the Desert, *Sahara*. It extends, as Herodotus very accurately remarks, across Africa, from Egypt to the western coast, and stretches itself, under the same degrees of latitude, through the regions of Asia, Arabia, the southern provinces of Persia, and penetrates considerably into northern India.[3] It is, however, an inaccurate, though a common notion, to suppose it forms one continuous sterile ocean of sand. It contains, on the contrary, not only several fruitful patches, but whole districts, which form steppes, over which nomad hordes wander with their cattle.[4] The breadth of this sandy region is not every where the

162, is sometimes broken eastward of the Great Syrtis, yet it is not interrupted to any extent; and the same species of mountain, a sort of chalk stone, succeeds again soon after.

[1] *Beladal Jerid*, commonly pronounced *Biledulgerid*.

[2] Herod. iv. 181, ὀφρύη ψάμμης, a *sandy tract*. He expressly adds, that the same extends from Thebes in Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules.

[3] Through Kerman (*Carmania*) Mecran (*Gedrosia*) as far as Moultan in North India.

[4] See especially Golberry, *Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique*, vol. i. cap. 6. Upon the physical nature of the soil of the desert see in particular Minutoli, *Journey to the Temple of Ammon*.

same; its widest extent is in the western half of North Africa, between the present kingdom of Morocco and the Negro country; and its narrowest between the present states of Tripoli and Kassina, where also it is most frequently interrupted by watery districts. It becomes again much broader as it approaches Egypt. Every where, however, it presents sufficient terrors to prevent single travellers from venturing to cross it; and where it is broadest, the largest caravans cannot traverse it without the greatest danger. The western desert of Zuenziga is the most terrible of all; the deserts of Berdoa, Bilmah, and Barca, with some others, form parts of it, and finally lose themselves in the sandy deserts of Upper Egypt and Nubia.

Beyond these sandy solitudes happier regions are again found. A chain, or rather a ridge of mountains, which probably runs across Africa under 12° north latitude, becomes the common parent of many large and small rivers, and entirely changes the features of the country. The dark obscurity in which this ridge, called on our latest maps the Kong mountains, has always hitherto remained, has only recently been partially broken through. The streams which it pours forth, swollen by the violence of the tropic rains, which here, near the equator, have their longest duration, overflow like the Nile the neighbouring lands, and fertilize their soil. Instead of a sandy desert, the eye now ranges over extensive plains covered with wood, and now over gently sloping hills, containing, often at the depth of but a few feet, the richest veins of gold. Of the succeeding immeasurable tracts we scarcely know a single spot, yet, from what little information we have, southern Africa seems generally more fertile, and therefore more thickly inhabited, than the northern.[1]

These preliminary observations on the physical state of Africa, upon which rests the foundation of the whole inland trade of this quarter of the world, are of the greatest importance to our subject, and many of the following remarks would be unintelligible without them. I purposely abstain from more minute detail, as I would not burthen the memory of my readers with names which might obscure the general outline.

One of the most extraordinary facts respecting all this part of Africa is, without doubt, the rarity of large rivers, which,

[1] We as yet know nothing of great sandy deserts which may be contained in southern Africa; and the many and very considerable streams therein, render it improbable that any such are there to be found.

however, may be accounted for from the course of the principal mountain chain. The northern chain runs so closely along the Mediterranean, that the rivers which flow from it are properly mountain streams, which, after a short course, lose themselves in the sea. The extensive tracts which lie between this and the southern chain, have no slope either towards the north or south, sufficient to make the streams take either of these directions, but only towards the west and east, and even this, as it seems, only near the mountains. Under such circumstances those regions must necessarily remain without water, as no stream could form itself a channel through them. These impediments do not cease till we come to Egypt, where the mountain chain ends, or alters its course; and the Nile is the only large stream which continues to flow from south to north in the northern part of Africa. Whether, however, this river has yet been traced to its source, and whether it flows in the same direction, from south to north, at its rise, still remains, notwithstanding the recent discoveries and the boast of a celebrated traveller that he had penetrated to its head, undetermined. We know that this stream is formed in the interior of Africa by the conflux of several rivers, but it seems not to be settled which of these is properly the Nile. The river which Bruce takes to be it rises between the 10° and 11° north latitude, and bears the name of *Abavi;* but the more westerly branch, which is called by him the White River, (*Bahr el Abiad*, the *Astapus* of the ancients,) has its source much deeper in the interior of Africa; and seems, from the mass of waters which it rolls along, to have more right to be considered as the principal stream. The direction of its course remains still uncertain and unexplored; even the latest adventurer, M. Caillaud, who saw its conjunction with the Nile, could not trace the stream upwards; the problem, therefore, still remains unsolved, whether the Nile comes from the south or west. A tradition which, from the earliest times to the present, has obtained in Africa, speaks of a branch of the Nile flowing in the latter direction. It is clearly and precisely given by the father of history: "The Nile," says Herodotus, "flows out of Libya, dividing it into two parts; and, as I conjecture, (assuming unknown things from what is known,) runs in a direction parallel to the Danube."[1] The Arabian geographers name this river the Nile of the Negroes, but make it to run in a contrary

[1] Herod. ii. 33.

direction, from east to west: only giving it a common source out of the same lake with the Egyptian Nile;[1] while, according to the statements of the latest travellers in Africa, the assertion of Herodotus is still the generally prevailing belief in the interior of this quarter of the world.[2] This question, however, is not likely to remain long unsettled in an age like the present, in which so much zeal is testified to clear up every doubt that remains respecting the distant regions of the globe; and since a British traveller has already penetrated along the western bank of the Nile as far as Darfur,[3] without finding any river, we may with safety conclude, that it is only above this point that such a westerly principal arm can now be sought for, if after all it really should exist.

Intimately connected with this question is another, of which, in modern times, we have a more accurate solution; namely, upon the course of the stream, which generally goes under the name of the Niger. Modern geographers have often confounded this stream with the Senegal, which, flowing from east to west, falls into the ocean under 16° north latitude; and is reckoned among the principal streams of Africa. In the ancient geographers, on the contrary, the Senegal, which by Ptolemy and others is called the Daradus, never bears the name of the Niger. Pliny, as well as Ptolemy, seems rather to have understood by this latter, a river in the interior of Africa, not flowing from east to west, but from west to east.[4] This being added to the information given above respecting a branch of the Nile, which was said to flow from the west of Africa, caused the Niger to be confounded with the Nile, and is by Pliny expressly declared to be the same river with the Astapus, or White River.[5] Modern geography, in consequence of the exploration of the Joliba, discovered by Mungo Park, tends to confirm the tradition respecting the existence of a river in the interior of Africa, flowing from west to east; a tradition known to Herodotus,[6] and upon which he founded the conjecture that this river might be the Nile.[7] Its discoveries, however, offer no confirmation of the conjecture that the Joliba has any connexion with the Nile; but there are, on the contrary, im-

[1] As Edrisi and Abulfeda. See Hartmann, *Geogr. Africæ Edrisiana*, p. 23.
[2] Hornemann, p. 138, 141.
[3] H. Browne, whose particular object it was to trace the course of the White River to its source; but who was detained prisoner in Darfur.
[4] See Ptolemy, *Africa*, tab. iv. The principal authority is Pliny, V. cap. 9.
[5] Pliny, l. c.
[6] Herod. ii. 32. See the section upon the Land Trade of the Carthaginians.
[7] Herod. ii. 33.

portant reasons which render it improbable; for not only the length of the course which we must in that case assign the Joliba, and which would make it divide nearly all Africa in its widest part, but also the course of the mountain chain, as far as we are acquainted with it, and the direction of the slope depending upon it, seem to contradict it.[1] The latest discoveries of the British, of which however we have only preliminary notices,[2] seem to place it beyond a doubt that the Joliba falls into the great lake of Tzaad in the empire of Bornou. Whether, however, it flows again out of it on the eastern side of this lake, or whether the floods, during the rainy season, cause a junction with the White River, is still unknown.

This want of navigable rivers, together with the large sandy deserts, must have impeded the intercourse of the African nations, and on that account must have thrown great, almost insurmountable, difficulties in the way of their civilization. The inhabitants of the interior of this quarter of the globe have lived, from the earliest times, almost always cut off from the rest of the world. Protected by their sandy deserts, they were scarcely accessible to the persevering toil of friendly caravans, never to the army of a foreign conqueror. Great and sudden moral or political revolutions seem to have happened as rarely here as violent physical changes. Nature, nevertheless, has provided in a remarkable manner, that they should not remain total strangers to each other; she has not only given them fruitful inland countries, but stored even the immense sandy deserts themselves with treasures, which have either excited the avarice, or been required by the necessities of mankind. The central countries of Africa were celebrated among the northern nations, even in the earliest ages, for the abundance of gold which they contained; but probably another present, bestowed by nature on the desert, did more towards keeping up an intercourse between them. In its interior were found, sometimes in hills, sometimes in lakes, the great magazines of salt, which supply the most distant tribes with this indispensable mineral, of which the negro countries are totally destitute, and which obliges them to undertake in large companies such dangerous journeys through the sandy regions.

[1] The arguments for the opposite opinion have already been explained by Rennel, in his additions to Hornemann's Travels, p. 191.

[2] The accounts of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny, in the *Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1823, before the publication of their travels. The improbable hypothesis, that the Joliba turns to the west, and runs into the Congo river, and which even occasioned an unsuccessful journey of discovery to that river, falls therefore of itself to the ground.

Besides this, unfortunately for humanity, even in that early period the slave trade existed, (which, as far back as history can trace, seems always to have been a native of that soil,) and many other, though less important, branches of commerce. Thus we see that several thousand years ago, as well as at present, there existed an intercourse with the nations of Central Africa, which became the principal cause of its civilization, and furnished the remainder of the world with the means of information respecting this quarter of the globe. The accounts which are come down to us from antiquity concerning it are scanty and defective, but on that very account are the more attractive to the historical inquirer; and the research which will be made as we proceed[1] will perhaps, therefore, be more secure of the attention, and have more claim to the indulgence of the reader.

But if the interior of Africa was subject to fewer changes, her coasts, especially the northern, were more exposed to foreign migrations. Here arose the republic of Carthage, one of the first and most remarkable of the ancient world; here the state of Cyrenaica, had it enjoyed more domestic tranquillity, might have become the rival of Carthage. Here also the only native people, who on the shores of the Nile attained so high and remarkable a degree of civilization, attract our attention; while the Æthiopians in the obscure distance, and enveloped in the thickest mist of antiquity, glimmer, almost invisible, on the confines of the earth.

In the hands of these nations rested the commerce of Inner Africa, and besides them not a single large state, that we know of, has been formed within it, as the later Numidian empire is not here to be considered. But although my inquiries may be limited to these, I shall nevertheless find occasion to introduce what I may have to say respecting the other inhabitants of this quarter of the globe. Cyrene did not become sufficiently large, and too little information is left concerning it to give materials for a separate division. The accounts preserved respecting it, will find a more appropriate place in the third part of this work, which relates to the Greeks and their colonies in general.

[1] See the section on the Land Trade of the Carthaginians, in which will be found further explanation and proofs of what we have here said.

CARTHAGINIANS.

CARTHAGE.

NEC TANTUM CARTHAGO HABUISSET OPUM SEXCENTOS FERE ANNOS, SINE CONSILIIS ET DISCIPLINA. CICERO DE REPUBL. ii. 48.

It has been the unfortunate lot of Carthage to have her fall alone stand conspicuous in the annals of the world, and the preservation of her glory left to foreign historians. Her native writers have long been lost;[1] and even among foreigners no one has written a proper history of Carthage. The Greeks and Romans have only left us details of those transactions in which they themselves were concerned; and would, perhaps, have been altogether silent respecting this state, had it not been for the wars it carried on against Syracuse and Rome; and though very minute information is given us respecting these wars, especially concerning the struggle with Rome, yet it becomes gradually less valuable as we ascend into more remote antiquity. This later period, however, is not the one from which we can hope to form a proper opinion of Carthage. From the time when the contest between these powerful republics broke out, Carthage no longer remained what she had been. Her whole existence from that period, even though fortune sometimes shone favourably upon her arms, was no more than a struggle for self-preservation; all other enterprises, as well as her whole previous system of policy, were sacrificed for that object. The heroic family of the Barcas, indeed, did for some time support the declining commonwealth; but, having been once shaken to its foundation, it could never afterwards recover its former splendour and stability.

[1] Sallust. *Jug.* cap. 17, *Qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est,—dicam.* The *libri Punici* here mentioned are evidently historical books written in the Carthaginian language, as is shown by the added *interpretatum nobis est.* The addition *Qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur* points out the possessor, and not the author,—"I (namely Sallust) am told they belong to King Hiempsal." It is highly probable, that the historian saw these books not at Rome, but during his government in Africa; where he collected the materials for his Jugurthine war. Hiempsal II. was at that time king of Numidia. That the Carthaginians were not deficient in literature is evident from their writings on agriculture, which were translated at Rome.

Herodotus is the only great historian who has descended to us from the flourishing period of this state—shortly before, and during the Persian empire—and here deserves particular notice. From the general plan of his work we might have expected that he would have given us a digression as well upon Carthage, an opportunity for which more than once occurs,[1] as upon the other states and nations which he describes. Why he has not done so, whether from accident or design, or because he had not visited Carthage himself, or what other reason he might have, it is impossible to determine. Of how much might he not have informed us! He, by whom no opportunity was neglected of collecting information respecting the Carthaginians! Notwithstanding this, many of his accounts, as will be seen as we proceed, are indirectly of the highest importance to this inquiry. Polybius saw Carthage (only) in its decline; he is accurate and impartial as an historian, although a friend of the Romans, and even intimate with the younger Scipio. He frequently gives us a deep insight into the internal affairs of the Carthaginian republic; and some genuine documents which he has preserved us, together with the voyage of Hanno,[2] afford us some compensation, although but little, for the loss of its native writers. Diodorus Siculus[3] is principally valuable because he comprises the period immediately before the Roman wars, namely, that of the wars with Syracuse; and for having preserved many interesting particulars. Livy, on the contrary, can only be referred to for events relating to the wars; he did not give himself the trouble to study the internal state of Carthage, and clothes, moreover, the picture which he draws, in a Roman dress. Appian, in his book of the Roman wars, is in this respect more copious; although in the art of handling his materials he is far inferior to Livy. Among a host of other writers, Justin,[4] although otherwise scanty and not to be relied upon, must be mentioned as the only one to whom we are indebted for a continuous view of the earlier fortunes of the republic and her first advance, respecting which most of the

[1] As for example in viii. 165. [2] This, as well as the documents here mentioned, will be found collected and translated at the end of this volume.

[3] Diodorus has drawn his accounts of Carthage from two Greek writers, Ephorus and Timæus. The doubtful nature of the first is shown by his exaggerated statements respecting the number of the Carthaginian armies and fleets; which by Timæus, who is very accurate where his passions do not come into play, are always reduced to half, or one third. See examples in Diodorus, i. p. 584, and other places.

[4] The accounts of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, whom he only abridged, concerning Carthage, are mostly drawn from Theopompus, and perhaps from Timæus, as I have shown in my treatise, *de Fontibus et auctoritate Justini*. See *Commentat. Soc. Scient. Goetting.* vol. xv. p. 225, etc.

others are totally silent.—It is not our intention to write a history of Carthage, and if it were, it is not her later period that would occupy our chief attention. Our consideration should be given to that brilliant period when this state was in full activity, and enjoyed the free exercise of its power. What form did she at that time bear? Upon what foundation in reality rested her internal constitution, and how was it made to totter? What was the circumference and condition of her home territory? What were her relations with her provinces and colonies? What with the independent nations of inner Africa? How far did her intercourse extend in this direction, and what were the limits of her navigation? How were her armies and fleets organized? What were the principles of her policy, and how were they acted upon? In a word, what was Carthage and what did she wish to be? None of these questions seem to me yet satisfactorily answered, although a prominent place is assigned to Carthage in every work on universal history.[1]

CHAP. I. *Formation and condition of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa.*

Carthage was one of the many colonies which Tyre, like other Phœnician states, established on the northern coast of Africa.[2] It was not the only one, nor the first; Utica was certainly more ancient,[3] as were probably some others. All this coast, reckoning from the Lesser Syrtis westward, was covered with colonies of the Phœnicians, as may be seen in my inquiries respecting them; and that they even extended their settlements beyond

[1] The best information we have at present respecting Carthage, is to be found in Spanish writers. I pass by all others to mention the very valuable work of Campomanes, *Antiguedad Maritima de la Republica de Cartago*. The first part contains the history of the great enlargement of the Carthaginian navigation and maritime power, and is certainly very valuable, as it is confined to one definite object. The second comprises the Periplus of Hanno, with a too prolix commentary, mostly founded on etymologies. Hendrich, *de Republica Carthaginiensium*, is a mere compilation, partly tricked up with out of the way hypotheses. Since the first appearance of these inquiries, they have been made use of by most of the writers among us upon ancient history—would that I could add, corrected and enlarged. I mention, however, with pleasure, the instructive treatise of Professor Kluge of Breslaw, Aristoteles, *de Politia Carthaginiensium*; to which I shall again refer in the prosecution of this work.

[2] According to the usual chronology, Carthage was built B. C. 878, and destroyed B. C. 146. It stood therefore altogether 732 years. Its history is best divided into three periods. The first extends from the foundation of the city to the commencement of the wars against Syracuse; from 877—480. It comprises the period of the rise and growth of the state; its extension in Africa, in Sardinia, and other smaller islands in the Mediterranean. It was likewise the period of the commercial wars with the Massilians and Etrurians. The second extends from 480—265; from the rise of the Syracusan to the commencement of the Roman wars. It comprises the period of its greatest power and extent. The third, from 265—146, includes the history of its wars with Rome, the period of its declining power, and its overthrow. See my *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 59, etc. of the English translation.

[3] Proofs of this may be found in Bochart, *Canaan*, p. 473, etc.

the Pillars of Hercules, on the shores of the great ocean, is shown hereafter from several concurrent facts. In this they were influenced by various circumstances. To some parts they were allured by the fertility of the soil, and to others by the traffic which they carried on with the nomad inhabitants; but besides these, their principal motive, the same which drew them to Sicily, seems to have been the keeping open a communication with southern Spain, and to maintain their power there, which, on account of its rich mines, became, as it were, their Mexico and Peru.

Most of these settlements were established for purposes of trade, and seem originally to have been but small; they were indeed, at their first formation, rather staples for their goods than places of traffic. Many of them, however, taking advantage of their happy situation, soon got that trade into their own hands which they should have insured to the mother state. Among the ancients, with whom, excepting the Romans, the bonds which connected the colonies with the parent states were slight, this was a common occurrence; modern history seems likewise to confirm the fact, that trading colonies, if they improve, are the most uncertain of all possessions.

Besides these, there was another species of colonies in the ancient world, most numerous among the Greeks, but not unknown to the Phœnicians. This owed its origin to civil broils or dissensions. The discontented party emigrated or was expelled, and sought settlements for themselves in foreign lands. The Greeks in such cases went to Asia Minor or Lower Italy; the Phœnicians to Africa.[1]

According to all accounts, Carthage belonged to the latter species, and this circumstance deserves here to be remarked, because through it the connexion between her and the mother state becomes determined. She was from the beginning an independent state. Tyre and Carthage, without claiming dominion or acknowledging subjection, observed towards one another all those duties of mutual regard, which, according to the opinions both of the Phœnicians and Greeks, mother states and colonies owe to each other. Tyre constantly refused the use of her fleet to Cambyses when he wished to attack Carthage;[2] and Carthage not only testified her religious devotion to the Tyrian god by embassies and votive offerings, but

[1] We are, for example, quite certain that it was under such circumstances that the city of *Leptis Magna*, in the territory of Syrtis, was founded by a colony from Sidon. Sallust. *Jug.* c. 78. [2] Herod. iii. 17, 19.

granted a place of refuge to the inhabitants and treasures of Tyre when that city was besieged by Alexander.[1]

History has not preserved to us the means by which Carthage first raised itself so much above the other Phœnician colonies. It certainly might have been effected by a conflux of favourable circumstances; but the excellent situation of the city, which at the same time afforded it every convenience for navigation, and protected it from foreign attack, was certainly one of the principal. Carthage was built in the interior of a large bay, formed by the projection of Cape Bon[2] in the east, and Cape Zebid[3] in the west, now called the Gulf of Tunis. At the bottom of this bay is a peninsula, which was formerly connected with the mainland by an isthmus about three miles broad. Upon this peninsula was Carthage erected, about half way between Utica and Tunis, both which might have been seen from the walls of the city, as the former was only nine and the latter only six miles distant. A very narrow neck of land, projecting westward into the sea, formed a double harbour for the vessels of commerce and war, and also separated the lake behind from the Mediterranean. On the side towards the sea it was only protected by a single wall; while upon the isthmus, on the contrary, it was guarded from foreign attack by the citadel *Byrsa*, and a threefold wall, thirty yards high and thirty feet broad.[4]

Carthage observed from the beginning the natural policy, which her original weakness must have prescribed to a single city, built on the border of a large and populous quarter of the world. She endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the original nations that lived in her neighbourhood. The Tyrian colonists came not as conquerors, but bought the land for their city and its territory for a yearly ground-rent or tribute, which is often mentioned in their early history; and

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 190. [2] The ancient *promontorium Hermæum*.
[3] The ancient *promontorium Apollinis*.
[4] The local situation of ancient Carthage deserves a more minute inquiry than it would be here proper to give it. The principal source is Appian, i. 435, etc. The picture of Campomanes, i. *fin.*, is mostly drawn from fancy. The accounts of Shaw upon the great change of the coast must form the principal groundwork; the charts thereto annexed are undoubtedly the best: but the situation of the haven is not given, and it is precisely in that wherein lies the obscurity. It appears certain, however, from Appian, that the neck of land stretching into the sea, only half a stadia broad, formed one side of the harbour; from which it becomes plain how the Carthaginians, at the time Scipio blockaded their harbour, found so easily a passage out. Another obscurity rests upon that part of the city called Magalia, or Magara. According to Appian, viii. 117, it seems to have been a sort of suburb, full of gardens, occupying the most southern part of this neck of land. It is, however, difficult from the description of Appian to obtain a clear notion of the whole. We have hitherto hoped in vain for the publication of the recent researches made by Earl Camillo Borgia.

which, as Justin tells us, although it seems very improbable, continued till the time of Darius Hystaspes.[1]

They forsook, however, this policy as soon as they found it convenient, that is to say, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough. Wars with the natives naturally followed,[2] in which, though the Carthaginians obtained the superiority, yet they only obtained subjects who were eager at every opportunity to shake off their yoke. It is necessary that we should now inquire a little further into the state of these nations. This inquiry will lead to the most important results, respecting the whole internal state and real power of the Carthaginians. Herodotus, Scylax, and Polybius will be the authorities for the observations we shall make.

Whenever Polybius[3] speaks of the African nations who fought in the Carthaginian armies, he always most carefully distinguishes the subjects of the Carthaginians from the free people who served as mercenaries. The former he calls Libyans, (Λίβυες,) the latter, whenever they are Africans, Numidians or nomades, but this name being given them entirely on account of their manner of living, is not properly the name of the people; the different tribes or races comprised under this general term are, therefore, likewise mentioned by him under their particular names. The Libyans, on the contrary, he never distinguishes more precisely; it stands always as the general name for the African inhabitants of the Carthaginian territory. It seems probable that, about the time of Polybius, the earlier divisions of the tribes and distinctions of these people were lost, because, as we shall presently see, they had not only been obliged to change their manner of living, but had partly become mixed with the Carthaginians.

One general character distinguishes these Libyans from the other inhabitants of northern Africa. They had settled places of abode, and appear every where as followers of husbandry; while all the other tribes, both on the eastern and western sides of the Carthaginian territory, seem, on the contrary, even in the most flourishing period of that state, to have been nomades. The tribute imposed by Carthage on the Libyans was for the most part paid in grain,[4] and it was principally with the produce of their industry that those republicans were enabled to raise and maintain the numerous armies with which they made their foreign conquests.

[1] Justin, xix. 2. [2] Justin, l. c. [3] A principal authority on this subject, vol. i. p. 161, 167, 168, *Schweighæuser's edition*. [4] Polybius, vol. i. p. 177.

If Carthage wished to establish an empire in Africa, it was necessary to obtain as subjects nations who had fixed dwellings. Dominion over merely nomad hordes is little better than none; it cannot, at least, become the permanent foundation of a state. The Carthaginians, therefore, observed a very natural policy in endeavouring to civilize the nomad hordes, wherever they could bring them under their yoke. But whoever reflects upon the difficulties to be surmounted before nomades can be brought to that state, and made to change their manner of living, will be able satisfactorily to account for the frequent wars in which the Carthaginians were engaged with the old inhabitants, from that circumstance alone; as well as the implacable hatred of the latter towards their rulers, even supposing there were no acts of oppression on the side of their new masters.

At the time Herodotus wrote, that is to say, in the flourishing era of the Carthaginian state, no native people were to be found in North Africa, beyond the boundaries of the Carthaginian territory, who tilled their lands. All the native tribes between Egypt and the Lesser Syrtis, and as far as the lake Tritonis,[1] then connected with it, were, according to the express testimony of that writer, nomad hordes.[2] With these we shall shortly have an opportunity of becoming more particularly acquainted. The father of history has so minutely

[1] We have in ancient geography a lake, an island, and a river Triton; the latter said to communicate with the lake. See Cellar. *Geog. Ant.* ii. p. 860. The situation of the lake has been differently stated; we may, therefore, doubt whether the name always signifies the same. It is generally placed near the Lesser Syrtis; others are said, according to Pliny, v. 4, to place it between the two Syrtes; and Solinus, cap. 27, even places it near the Greater Syrtis, towards the *Aræ Philænorum*. Solinus, however, has merely misunderstood Pliny; and the expression, *between the two Syrtes*, is at least so undefined, that it does not contradict the general opinion. The uncertainty of these statements probably arises in part from the Argonautic poets having made their heroes visit these territories, and created a locality from their own imagination, many of which were afterwards introduced into the works on geography. From Herod. iv. 179, it is clear that he took the Triton lake to be one and the same as the Lesser Syrtis, or as being closely connected with it. This opinion also, as Rennel, *Geog. of Herod.* p. 662, very pointedly remarks, is confirmed by Scylax, p. 49, *ed. Hudson*, who places the island Triton in the Syrtis, and makes mention of no lake Triton. The passage in Scylax is certainly very corrupt, and instead of the words ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Σύρτιδι ἐνίστηκεν ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων, it must be ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καὶ λίμνη, καὶ π. τρ. or, if it should be preferred, ἡ νῆσος Τρίτωνος καλουμένη, καὶ λίμνη Τρίτωνος, καὶ π. τρ. This is clear from the following: ἡ δὲ λίμνη αὕτη, which λίμνη, namely, cannot be the Syrtis itself, because we read that it had only a small opening (στόμα μικρὸν); but it is the lake which, according to Shaw, i. p. 274, is now called *Shibka el Lowdeath*. Nevertheless, in the times of Scylax, this lake communicated with the Syrtis, though only by a small entrance, in the midst of which an island was to be found. This, as he adds, however, was only uncovered by the sea in time of ebb, and in flood time remained under water. The sand bank, therefore, has thus been raised up, and cut off the communication between the lake and the sea. The difficulty, however, still remains, where the river Triton is to be sought for. Although we, with Shaw, thereby would understand the little river El Hammah, yet this will not suit the statement of Herodotus, who makes it a river of considerable magnitude, iv. 178. But the narrative of Herodotus, cap. 179, is drawn without doubt from some Argonautic poet. May not then the size of the river, if not its very existence, be merely the creation of some such poet's imagination? The settlement of the Triton lake is important for the geography of the Carthaginian dominions, as it is usually considered as their boundary towards the south.

[2] Herod. iv. 186.

enumerated and so accurately described them, that the credibility of the accounts he has left us concerning them cannot be doubted. "But immediately on the other side of the river Triton," continues he, that is to say on the western bank, "we first find nations who cultivate their lands."[1] He gives us the names of three of these tribes; the first is the Maxyes,[2] and from the slender account which Herodotus gives of them, we clearly see, that they had not been long accustomed to their new manner of life. They were a branch of the Ausenses, the remaining part of whom, as he before remarks, were still nomades. "The Maxyes, on the contrary, are tillers of the earth, and accustomed to live in houses." They still, however, retained their former customs. "They suffer the hair on the right side of their heads to grow, but shave the left; they paint their bodies with red lead." Both these are still nomad customs. That of painting the body is expressly mentioned by Herodotus,[3] as existing among other nomades; and the manner of cutting the hair was the mark of distinction by which the clans were distinguished from one another; according to the fashion in which it was done, or the side of the head which was cropped. Herodotus always particularly mentions the mode in which the neighbouring clans wore their hair; and remains of this custom seem still to be preserved by their successors, the present Tuariks.[4]

Next to these we find the Zaueces: "whose women used to drive their chariots of war."[5] They were, therefore, a people who bred horses; and perhaps, by the custom just mentioned, gave occasion to the relations respecting the Amazons in these regions. The use of war-chariots, which the Carthaginians adopted in their early times, was probably taken from them, as will be shown in another place.

These two tribes are mentioned and described by Herodotus alone, who immediately after quotes the Carthaginians as his authority. They were undoubtedly the extreme tribes of the Carthaginian territory towards the south. Herodotus also describes their country as full of woods, overrun with wild beasts, lions, elephants, boars,[6] etc. We may, therefore, con-

[1] Herod. iv. 191. [2] These Maxyes are probably the same people as those mentioned by Justin, xviii. 6, and called Maxytani; and whose king is said to have been Hiarbas, who desired Dido for his wife. [3] Herod. l. c. [4] Hornemann, p. 151. [5] Herod. iv. 193.

[6] Herod. iv. 191. The confirmation of these accounts of Herodotus may be seen in Tully's *Narrative of a Residence in Tripoli*, 1820. The woods on the road from Tunis to Tripoli are so infested by savage beasts, that even numerous caravans cannot pass them without great danger. As the darkness comes on, the woods resound with the howling of the jackall, and the dreadful roar of the lion seeking his prey; even large watch-fires will scarcely keep them off.

clude that agriculture was still in its infancy among them; no evidence, however, is wanting of the fact, that the culture of the soil improved as it approached Carthage.

A third tribe, larger by far, and more remarkable, was known to Polybius and others, as well as to Herodotus. This was the tribe of the Gyzantes or Byzantes,[1] which was subdivided into many branches. "In their country the bees collect a vast quantity of honey, and still more is said to be made by confectioners. All these paint themselves like the others with ruddle, and eat apes, which are found in great numbers on their mountains."[2] Respecting the quantity of honey in these territories, accurate accounts are given by Della Cella. The clefts in the mountains are full of swarms of wild bees, whose honey not only serves for nourishment, but forms also an important article of commerce.[3] The manufactured honey, mentioned by Herodotus, is that prepared from the juice of palms, the method of preparing which is described by Shaw.[4] In these same regions it is still in most frequent use. The mountains are branches of the Atlas, marked on our modern maps, but without proper names being given them. The number of apes was there so great, that, according to Diodorus,[5] three places derived from them the name of ape-towns, (Pithecussæ,) in which the apes lived with the inhabitants in their houses.

Herodotus places his Gyzantes to the west of the Zaueces, and consequently towards the Numidian frontiers. A proof that he only obtained information respecting the most distant and least cultivated tribes of this nation. From other writers, it is clear that it not only extended itself much farther, but also that it occupied the finest and most fertile part of the Carthaginian territory, which therefore bore the by-name of Byzazium.[6] It lay in the neighbourhood of the Lesser Syrtis, and stretched to the Mediterranean. According to Polybius, it was 2000 stadia, or 227 miles in circumference.[7] I shall frequently have occasion to speak of this region, which was the granary of Carthage.

With regard to the other Libyan tribes, I do not find their names mentioned; the loss, however, is but of little consequence. There are many proofs which show positively that there was a continuation of them, and that they were extreme-

[1] The latter name is given them by Steph. *de Urbibus* in Βύζαντες, in the notes to which will be found collected the evidence of the other writers who speak of them.
[2] Herod. iv. 194. [3] Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 154. [4] Shaw, p. 291.
[5] Diodorus, ii. p. 449. [6] See Steph. l. c. [7] Polyb. iii. p. 384.

ly numerous. They always formed a part of the Carthaginian army; and in the unfortunate war against the mercenary troops, or rather in the civil war which Carthage carried on immediately after the termination of the first war with Rome, 70,000 of them were under arms at one time,[1] and numbers equally considerable occur upon other occasions.

These tribes seem to have preserved themselves the purest, and to have intermingled the least of any of those which inhabited the southern and western part of the Carthaginian territory. They did not even understand the Carthaginian tongue, but seem to have spoken many different languages among themselves.[2] Those dwelling to the east, on the contrary, along the coast from the capital to Byzazium, and even in that province itself, had intermixed in a greater degree with the Carthaginians, and from them had descended a race which is often mentioned in history under the name of the Liby-Phœnicians. They were generally, but not always, expressly distinguished from the genuine Libyans;[3] and occupied the richest and most fruitful part of the country.

In order to keep these tribes in subjection, Carthage made use of the same means that Rome did towards the small nations of Italy; that is, she settled colonies of her own citizens in their territory. This answered the double purpose of maintaining their authority and improving the connexion and intermixture with the original inhabitants, which, as we see, produced the Liby-Phœnician race. No state in the ancient world probably better understood, or prosecuted on a larger scale, the colonial system than Carthage. A separate division of our work will be devoted to her foreign settlements; and we shall only here treat of those within her own territory.

The foreign colonies of Carthage were always chosen for purposes of commerce; this is even shown by their situation, as they all, without exception, lay near the sea; but those within her own territory were, at least for the most part, inland, and fixed upon for the promotion of agriculture. Even those on the sea-coast had so limited a trade, that they could scarcely rely on that alone for subsistence. But as the exports of the Carthaginians consisted partly in the productions

[1] Polyb. i. p. 181. [2] Ibid. i. 168.

[3] Polyb. i. p. 458. Another important passage is found in Diodorus, ii. p. 447. He expressly distinguishes four species of inhabitants in the Carthaginian territory in Africa. The Phœnicians, or the inhabitants of Carthage itself; the Liby-Phœnicians, under which he comprises, rather improperly, the inhabitants of the cities on the coast; the Libyans, or the ancient native tribes; and the nomades.

of their soil, commerce and agriculture mutually assisted each other. The policy of the Carthaginians led them to consider the formation of these settlements as the surest method of preserving the good will of the people; as it prevented the too great increase of the lower orders in the capital, and placed the poorer citizens, by the distribution of lands, in better circumstances. "In this way," says Aristotle,[1] "Carthage preserves the love of her people. She sends out continually colonies composed of her citizens into the districts around her, and by that means makes them men of property. It is a proof," he adds, "of a mild and intelligent government, that it assists the poor by accustoming them to labour."

A sound and equitable policy certainly! But it presupposes a people still sufficiently uncorrupted to have a taste for agriculture; and in the later period of Carthaginian history we hear no more of the formation of such settlements.[2] So in Rome, where the same means were adopted, they could only be employed till the time of the Gracchi; the later military colonies, under Sylla and others, were altogether of a different nature; and corresponded so little with the intention of their founders, that they confirm in a remarkable degree the observation just now made.[3]

The whole Carthaginian territory seems to have been full of these settlements; they appear, however, to have abounded most on the eastern side, from the gulf and lands belonging to the town of Carthage down to the Lesser Syrtis, in the seat of the Liby-Phœnicians and Gyzantes, or the district of Emporia.

That these places were kept in strict dependence upon Carthage needs scarcely to be remarked. The tribute which they paid was a principal source of the Carthaginian revenue; and the wars, by which the Carthaginian dominions were extended, were chiefly carried on at their expense.[4] Under the name of *the towns* (αἱ πόλεις) they are always mentioned in connexion with the other colonies on the north coast of Africa, as a main support of the Carthaginian power; but sometimes are distinguished from them by the name of *the neighbouring*

[1] Aristot. *Op.* ii. p. 252; *Polit.* ii. 11.; and vi. 5. p. 317. I cannot understand this latter passage in the way that Mr. Kluge would, as referring to individuals of the nation, who obtained government offices in the neighbouring cities to enrich themselves; for Aristotle is speaking of the manner in which the poverty of the great multitude might be relieved; δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὁπῶς τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἄπορον ᾖ; and says that trade and agriculture promote this object.

[2] "Nothing," says Cicero, *de Republ.* ii. 4, "more weakened Carthage than the preference of its citizens for trade and navigation, for which they neglected agriculture and arms."

[3] Sallust, *Catil.* cap. 11. 16. [4] Polyb. i. 177.

towns (αἱ περιοικίδες).[1] In other respects they seem to have been rather open towns than walled cities:[2] the Carthaginians had no fortified places except along the sea-coast. There is no doubt but the jealousy of the capital prevented their being fortified; but it also left them the certain prey of every conqueror, or adventurer, who had courage to invade the territory of Carthage.

From these towns, colonised by the Carthaginians, we must carefully distinguish the original Phœnician colonies, which were established by Tyre and other Phœnician states; some, indeed, previous to Carthage, in the territory which afterwards belonged to that city. It is impossible to trace the origin of all of these with accuracy and certainty; we know, however, that of Utica and Leptis,[3] and according to the accounts of Sallust,[4] most of the large towns on the Carthaginian coast, Adrumetum, Hippo, and the smaller Leptis, were of genuine Phœnician origin.

These Phœnician colonies were from the beginning, or soon became, free towns; every one of which, with the territory belonging to it, formed a small republic. As Carthage became powerful they in some degree certainly became dependent, but were never so absolutely under the government of the Carthaginians as the above-mentioned colonised towns. They seem to have been rather allies than subjects; as even the mother country, Tyre itself, does not appear ever to have had unlimited authority over the other towns. So much at least is certain with respect to the principal among them: Utica, for example, which according to the unanimous voice of antiquity was the most considerable town next to Carthage, and which, after her ruin, became the capital of the Roman province of Africa.

I found this opinion upon the following circumstances, namely, that Utica in two genuine documents, made indeed at very different times, is expressly mentioned as a state by itself, as well as Carthage. The first of these is the commercial treaty between Carthage and Rome, made in the year B. C. 348. In this it is said, at the very beginning, "upon these conditions shall be peace between Rome and her allies, and between Carthage, Utica, Tyre, and their allies."[5] Utica is

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 5.

[2] How numerous these must have been, we may gather, among other things, from Agathocles being able to conquer nearly two hundred of them. Diodorus, ii. p. 418. A string of names is given by Scylax, p. 48.

[3] Steph. *de Urb.* Ἰτυκη. [4] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. 19. [5] Polyb. i. 437, etc.

here evidently placed upon an equality with Carthage, as even its allies are recited. It seems, therefore, to have had the right of contracting alliances; notwithstanding this treaty was entered into in the most flourishing period of the Carthaginian state.

The Tyre here mentioned with Utica, could scarcely be the Phœnician Tyre. Its situation renders it improbable that it should have entered into a treaty with Rome; it was, besides, at this time under the dominion of Persia: but the principal fact is, that nothing occurs throughout the whole treaty that could relate to that city, or be of any importance to it. I feel, therefore, inclined to believe that instead of Tyre, some other name should be read, perhaps Tunis, or Tysdrus, if indeed Polybius himself did not refer it to Tyre; or might it not have been one of the large sea-port towns on the Carthaginian territory, of which we at present know nothing further, but which at that time was really so called?[1] It was no unusual thing among the Phœnicians for colonies to be named after their parent town. Of this New Carthage in Spain and Tyre on the Persian Gulf afford us examples. If, however, the Phœnician Tyre should be understood, I can only account for it from the custom which prevailed among the Carthaginians of comprising the parent town in their treaties. The second document on which I ground my opinion belongs to the last period of Carthage[2]—to the second Punic war. It is the treaty which Hannibal entered into with Philip of Macedon. As in the former case, Utica, wherever its name is mentioned, stands upon an equal footing with Carthage. The alliance with the Macedonian king is contracted by Carthage and Utica. If Utica, then, in both these periods, were connected with Carthage merely by alliance, surely no proof will be required that it did in earlier times maintain its rights.

What I have here proved respecting Utica, is more than probable respecting the other Phœnician cities in the Carthaginian territory. The cities in alliance and having equal laws with Carthage, are not only distinguished in the documents which we have just cited, but also by the historians,[3] from those in subjection; and what could these be if not the Phœnician cities? They were originally, as Phœnician colonies,

[1] The names alone of many of the great Carthaginian cities have descended to us; for what know we, beyond the names, of the great cities Toka, Maschala, Hecatompylos, enumerated by Diodorus? See Diodor. ii. p. 449.

[2] Polyb. ii. p. 589, etc. [3] Diodorus, ii. p. 413.

equally free and independent as Carthage itself. It follows, therefore, from the nature of these circumstances, that they could not at first be treated as subjects, but only as allies. Surely we have many examples in history in which the preponderance of the superior power transforms allies into subjects; and when we see that Utica alone is mentioned as an independent city, we must from that circumstance conclude, that the others did not stand altogether in the same rank with her; though they certainly did not belong to so low a grade as the various places of the interior. The words of the treaties show this, and they are confirmed by history. They appear throughout as the most faithful adherents of Carthage. They usually remain so when the Carthaginian subjects revolt; they are fortified, they besiege, and in their turns are besieged.[1] All these are sure proofs that they stood so closely connected with Carthage as to have the same friends and enemies, but by no means that they were subject to her despotic sway.

It was a general principle of Carthaginian policy, to improve as much as possible the cultivation of their lands; and to accustom the native tribes under their subjection to do the same. There was, however, a considerable portion of their territory which, from its physical nature, was, either for the most part or altogether, unfit for tillage. Such was the case in the country of the Syrtes, or the north coast of Africa between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis, which forms the present proper kingdom of Tripoli, a narrow strip of land about a hundred geographical miles in length. While the territory of Carthage already described, consisted of fertile lands watered by the Bagradas and other rivers; that of the Syrtes comprised only a sandy plain,[2] stretching from the interior of Africa to the sea, and only watered in a few places by small streams.[3] In districts of this kind a Carthaginian or Phœnician colony

[1] Proofs of this will be found in all the wars which the Carthaginians carried on in their own territory.

[2] This remarkable difference in the soil, which begins even at Lake Triton, is truly and accurately remarked by Herodotus, iv. 191. "As far as the Triton river the soil is level and sandy, but from thence towards the west it becomes mountainous and woody."

[3] For a more accurate description of the country on the sea-coast, we are indebted to Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 22, etc. From Tripoli to Lebeda, (the ancient Leptis,) the fruitful strip along the coast is scarcely half a mile broad; then follow, in the neighbourhood of the river Cinyps, green meadows, which however are again soon lost in the sandy deserts surrounding the Gulf of Sidra, or the Great Syrtis. Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 60, and Tully, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 213. [The work of Della Cella has been translated into English by Aufrere, 8vo, 1822. All however that is interesting in the two writers above mentioned, as well as in the important narrative of Beechey, *Expedition to Explore the Coast of Africa*, 1828, 4to, and the accounts of the most recent travellers, will be found collected and condensed in *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, 1829, 3 vols. 12mo. A compilation which has deservedly received much praise. TRANS.]

was settled; such, for example, as the Greater Leptis, whose ruins still attest its former greatness; Œa, and some few others. But in general the soil was unfit for agriculture, and still remains so,[1] and therefore the native tribes remained nomades even in the most flourishing times of Carthage. Of these we have a very accurate account in the works of Herodotus, and it will be of importance for the further prosecution of our design, to give here more definite and clear information respecting them.[2] There dwelt still around the Triton lake, the Ausenses and Machlyes: the latter cut the hair from the back of their head, as the former do from the front, in order to mark their race.[3] A branch of the Ausenses, that is, the Maxyes before mentioned, had taken to cultivate the soil. Near to these were the Lotophagi, or Lotus eaters, and behind them lived the Gindanes. The name of the former, who had spread in remote antiquity far over the earth, became celebrated by the songs of Homer, and which afterwards gave rise to so many fables among the Greek poets, is the name of one or more tribes who subsisted principally on the fruit of the lotus-tree; for corn in those countries could not be cultivated. The ancients have handed down such minute descriptions respecting this tree, (which must not be confounded with the lotus plant of Egypt,) that it is impossible to mistake it.[4] It is the *Rhamnus Lotus*, LINN. Its fruit, even at the present time, is the common food, not only in these districts but also in the centre of Africa; and now, as well as formerly, a sort of wine or meath is made from it, but which will only keep for a few days.[5] The site of the Lotophagi may be very accurately determined from Herodotus. They must have occupied just the middle point of the coast of Tripoli, from about the island Meninx, which they likewise possessed, as far as the ancient *Leptis Magna*. They had not, certainly, spread themselves farther west, as we shall immediately see. The determination of this point is necessary, as it will be of great importance on another occasion.

Next to them towards the east, follow the Macæ.[6] They cropped both sides of the head, leaving only a tuft on the top.

[1] Dapper, *Description of Africa*, p. 295.

[2] The accounts of Scylax, p. 48, should be compared with those of Herodotus, with which they agree very well, though not borrowed from them. This description of the coast alone shows the high antiquity of this writer.

[3] Herod. iv. cap. 180. [4] Polyb. iii. p. 384, and Strabo, p. 1191.

[5] Dapper, p. 296. In Tripoli is a market-place where tree-fruit, similar to beans, is brought in large quantities. It comes chiefly from the island Jirba, the ancient Meninx. See Tully, *Residence in Tripoli*, p. 11, where the fruit is accurately described. [See also *The Modern Traveller, Africa*, vol. i. p. 43, and 254.] [6] Herod. iv. 175, 176.

The Cinyps[1] (Zenifes, and Magro) flows through their country, and served as a fixed boundary both for their country and that of the Lotophagi. According to Scylax, they only attended their flocks on the sea-coast during the winter; in summer, as soon as it became dry, they retired with them into the mountains.

Finally, the extreme nation towards the east are the Nasamones; for those adjoining are beyond the country of the Syrtes, and lie in the territory of Cyrene and Barca.[2] The Nasamones were a very extensive race, and lived chiefly by tending their flocks. They sent a caravan yearly to Augila for dates, one of the principal articles of food in Africa. Between them and the Macæ another nation had formerly dwelt: these were the Psylli, who were buried in the sands during an excursion, or caravan-journey, into the interior of Libya. "The south wind," says Herodotus, "having dried up their waterstorings, they came to the resolution of advancing towards the south; but when they came to the sand, the south wind buried them."[3] How closely this narrative agrees with the place, we again learn from the latest discoveries. "The south wind," says Della Cella, "drives the sand out of the great desert like moving clouds, which bury whole caravans."[4] These are the nations in the eastern part of the Carthaginian dominions, from the Lesser Syrtis to the frontiers of Cyrene. It is improbable that they should all have vanished from the earth; and it seems they have not. They appear merely to have been pressed back into the mountains by the Bedouin Arabs, from whom they are distinguished by descent and manners, although intermixed with them by marriage.[5] Here they still live upon the lotus and honey; their women decorate their legs with rings, and are offered to strangers.[6] Their skin, which they paint with ruddle, is even still so thickly crusted over, that their true colour cannot be discerned. They were all, according to the distinct testimony of Herodotus, nomades, and from the nature of their soil were obliged to remain so. The relation in which they stood with the Carthaginians is no where expressly defined;

[1] Dapper, p. 295. The city founded near it of the same name was, even in the time of Scylax, l. c., already a waste. [The modern name of the Cinyps is, according to Beechey, *Expedition to Explore the Coast of Africa*, 4to, 1828, and Arrowsmith, *Eton Comparative Atlas*, 1828, *Khâhan*. Butler calls it *Quaham* in the index to his *Ancient Atlas*. These works have been published since the last German edition of Heeren. TRANS.]

[2] Namely, the *Auschisæ* and *Cabales* around the Greater Syrtis; the *Asbystæ* beyond Cyrene; the *Giligammæ* and the *Adyrmachidæ* dwelling on the frontiers of Egypt. All nomad tribes. Herod. iv. 168—171. [3] Herod. iv. 173. [4] Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 93. Their expedition was probably intended for Phazania in the country of the Garamantes. [5] Della Cella, p. 154. [6] Della Cella, p. 109; cf. Herod. iv. 168.

there is no doubt, however, of their being in subjection to them, as their country was always considered as part of the Carthaginian dominions. What tribute they were obliged to pay, we indeed know not, but supposing it to have been of ever so little importance to so great a commercial state, still the possession of this country, and a dominion over these nations, must have been a matter of the highest consideration.

For, in the first place, they served them as a bulwark against the power of Cyrene. The growth of this Grecian colony was regarded by Carthage with a jealous eye, and she carried on many wars against it. Who could tell that it would not become a second Carthage? And in that case, it could not be indifferent who was in possession of the desert by which the states were divided; nor whom the hordes obeyed who wandered over it.

But these nations were of still more importance to Carthage on another account. By them were formed the caravans which crossed the Libyan desert, and penetrated to the banks of the Niger, and journeyed eastward as far as Upper Egypt and Æthiopia. By their means, as we shall see, Carthage maintained an intercourse with the interior of Africa, upon which depended a considerable portion of her trade. In a following chapter I intend to give further proofs of this. History, indeed, only gives us a few unconnected views of these secrets of the Carthaginian policy in trade; but fortunately they reveal so much that there can be no doubt respecting the principal facts.

I have still to mention certain other towns, which, under the name of *Urbes Metagonitæ*, are sometimes met with as Carthaginian towns in Africa.[1] Historians have not accurately defined their situation, but they certainly must be sought for on the coast of Numidia, westward of the proper territory of Carthage. A promontory is still found there called *Metagonium*;[2] a district of precisely the same name; and even a people *Metagonii*.[3] Pliny, on this account, takes the name Metagonitis to be synonymous with Numidia.[4] I understand, therefore, by these towns, all those settlements established by the Carthaginians on the coasts of Mauritania and Numidia, and which seem in a manner to have formed a regular chain from their frontier to the Pillars of Hercules. Should it still remain doubtful whether all those towns were really comprised

[1] Polyb. i. p. 458. [2] The present *Cabo di Ferro*, not far from Bon, in the province of Constantine. [3] See Cellarii, *Geog. Ant.*, vol. ii. 929, 936. [4] Pliny, v. 2.

under that name, an authority has fortunately been preserved, which leaves the truth of the fact beyond dispute. We find in Scylax a specification of all the towns and harbours which lie along the shore, and on the small islands opposite, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. After the enumeration of them[1] he expressly adds, "all the towns and marts from the Hesperides (on the Larger Syrtis) to the Pillars of Hercules, belong entirely to the Carthaginians." It is, therefore, certain that a chain of Carthaginian towns stretched as far as that point. These stations were of great importance to Carthage, both on account of the trade which she carried on with the inland nomad tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood, and because they enabled her to keep open a communication by land with Spain, as well for her merchants as for her armies. Hannibal took care to have them all properly garrisoned before he set out for Italy.[2] In other respects they seem not to have been of great importance, as none of them ever attained any celebrity.

From what we have now said, it will be easier to answer a question otherwise very difficult: namely, what were the boundaries of the Carthaginian empire in Africa? We mean, of course, in its most flourishing state. On the south and north its limits are determined, but there is still some difficulty in settling them towards the west. Nature herself has traced the southern frontiers: the Carthaginian dominion reached as far as the land was fertile; that is to say, to the Triton lake, which is, besides, expressly mentioned as the boundary.[3] The barren districts began, indeed, on this side the lake, but towns, nevertheless, were found as far as the Triton lake, which were afterwards destroyed in the Roman wars.[4]

With still more accuracy are the eastern frontiers defined. As in this part they joined another state, Cyrene, it became absolutely necessary that the boundary should be determined; and long struggles and wars at length produced a treaty, in which the advantage was on the side of the Carthaginians, as it secured them the districts between the Syrtes. According to a tradition, it is said that the brothers Philæni purchased this advantage by the sacrifice of their lives;[5] and, indeed, the

[1] Scylax, p. 51. *ed. Huds.* Unfortunately their names are very much corrupted. According to the corrections of Vossius, they were called Collops, Pithecusæ, Tipasa, Canucchis, Jol, Chalka, Siga, Mes, Acris, besides the small islands of Acium, Psamathus, etc., whose situation cannot be determined.

[2] Polyb. i. 458. [3] Strabo, p. 1189. [4] Strabo, l. c.

[5] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. lxxix.; Valer. Max. v. 6. 4. According to Sallust, the war to which this gave rise was very fierce both by sea and land, and happened during the flourishing period of both powers.

offering was not too great, if we remember, from what has been said before, how important these regions must have been, although barren, to Carthage. The last place in the Carthaginian dominions was *Turris Euprantus*, on the eastern shore of the Greater Syrtis, from whence a considerable contraband trade was carried on with Cyrene.[1] Near to this place stood the landmarks, which were named *Aræ Philænorum*, in honour of the brothers. They were nothing more than mere marks of the boundaries, and were no longer in existence in the time of Strabo.[2] In the accounts come down to us respecting these landmarks, all writers agree.[3]

It is a task of much difficulty to determine the western boundaries. In this quarter nomad hordes alone wandered about, and it will on that account alone be immediately seen that any certain limits were both impossible and unnecessary.

According to the writers most worthy of credit, the Carthaginian dominions reached as far as the *Gaditanian*[4] gulf. But it is evident that this must not be understood to the letter. They had established cities, harbours, and forts along the coast, and in the small islands opposite, for reasons which I have already in part given. The permission of the nomad hordes, who dwelt in these districts, was without doubt obtained for this purpose; and in this way the Carthaginians came, by degrees, to be masters of the coast: a matter to them of the utmost importance, but of very little consequence to the native tribes. Carthage seems especially to have desired to secure this point, when the conquest of Spain first suggested itself to her. A communication with that province would thus be kept open by land, should any untoward event interrupt it by sea. But we discover no where a trace, nor even so much as a hint, of her arrogating to herself an authority over the interior of Numidia and Mauritania. "The Carthaginians," says Strabo,[5] "rule over Libya, wherever it is not occupied by mere nomad hordes." It is well known, also, that during the Roman wars the native princes of the neighbouring country of Numidia appear as perfectly independent. Indeed, how could Carthage have maintained a dominion over them? The Carthaginians certainly had formed an alliance with these princes, which they

[1] Strabo, p. 1193. [2] There still exist, however, pillars of sandstone, with inscriptions almost obliterated, which may be taken for them; Della Cella, *Viaggio*, p. 77. Scylax employs the singular number in speaking of them; *οἱ τοῦ φιλαίνου Βωμοί*, p. 47. So also Polybius, i. p. 469. The account of Sallust is evidently a corrupted tradition.
[3] Polyb. i. p. 469, and besides him Scylax in the passage above quoted.
[4] Polyb. l. c. [5] Strabo, p. 1189.

endeavoured to strengthen, and knit more closely, by giving them ladies of high rank in marriage.[1] Some of them might perhaps at times have been tributary, but these exceptions cannot be taken for a rule.

The most probable boundary to the west of the proper Carthaginian territory, where it stretched farther inland, was, therefore, in short, the point where the tribes who cultivated the soil ceased, and the nomad hordes began. Although it is not likely that any line was drawn marking the exact boundary, yet we shall commit no great error by placing it under 8° east longitude. Beyond that was Hippo Regius, the residence of the Numidian kings, which never belonged to Carthage; an accurate definition is from the nature of things impossible.

According to this survey, the fertile provinces of Carthage, occupied by people who tilled the soil, extended from Cape Bon in a direct line to the most western angle of the Triton lake, a distance of nearly 200 geographical miles. Its breadth in most parts was 150 miles.[2] The northern part is usually called *Zeugitana*, a name of uncertain derivation. It comprised, besides the capital, the most important sea-ports, as Hippo Zarytus, Utica, Tunis, Clypea, and others. The interior of the country was every where filled with Carthaginian colonies and native tribes, who had intermingled with the Phœnicians. Vacca, Bulla, Sicca, and Zama, are the best known of these settlements. The soil was fertile throughout, but more particularly so on the banks of the Bagradas. The southern part was called *Byzazium*. It derived this name from the Byzantes, the principal race, which from the earliest times had been settled in it, but had gradually intermixed with the Carthaginian colonies. Its coast was also covered with a succession of flourishing sea-ports, of which Adrumetum, the Leptis Minor, Tysdrus, and Tacape were the principal.

In the more extensive sense of the word, another district was included in Byzazium, but which was very often separated from it, and requires here to be particularly noticed, on account of its great importance to Carthage. I mean the country around the Lesser Syrtis and the Triton lake, which is generally mentioned under the name of *Emporia*.[3] All writers agree

[1] In this manner Hamilcar Barca gained the nomad prince, Narvan, by the promise of his daughter. Polyb. i. p. 193. The well-known example of Sophonisba is shown then not to be the only one.

[2] Strabo, p. 1189, gives 2500 stadia, (280 miles,) but expressly remarks, at the same time, that the authorities differ.

[3] The territory of Emporia is expressly distinguished by Polybius, (i. p. 436,) from Byzazium, or Byssatus. In other places writers are not always very exact respecting it.

in praising it for its astonishing fertility. "This region," says Scylax,[1] "which is occupied by Libyans, is most magnificent and fertile, it abounds in tall fine cattle; and its inhabitants are most beautiful and wealthy." It derived its name from the many flourishing towns it contained,[2] and which, as the name implies, were places of trade. From all the passages in Polybius concerning them, we learn the great esteem in which they were held by the Carthaginians. The principal cause of this was, that they contained the great store-houses, from which their troops, especially those of the capital, were supplied with provisions.[3] Their situation, moreover, renders it probable that they were the great staple towns for the trade with the interior of Africa, and it might be from this that they derived their name.

In addition to these cultivated countries, the abode of men who tilled the earth, Carthage possessed the *Regio Syrtica*, or the sea-coast between the two Syrtes, extending from Tacape to the monument of the *Philæni;* a tract of about 400 miles, inhabited by nomades, as the sandy nature of the soil rendered fruitless the labour of the husbandman. Great Leptis, a colony from Sidon, occasioned by civil disturbances,[4] and Œa, were the only considerable towns in the whole district. The reasons why this country, notwithstanding, was of so much consequence to Carthage have been already given. From all that has now been said, I think I may draw the following important conclusions respecting the Carthaginian state.

First: That the Carthaginian territory in Africa was never so completely united that all its parts stood in an equal and entire dependence upon the capital. The succession of old Phœnician colonies along the coast was only, at least for some time, a number of confederate states, of which Carthage was certainly the head, but by no means the absolute mistress. Those nations were the only real subjects of Carthage who were accustomed to agriculture, to which manner of living they had been brought by the Carthaginians themselves, for the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes were only so far in subjection to Carthage as to pay tribute.

Secondly: The internal weakness of Carthage, so frequently remarked by every writer, and usually ascribed to her great

[1] Scylax, p. 49. [2] By Strabo, p. 1191, an ἐμπορεῖον is chiefly named as important. Also by Appian, *Punic.* cap. 72, it is called the territory, ἡ περὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον γῆ.
[3] This is clear from Polyb. ii. p. 204. Compare i. p. 436, and iv. p. 547.
[4] Sallust, *Jug.* cap. 78.

military establishments, and the employment of mercenaries, may be far more naturally explained by this very circumstance. The policy of the Carthaginians did not extend so far as to make friends of the nations they conquered. The inborn hatred which the nomad hordes had previously felt, was continued, and nourished, and increased, by the oppression of their rulers. The approach of every enemy was considered by them as a signal of revolt; how otherwise could Agathocles, and after him Regulus, have dared to invade Africa with only 15,000 men, without deserving to be reproached for their temerity? and which they certainly would have justly merited under any other circumstances.

CHAP. II. *Foreign possessions of Carthage.*

I. PROVINCES.

CARTHAGE inherited from her parent state the spirit of commerce; but the desire of conquest sprung, at first, from her situation, and was nourished by success.

This will not appear strange to any one who understands the genius of powerful free states. There is no example of any great republic, either of ancient or modern times, that did not become a conquering state, provided its geographical situation did not prevent it. Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, Venice and Genoa, are proofs of this fact. The latest and largest republics of Europe began and ended with conquest; and North America will arrive at the same point, whenever space is wanting in which she may peaceably extend herself.

The states of Phœnicia Proper were republics, although they had what were called kings. But there are some states, which, from their situation, are obliged to renounce all projects of conquest, or, at least, to confine them within very narrow bounds; and such were these. Their small territory was surrounded by powerful empires, against whom they could not always defend even their own independence.

The case with Carthage was entirely different. Built on the edge of a large quarter of the globe, whose warlike nomades afforded, for pay, numerous armies; and almost surrounded by countries without a master, she could conquer, and soon found it her interest so to do. For the first time, therefore, history here shows us a free and powerful commercial

state, whose greatness was founded upon foreign possessions acquired by force of arms.

A commercial state of such a nature must, in prosecuting its conquests, necessarily have been guided by considerations which obliged it to pursue a different line of policy from that followed by the Persians and Babylonians, who took countries by assault, and subdued and plundered one nation after another, for no other reason but because there was yet a nation to plunder and subdue. It must by no means be inferred from this that the Carthaginians, throughout their whole course, pursued one fixed formal plan of aggrandizement, but only that experience had pointed out to them certain maxims upon which they acted whenever it was possible, and which they only left for some cogent reason. This line of conduct was planted in the spirit of the aristocratic government, where such maxims so easily become hereditary in the ruling families, of which history shows us such evident proofs as to leave no doubt of the fact.

Even the extent and nature of their possessions on the continent prove clearly enough, that a willing moderation, flowing from this principle, was connected with their system of aggrandization, which prevented them from occupying more than they intended to retain. Did there ever exist a more powerful state which had such large and tempting prospects of increasing its dominion, and which, nevertheless, limited its extent so willingly? Behind her proper territory, Carthage saw spreading itself the immeasurable Africa, in which no other state was yet formed, and which in a manner seemed waiting for a ruler. Notwithstanding this, her proper dominions here were, and remained, confined within a moderate compass. Western Europe offered her the same temptation. But even the rich country of Spain, known to them so minutely, although they had several settlements therein, could not incite them to a regular conquest of it, until it offered them, in time of need, when their political power had lost its balance, a compensation for Sicily, during the last struggle with Rome.

But their foreign possessions chiefly show, that they followed one maxim equally simple and natural. A maritime and commercial nation would soon, of itself, become acquainted with the fact, that it could have no better or more secure possessions than islands. That large continents, although upon

pressing occasions they may quietly, at least for a time, shut their ports, or suffer a blockade from without, cannot be maintained by a fleet: of this North America furnishes us with a sufficient example in modern times. The policy of the Carthaginians must soon have discovered this, and they limited, therefore, even in the most flourishing period of the republic, their foreign possessions almost exclusively to islands.[1] These served both to shelter their squadrons, and to conceal their designs; here no troublesome rivals were to be feared, and if any showed themselves they were easily restrained; here commercial activity, unperceived, could exert itself; here no loss was to be apprehended in an age when there were no great maritime powers as rivals.

These were all established maxims which the Carthaginians undeviatingly followed in their conquests, and the western half of the Mediterranean, sprinkled with large and small islands, opened to them a field which seemed just suited to their situation and power. History has preserved to us but few accounts respecting the occasion of their first conquests. The private settlements which the Carthaginians at first established here, gave them, probably, opportunities of interfering in the broils of the native tribes, and the system of conquest arose out of the system of colonization. This, however, does not appear to have been the case with Sicily. We know of no regular colonies planted there by the Carthaginians. They seem at once to have entered upon its conquest; and history has not left us altogether in the dark respecting *when* and *by whom* this design was first prosecuted. It took place just at the time that the Persians, under Cyrus and his immediate successors, started forth as conquerors in Asia, namely, in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era.[2] The Carthaginians were at that time indebted for the foundation of their power to one single family, namely, to that of Mago, which gave them a succes-

[1] The republic of the united states of Holland has followed, in modern times, a similar policy with regard to its East India possessions, and this example confirms the truth of the remark. With how much more ease, and with still greater advantage, has Holland maintained herself in India, than either France or England! the East Indian empire of the latter threatens to fall in the end under its own weight.

[2] Between B. C. 550—450. Justin, xix. 1, gives us authority for all the following statements. The chronology here is derived from the fact, that Darius, before his expedition against the Greeks, sent to Hamilcar for assistance. Therefore about the year 490. But his brother and father had had the command before him, as had his sons after him. We cannot therefore, upon the whole, err in this statement. Attempts at conquest in Sicily and Sardinia had indeed been made by Malcus, or Malchus, before the time of Mago; but that in Sardinia ended unfortunately, and sent its commander into exile. Justin, xviii. 7. It must therefore have happened between 600 and 550; and was the first noticed in history.

sion of heroes similar to that of the Barcas at a later period. Mago himself, the founder, was the first who introduced military discipline and created their foreign power.[1] He was succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal and Hamilcar, who made Sardinia the scene of their conquests. Here Asdrubal fell, after having been eleven times commander; his native town honoured him with a public mourning. His brother, upon whom he bestowed the command before his death, met with a similar fate in Sicily, as after being defeated in battle by Gelon of Syracuse, he is said to have killed himself.[2] Each of them left three sons: those of Hamilcar were Himilco, who succeeded to his father's command in Sicily; Hanno, to whom, perhaps, we are indebted for the Periplus; and Gisco. Those of Asdrubal were Hannibal, Asdrubal, and Sappho. All were placed at the head of the armies of the republic,[3] and extended its dominion both without and within Africa, by their victories over the Mauritanians and Numidians. They are also said to have been the first who relieved Carthage from paying tribute to the Libyans. This is all the information we have respecting these conquests. The following more minute survey of their provinces will serve to prove the remarks already made.

I. SARDINIA.

The first and most important province of the Carthaginians was Sardinia, the largest of all the islands of which they became completely masters. Its inhabitants, with the exception of a few insignificant tribes, who retreated into their inaccessible mountains, were all brought under the subjection of the Carthaginians, who founded Calaris, (*Cagliari,*) which still remains the capital,[4] and Sulchi, both on the south side of the island. On every occasion, and in almost all the genuine documents which have descended to us respecting Carthage, Sardinia appears as their first and most valuable province; and in these it is expressly mentioned immediately after their territory in Africa, with which it is placed on an equal footing. The first two treaties with Rome afford sufficient proof of this. By the earlier of these, it is true, the Romans were permitted to trade in Sardinia, as well as in Libya, that is to say, in the Carthaginian territory in Africa, yet only under great restric-

[1] Justin, l. c. *Primus omnium, ordinata disciplina militari, imperium Pœnorum condidit.* [2] In the year B. C. 480. Herod. vii. 167. [3] *Per hos res Carthaginiensium ea tempestate gerebantur.* Justin, l. c. [4] Pausan. x. p. 838.

tions. In the second, their ships were forbidden, in express terms, to enter the ports of either.[1]

It seems remarkable that this large island, about 162 miles in length, and from between 60 and 70 in breadth, should have been, both in ancient and more modern times, the least known of any country in Europe. It is only lately that a better description has been obtained of it,[2] and that only increases our desire for further information; previous to this, Otaheite and Owhyhee were better known to us than Sardinia; and the knowledge of the ancients respecting it was equally scanty.

The great value in which the Carthaginians held this island, and were necessarily obliged to hold it, may be accounted for from its geographical situation; for a nation whose existence depended upon maintaining a dominion over the western Mediterranean, and which never completely subdued Sicily, could not do otherwise than make Sardinia their principal station. There is no doubt but it was likewise the emporium for their trade with the west of Europe, with which they kept up a constant intercourse, and indeed no situation was better adapted for that purpose.

Sardinia, however, was not of less importance to the Carthaginians on its own account; for in affording them supplies of corn, it was only surpassed by their African dominions. It is thus spoken of upon every occasion in their history;[3] even its rudest and most savage native tribes, who dwelt in the mountains, were not entirely ignorant of agriculture. The mountainous districts of the island, it is true, were not much adapted to husbandry; but its fertile valleys and plains were not at all inferior to those of Sicily.[4] But no one who considers how numerous her armies were, and also the little attention paid to agriculture at that period in the west of Europe and in Africa,[5]

[1] Polyb. vol. i. p. 435, 439. [2] Azuni, *Histoire geographique politique et naturelle de la Sardaigne.* T. i. ii. 1802. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 274. Polyb. i. 205. [4] Strabo, 344, etc.

[5] We may quote Sardinia as a proof of the manner in which the Carthaginians were wont to treat their provinces. When the Romans took it from the Carthaginians it was in a flourishing condition. Polyb. i. p. 196. The latter do not appear certainly to have been the first who introduced agriculture into this island, although they certainly increased it very much among its ancient inhabitants. The various races of these Strabo has minutely specified. One part of them dwelt in caves in the most inaccessible mountains; and these it was that the Carthaginians could never completely subjugate. Strabo, p. 344, and Diodorus, i. p. 342. Sardinia, however, in general, was from the earliest times occupied by foreign settlers, who are most satisfactorily enumerated by Pausanias, x. p. 838. A particular account, but completely at variance with all these remarks, is found in the treatise *de Mirabilibus*, cap. 105, ascribed to Aristotle. "The Carthaginians," it is there said, "had rooted up all the fruit-trees in Sardinia, and interdicted agriculture to the inhabitants upon pain of death." Whence this tale could come I know not. The interdiction, perhaps, only referred to the unconquerable cave-dwellers, that they might starve them out. That the tradition itself, however, was wholly unfounded, was not unknown to Beckmann, the latest editor of that work, wherefore it is needless to enter into a fresh refutation of it here.

will question the great importance of this fruitful country to Carthage.

But besides this, there is another circumstance which, it is probable, greatly increased the value of Sardinia in the eyes of the Carthaginians. Although it admits not of proof, there are many reasons for supposing that mines were worked there, which yielded a rich produce of precious stones and metals. That countries containing one or both of these had a peculiar charm both for the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is already well known. Gold is now in vain sought for in Sardinia, though that island is still rich in silver.[1] Among the precious stones the sardel holds the first rank; it is not unfrequently found in the island,[2] though whether it derives its name from that, or, according to Pliny,[3] from the city of Sardes in Lydia, is uncertain. The high value put upon this stone by the ancients, and its importance in commerce, may be known from the frequent use made of it by lapidaries. I am induced to believe that the Carthaginians obtained treasures of this kind from the island, by the pains which they took to keep all strangers at a distance from it. That they did this has already been shown in the above-mentioned treaties with Rome. Strabo also states,[4] that strangers were forbidden, upon pain of death by drowning, to sail to Sardinia, or the Pillars of Hercules. By the Pillars of Hercules we must here understand the south-western part of Spain, where their richest mines were situated. Might not then the severe prohibition respecting Sardinia arise from the same cause?

Carthage kept a garrison in Sardinia, formed almost entirely of mercenaries.[5] Civil and military authority seem here, as well as in the other foreign possessions of Carthage, to have been separated, and not bestowed on one person;[6] a regulation which, if it really existed, gave it a decided preference over Rome in the manner of governing its foreign provinces.

The conquest of Sardinia cost the Carthaginians many wars, as has already been remarked. The Etrurians are said to have possessed it before them; but I find no trace of their having carried on a war with them respecting it. In the first treaty concluded between Carthage and Rome, B. C. 509,

[1] Azuni, ii. p. 341, where the several silver mines are enumerated. Might not some traces be even still found there of ancient works? [2] Azuni, ii. p. 351.
[3] Pliny, xxxvii. 7. That the Carthaginians carried on a considerable trade in precious stones I shall prove in another place. [4] Strabo, p. 1154. [5] Polyb. i. p. 195.
[6] Polyb. i. p. 195, where the *Boetharch* (the governor in times of peace) is distinguished from the *Stratego*.

namely, in the period of Darius Hystaspes, it appears to have been completely a Carthaginian province. According to the above-mentioned accounts of Justin, however, from which indeed only a general chronology can be deduced, they were still at this period busily engaged in its conquest; but the apparent contradiction instantly vanishes if we remember, that frequent revolts occasioned frequent wars. Sardinia remained a Carthaginian province till the year B. C. 237, a little beyond the close of the first war with Rome.

II. CORSICA.

The name of Corsica but seldom occurs in Carthaginian history, and it is doubtful whether it was ever entirely brought under the dominion of that republic. From a very early date it appears to have been occupied by the Etrurians, and a part of it seems to have continued subject to their authority. On one occasion, however, when their jealousy had been roused, the Carthaginians gave a proof that they were not at least indifferent respecting who possessed the island. Some Greeks wished to settle there: a body of Phocians, who had left their native country rather than endure Persian bondage, landed at Corsica, and there founded the colony of Alalia. Carthage did not think it proper to suffer this. She entered into a treaty with the Etrurians, and the allied fleets came to an engagement with the Greeks, who, though victorious, feeling themselves too weak to maintain their ground in the island, quitted its shores and turned towards Italy.[1]

What happened to Corsica after this, whether the Carthaginians left it to its fate and to the Etrurians, or whether they assumed a share in its government, history does not inform us; but in the year 450, about eighty years later, Corsica[2] appears under the dominion of the Etrurians. At a later period, however, though the time be uncertain, it must have again fallen under the yoke of Carthage; for in the wars with Rome it is mentioned as a Carthaginian province, which, together with Sardinia, fell at the end of the first contest into the hands of the Romans. It is not however probable that they at this time possessed all, or even a considerable part, of Corsica; and, in fact, the opinion respecting their dominion there at all rests upon very weak authority. Certain it is, at all events,

[1] Herod. i. 166. This remarkable sea-fight, the first which history records, happened before B. C. 536, in the time of Cyrus. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 471.

that they never gained much from this island, nor could it ever have been of so much importance to them as Sardinia.[1] Its soil was rugged and sterile, and the inhabitants savage; Carthaginian policy was, besides, too profound to place much value on a possession which would have been more expensive than useful. Their only care was to prevent rivals from settling there, who might disturb their commerce or interrupt their navigation.

III. SICILY.

The largest of the islands I have reserved till now, because it was never entirely subdued by Carthage. Had that republic once effected this object, which she was more than once on the point of doing, her dominion would probably have been established for centuries, and Rome would have been unable to shake it.

A glance at the map, with some knowledge of the fertility and internal riches of Sicily, will be sufficient to justify that policy of Carthage, whose principal and almost only aim was the possession of this island; an object she endeavoured to effect with all that firmness and constancy which so peculiarly belongs to aristocratical governments. How much the dominion of the Mediterranean, the provisioning of her armies, and the trade in oil and wine, depended upon the execution of this project, it were needless to prove. The island, besides, is of so moderate extent, that she would have had no difficulty in maintaining it.

Sicily was also the point where the interest of the Carthaginians and Greeks clashed. Both of them here possessed cities; but those of the former were soon eclipsed by the latter. The Greek cities were free independent states, and that, combined with the extraordinary fruitfulness of the soil, and the unobstructed sale of their merchandise, enabled them to raise themselves to a considerable pitch of opulence and power. Those of Carthage, on the contrary, were founded with all that economy, and watched with all that jealousy, which is peculiar to suspicious, niggardly merchants. The best among them would not bear a comparison with Agrigentum, much less with Syracuse.

Carthage, so far as we know, founded no new colonies in

[1] See Strabo, p. 320; and Diodorus, i. p. 340. Diodorus says, that the Etrurians *some time* had been masters of the island.

Sicily. The Phœnicians Proper had already established some settlements there, which, as the power of the Carthaginians extended itself, fell into their hands.[1] The latter here also, as they did on many other occasions, trod in the footsteps of their parent state, whose dominion and navigation in the western part of the Mediterranean fell in the same ratio as theirs increased. The settlements of the Phœnicians spread at first over all the coasts of the island, since they possessed the promontories and the islets lying around. But as the Greeks continually extended their possessions, the others, on the contrary, in the same degree, were always forced to retire; and so became at last limited to merely the western part of the island, where Motya, Panormus, and Soloes for a long time remained their principal settlements. They likewise often found allies in the neighbouring people Elymi.

Carthage seems at first only to have obtained possession of those cities from whence lay, as Thucydides remarks, the shortest passage to Carthage. By this she appears to have gained a strong footing in the island, and was fully satisfied, during the increasing power of the Greeks, if she could maintain her ground.

But frequent contentions with the native inhabitants soon led to wars; and these to plans of conquest, which even from the beginning seem to have been forwarded by the continual dissension of the Greek cities in Sicily among themselves, some of whom invited the Carthaginians to their assistance. We are told by some writers that they also formed alliances with the Persians: first with Darius, during his war with the Greeks; and again with Xerxes, during his celebrated expedition against their country.[2] At all events, it was at this exact point of time that Hamilcar, son of Mago, endeavoured to advance the Carthaginian arms in Sicily. He was unsuccessful: for on the very same day that the might of Asia was overthrown at Salamis by the Athenians and their allies, was the united power of Africa destroyed by their western countrymen in Sicily; and Hamilcar himself fell a sacrifice to his

[1] Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2. The most important passage in Thucydides respecting the first establishment of Carthaginian dominion in Sicily is obscure; because the expression φοινικες may as well be referred to the Proper Phœnicians as to the Carthaginians. The historian intends, in my opinion, to embrace both by it. He enumerates the nations which had established themselves in Sicily, and as the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were descended from the same stock, he only reckons them as one. The beginning of the passage, therefore, refers to the Phœnicians, as the first colonists. The close, on the contrary, refers to the Carthaginians, as it states, that they possessed the cities which lay nearest to Carthage.

[2] Herod. vii. 165.

enterprise.[1] The Greeks after this enjoyed for some time a state of tranquillity on the island, as the Carthaginians could only maintain themselves in their old possessions on its western side.

This tranquillity, however, was not of long duration, and after the second change of the republican government of Syracuse into a monarchy, under Dionysius I., (B. C. 410,) the Carthaginians made a new attempt to conquer Sicily. The contention of two Greek cities, one of whom, Segesta, called in their assistance against Selinus, gave them a new opportunity of commencing hostilities. The rapid progress, however, which they at first made, extended their views; it proved also the cause of a revolution in Syracuse, which gave despotic power to Dionysius. He and his successors, especially Agathocles, pursued, as often as circumstances would permit, the same uniform design of converting Sicily, and Lower Italy if possible, into one kingdom. Had this design been carried into execution, Carthage would not only have lost her possessions on the island, but would probably have anticipated her approaching overthrow: if not a sudden, a lingering decay must have brought her to her end. To say nothing of the dominion of the Mediterranean, which she would thereby have lost, as well as have been cut off from Sardinia, and have had her sea trade ruined, how would she have been able to withstand the united efforts of the Greek states of Sicily and Magna Græcia? Circumstances would naturally have given rise to bloody wars. It could not, therefore, have been either a false or ambitious policy in Carthage, to make every exertion in her power to frustrate their intention.

The history of these wars does not properly belong to this place. They continued, with little interruption, till the commencement of the struggle with Rome—nearly one hundred and fifty years, (410—264, B. C.,) without either party being able completely to expel the other from the island. It is probable, however, that the Carthaginians only wanted a great commander to put them in entire possession of Sicily. Had a Hannibal at that time been at their head, neither the timid and insolent Dionysius, nor the adventurer Agathocles, would have been able to have withstood them. Syracuse, moreover, had its most dangerous enemy within its walls. The inhabitants of that city were by far the most restless of all the states

[1] In the year B. C. 480.

of Greece. Their own commander, as Polybius cleverly observes,[1] dared not remove his army to any distance without the walls, because he might be sure that during its absence a revolution would take place. The history of the world, indeed, could scarcely produce another state, which, in so short a space of time, underwent such various, such sudden, and such violent changes in its form of government. Its history, in reality, might with great justice be called a practical compendium of the art of government.

It would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt the settlement of the Carthaginian boundaries during these wars. They were subject to continual changes, dependent upon the success of their arms. In the treaty of peace, however, made in the year B. C. 383, the little river Halycus, on the south side of the island, was fixed upon as their frontier,[2] and it may be regarded as the usual boundary after that time; so that about the third part of the island, which lay on the western side of that river, was under the dominion of the Carthaginians, subject, however, to frequent variation. In the time of Agathocles they seem only to have wanted the city of Syracuse to complete their conquest of the whole island; while at other times they found themselves limited to their original possessions, which they endeavoured more firmly to secure by removing their principal seat to Lilybæum, (after Motya had been taken from them by Dionysius,) as being a better situation for their fleet and armies.[3]

IV. THE BALEARES, AND OTHER SMALLER ISLANDS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The remaining smaller islands in the Mediterranean, as well those lying along the coast of Africa and Sicily as those in the open sea, were all taken possession of by the Carthaginians. They cost them little to maintain, and served as so many staples for their goods, and as stations for their vessels to touch at in their long voyages. Nearly all these had previously been Phœnician settlements, and history does not inform us of the exact epochs when the Carthaginians became, in each of them, the heirs and successors of their forefathers. They were probably obtained without bloodshed.

The greater and lesser Balearean islands, Majorca and Minorca, together with the neighbouring Ebusus, or Yvica, they seemed to have occupied at an early period. Diodorus fixes

[1] Polyb. i. p. 19. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 503, et ibi nota. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 498.

the time when they took possession of the latter at one hundred and sixty years from the building of Carthage.[1] It produced wine, oil, and fine wool. The Carthaginians built in it the colonial city Ebusus, celebrated for the splendour of its buildings and its excellent harbour; but it may be questioned whether they ever became masters of the whole island. The inhabitants of the Baleares were Troglodytes, and fought as slingers in the Carthaginian armies. Excellent mules were bred in these islands, and the Carthaginians found among the inhabitants a ready sale for their African slaves, particularly females; their situation sufficiently shows that they were at the same time the principal staples for the Spanish trade.

Nearer to the African coast lie the islands Melita, Gaulos, and Cercina.[2] The first two of these islands were also very early occupied by the Phœnicians, as we learn from monuments and coins still existing, probably about the same time that they founded their colonies on the opposite coasts of the continent.[3] Next to them, and seemingly also at a very early period, an Ionian colony from Chalcis settled there, as is likewise shown by coins and inscriptions.[4] It is impossible to determine exactly when they were brought under the dominion of Carthage; most likely about the same time that she effected her conquests in Sicily and Sardinia, but certainly not later. When Scylax wrote they were already occupied by the Carthaginians.[5] Malta was a principal mart for Carthaginian manufactures, chiefly for woven goods. From this place the finest cloths were exported.[6] Malta was therefore covered with large manufactories and buildings, and the inhabitants derived from their industry a high degree of prosperity and opulence. Gaulos and Cercina served as convenient stations for ships; the harbour of the latter was even sufficiently large to hold vessels of war. I pass by the other smaller islands—such as Lipara, and those belonging to it, which, previous to the commencement of the Roman wars, had been subjected by Carthage,[7] who was enriched by their produce, and benefited by their harbours. The express assertion of Polybius,[8] that all the islands of the western Mediterranean belonged to her, makes it unnecessary that we should point them out separately by name.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 343. [2] See Cluver, *Sic. Ant.* p. 425, etc. Their present names are Malta, Gozo, and Karkenna. [3] The principal work on ancient Malta, but which did not appear till after the third edition of these Inquiries, is *Malta Antica illustrata, co' Monumenti e coll' Istoria dal Prelato* Onorato Bres; *Roma*, 1816. [4] Especially a *tessera Hospitalis*, besides the money issued by the people and senate of Malta. Bres, p. 91. [5] Scylax, p. 50. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 339. [7] Polyb. i. p. 53. [8] Ibid. i. p. 22.

Respecting the internal government of these provinces, and the relation in which the Carthaginians stood with the inhabitants, very little information unfortunately can be obtained. If we may judge of the other islands from what we know of Sardinia, the republic garrisoned them with bodies of mercenary troops, commanded by Carthaginian officers. This plan was also adopted in Malta.[1] Its inhabitants, however, could never be entirely brought under the dominion of Carthage; many of them chose rather to retire into their inaccessible fastnesses, and dwell in caves, where the Carthaginians could not approach them: forbidding the introduction or possession of silver and gold lest they should excite the cupidity of their enemies.[2]

V. SPAIN.

Should what has been already said respecting that principle of Carthaginian policy, which led them to confine their conquests within certain bounds, want further confirmation, no country will give it as well as Spain. Carthage possessed for a long time, perhaps centuries, settlements in Spain, and had entered into a close connexion with the tribes which inhabited it, without aiming at a complete conquest of the country, or the subjugation of its inhabitants. She did not venture to take this step till the loss of Sicily and Sardinia pointed it out to her as the only means of preserving herself, and counterbalancing the formidable power of the Romans.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to point out the exact period when the Carthaginians first obtained footing in Spain. Here, as well as in Sicily, they trod in the footsteps of their forefathers the Phœnicians. From time immemorial that people, as has been shown in our inquiries respecting them, made that ancient Mexico the chief object of their voyages, and there formed settlements, some of which afterwards became, in their turn, opulent and powerful states. Who is unacquainted with Gades, Carteja, and Tartessus? South-west Spain, or the country of the Turdetani, the present Andalusia, was the proper territory of Phœnician colonies. Of the history of their settlements, however, such scanty accounts have descended to us, that we can only form a general notion of their government and of their relations as well among themselves as with Carthage. Gades was and continued the principal among them,

[1] When the consul Sempronius took the island in 218, the Carthaginian garrison, under Hamilcar the son of Gisco, was 2000 strong. Livy, xxi. 51.

[2] The inhabitants of the Balearian islands are an example of this. Diodorus, i. p. 342.

and seems to have exercised a kind of authority over the others, or at least to have been the chief of these allied cities. It was likewise the seat of the national god, the Tyrian Hercules. There existed, therefore, a relation between these cities similar to that which existed between Carthage and her neighbouring colonies, and that between Tyre and the towns around her in the parent state. The number of settlements on the coast had also produced an intermixture with the ancient inhabitants; and this had created a mingled race, called *Bastuli*, similar to the Liby-Phœnicians in Africa, whom the inhabitants of the interior would not acknowledge as their brethren.[1] We may see by this, that Gades bore a great similarity to Carthage, although it seems never to have equalled her in power.

It was in the south-western districts that the Carthaginians planted their first settlements in Spain. That this took place at a very early period is rendered probable by their early occupation of the Balearian islands, which certainly were of no use to them but as places to touch at in their intercourse with the peninsula. But the express testimony of Scylax, a contemporary writer who lived in the flourishing period of the republic, renders the fact certain. "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules in Europe," says he, "are found a number of Carthaginian marts."[2] These settlements must, moreover, have caused a further extension and increase of possessions at a very early period, even a considerable time before the commencement of the Roman war. This is incontrovertibly proved by the testimony of Polybius, from whom we learn that the Carthaginians even at that time were not only masters of all the islands of the western Mediterranean,[3] but also of many parts of Spain. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to define accurately how much belonged to them; but from the nature of things we must place their possessions in the southern and western part of the peninsula. There is, however, much room to doubt whether their dominion extended far into the country; for at the commencement of the conquests of Hamilcar Barca in Spain, not even the Tartessians, who dwelt on the banks of the lower Guadalquiver, were under their subjection, but were the first to be attacked.[4] It is, therefore, highly probable that down to this period their dominion there, though equal in extent to that of their forefathers, did not reach far beyond the coast.

[1] See the proofs in Mannert. *Geog.* i. p. 224. [2] Scylax, p. 1. [3] Polyb. i. p. 22. [4] Diodorus, ii. p. 510.

However this might be, they derived great and most important advantages from these colonies. Even their close connexion with the opulent city of Gades was in more than one way beneficial to them. In consequence of the rich silver mines which lay just in its neighbourhood, the price of silver must have been much lower here than in more distant countries where it was not to be found. Hence the Carthaginians opened a market for their own commodities in Spain, and extended themselves all over the country, if not as conquerors, at least as merchants. From here they drew the best of their mercenary troops; and the harbour of Gades served at the same time as a station for their vessels in their distant voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, along the shores of the ocean.

The mines of this country, and the rich treasures they yielded, were nevertheless the great points of attraction. These had already been opened and worked by their forefathers the Phœnicians. Here, then, the way was again ready paved for them; and they most probably attempted, in the infancy of their settlements, to turn these mines to account. Even during their Sicilian and Libyan wars, they were enabled by them, according to the express declaration of Diodorus,[1] to maintain the mighty armies which they at that time raised; and the mines which the Romans at a later period worked, had all been previously opened by the Carthaginians. This, however, does not render the fact less certain that the attempt to conquer the whole country, which was undertaken and prosecuted during the Roman wars, was the principal cause of the working of these mines being carried to its greatest extent; but seems rather, from the nature of things, to confirm it.

It appears, therefore, that the relations of Carthage with Spain, during the whole of her most flourishing period, were altogether of a peaceable nature. She enjoyed all the advantages which this rich country could bestow without risk or expense, and simply because she had sufficient moderation to prefer a quiet intercourse to the glitter of conquest. The silver mines, whether under her dominion or not, were equally beneficial to her; as by the profitable sale of her wares, she received the treasures they produced. The Spanish tribes were her friends and allies, and willingly served in her armies for a moderate pay. Carthage long enjoyed the fruits of this policy; her treasury was filled, and her argosies rode widely undis-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 360.

turbed across the seas. The pressure of circumstances, which time brought about, compelled her to change this policy; but this led to a series of misfortunes which gradually sapped the foundation of the republic, and caused her overthrow. This I shall have opportunities of showing as I proceed.

Respecting the manner of governing the provinces, we have some occasional hints; but nothing like detailed accounts. We glean from the whole, that they were always intrusted to a single person, who was usually called *general* (στρατηγὸς); though this appellation by no means designated merely a military character, and is much better translated by *governor* or *lieutenant*.[1] Such a *strategos*, or commander, was first in Carthage itself.[2] Another was placed over the Carthaginian territory in Libya;[3] and again others are named as having governed in Sicily and Sardinia.[4] It seems also to have been a custom, as might naturally be expected in a state founded by conquest, that the commander of the army should likewise be the governor. Nevertheless, in those provinces which were completely subjugated, and remained tranquil, we find mention of *boetharchs* instead of *strategoi*.[5] This appellation did not exclude military command; and we may therefore doubt whether the difference did not consist rather in the name than in the power of the officer. The authority of the governors in the provinces must have been very great, as with them principally originated the great oppressions, which made the oppressed upon such light occasions revolt.[6]

II. FOREIGN COLONIES.

The foregoing inquiries must already have shown how closely the conquests and colonies of Carthage were connected with each other; the former were generally consequences of the latter. The colonies of the Carthaginians stretched out far beyond their provinces; for even in places where they had no intention of making extensive conquests, as, for example, on the distant coasts of their own continent, they planted, without hesitation, separate settlements whenever their trade and navigation required it.

Colonies, understanding thereby secure ports and harbours

[1] Polyb. i. 179, in this place generally calls the governors στρατηγοί. [2] Ὁ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγὸς, thus Gisco, Polyb. i. 163. [3] Like Hanno, Polyb. i. 166. [4] Polyb. i. 172. [5] Like Bostarus in Sardinia, Polyb. i. 195; and Carthalo in Africa, Appian, *Pun.* 68. [6] Polyb. i. 179. Those governors were most esteemed who exacted the most taxes. Of course we must not understand this in a general sense; nor of all periods.

for vessels, and staple towns for merchandise, are indispensable to every seafaring and commercial nation, whenever their trade extends to remote or uncivilized countries, or perhaps to those whose inhabitants are nomades. In these places the merchant must at least have factories in which to deposit his wares in safety, and the inhabitants a place to which they may bring the produce of their industry, and dispose of it with certainty. Without this it is impossible that trade should be regularly and uninterruptedly carried on, as the time during which the ships are absent cannot otherwise be employed in collecting their lading; not to mention many other advantages belonging to such colonies which must be obvious to every one.

Carthage was under both the forementioned circumstances, and especially the latter. By far the greater part of her commerce was carried on with nations to whom she was greatly superior in civilization. The native tribes of Africa beyond her own dominions were all nomades; the inhabitants of Spain, Gaul, and Liguria, were but little better. It was not, therefore, a mere desire of aggrandizement, which led Carthage to plant colonies; it was necessary to her well being; it was her soundest policy. They were by no means in general intended as the groundwork for future conquest, although in some instances they certainly became so.

No other state of antiquity carried the colonial system to so great an extent as Carthage; and to no other did their colonies remain to the last of so much importance. The state itself was so greatly indebted to them, or was rather so founded upon them, that they were almost necessary to its very existence. Of one kind we have already spoken, namely, the inland; these were intended for agricultural purposes, and to improve and reform the native tribes: what follows relates only to their foreign possessions.

The usual, and probably the general, intention of these foreign settlements was to facilitate and secure to the parent state its intercourse with the countries in which they were planted. Their situation affords a proof of this, as they always fixed upon the coasts, or small islands near the shore. The cause, however, of their foundation, naturally gave rise to certain general principles, which were not only acted upon at their first establishment, but also in their subsequent treatment.

With the planting of their colonies the religious worship of the Carthaginians was closely connected. This arose from the

origin of their own city. They were indeed themselves a colony; and had brought the worship of their national god *Melcarth*, or Heracles, as the Greeks call him, with them; the god of the city and boundaries of Tyre, and consequently also of Carthage. In the same manner that he had obtained a sanctuary at Carthage, was his worship introduced into her foreign settlements; and thus he acquired the appellation of the colonial god.[1] The form of worship here observed, was the tie which bound the colonies to the mother state, as was the case with Carthage, otherwise completely independent, towards Tyre. The greater security of commerce certainly was not less the object. How could this in distant lands, probably among barbarous nations, be better carried on than under the protection of a sacred institution?

Upon the manner in which her colonies were first established and regulated, a considerable light is thrown by one of the most valuable documents that has descended to us from ancient Carthage. I mean the celebrated expedition of Hanno, who, in the most flourishing period of the republic, set sail, with a whole fleet, to plant a chain of settlements on the western coast of Africa, on the shores of the Atlantic ocean, in the present kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and at the same time to make a more distant voyage of discovery along the coasts.[2] He placed, after his return, as a memorial of this enterprise, an inscription in the temple of Cronos, one of the principal temples of Carthage; this was probably translated by a Greek traveller into his native language, and has fortunately descended to us.

From this account it is plain that the Carthaginians on distant coasts, where they wished to establish settlements, erected not merely a single town, but at once a chain of stations. The preparations, therefore, must necessarily have been on an extensive scale. The fleet of Hanno, consisting of sixty ships, did not contain less than 30,000 colonists, including men, women, and children. These he distributed into six towns, containing on an average five thousand inhabitants each. New Carthage, founded at a later period on the Spanish coast, was from the first a large city.[3] In both cases, however, peculiar

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 415. Ἡρακλῆς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς ἀποικοις. An important passage. This does not, however, exclude the establishment of other sanctuaries.

[2] See the translation of these in the Appendix, where also are stated the proofs of the following conjecture. If this Hanno was the son of Hamilcar who fell in Sicily, 480, (see the Appendix upon the genealogy of the ruling houses in Carthage,) then his expedition, as well as his brother Himilco's to the western coast of Iberia for the same object, may perhaps be placed about the year 450; which becomes the more probable, as about this time the Carthaginians were not engaged in any foreign wars that we know of.

[3] Polyb. i. p. 249.

circumstances contributed to the rather extraordinary magnitude of these establishments. New Carthage was intended to be the chief city of the republic in Spain; and it was requisite that the towns founded on the African coast should have the means of defending themselves against the nomad tribes, whom, however, at last they were unable to resist. Otherwise it would scarcely have agreed with the plan of the Carthaginians to found such large settlements at first. Their object did not require them; and if they had not been deterred from founding such by the expense, the difficulty of maintaining them would have been too great.

The colonists which Hanno carried out consisted, as we are expressly informed, of Liby-Phœnicians, and were not chosen from among the citizens of Carthage, but taken from the country inhabitants. Whether this was done that they might carry on agriculture in their new abode, is a point which history leaves doubtful; and it would be rash to judge from its being done on this occasion, that such was the general practice. It is highly probable that in other cases the emigrants were taken from Carthage or the allied cities.

The same motive which led to the foundation of these colonies, naturally made it the anxious care of the parent state to keep them in strict dependence. And in this respect Carthage showed herself superior to all the commercial powers of antiquity who planted colonies. Neither the original Phœnicians, nor the Greek states, were able to maintain their authority for so great a length of time. Their colonies either were or soon became independent; raised themselves often above the mother state; and not unfrequently wrested from her that trade which they ought properly to have protected. From such mortifications Carthage found means to secure herself: and principally by the great advantages she derived from her geographical situation, and her great power both by land and sea. She was placed nearly in the centre of her foreign settlements, and was therefore always nigh at hand in case of need. Her great military and naval force enabled her to maintain a preponderance which rendered it easy for her to keep a careful watch over her colonies, to hold them in subjection, and to repress every revolt in its infancy. None of them, the Sicilian not excepted, among which Panormus was the most considerable,[1] ever attained any great degree of power; much less were they

[1] Polyb. i. 97.

able to cope with Carthage, with whom, indeed, not one of them ever dared to enter the lists.

To what distance their colonies in general extended, cannot now be determined with certainty. Over the more remote, on the shores of the ocean, an obscurity seems to hover which we in vain endeavour to break through. Time, circumstances, and experience, seem, however, even here to have given rise to certain maxims which were never swerved from but in cases of necessity. Their navigation stretched much farther, both along the western coasts of Europe and Africa, than traces of their settlements are now to be found. And here, again, so far as we can judge, they seem willingly to have confined themselves within the rule, which forbade them to extend their colonies farther than they felt they had sufficient power to maintain the dominion of the sea, and thereby to insure themselves the undisturbed possession of their settlements, and the trade belonging to them. This accounts for the phenomenon, that in all their contentions with the Greeks and Etrurians, they scarcely ever lost one of their colonies.

The shores of the western Mediterranean was the principal seat of their settlements; though they were very unequally distributed. The coast of Africa, from the western limits of their proper territory to the Pillars of Hercules, was covered with them, and there they would scarcely have endured a rival. No nation even dared to make the attempt. The places there situated are mentioned, as has already been remarked, under the name of the Metagonitish cities, but seem for the most part to have been rather forts (φρούρια) than towns.

Their connexions and settlements on the southern coast of Spain have been already described.

The shores of Gaul were barred against them. They here came in contact with their hereditary enemies the Phœnicians, who had built Massilia. The inhabitants of that city ruled over a great part of the coast, and were as little inclined to suffer a rival foreign settlement to be made near them, as the Carthaginians were in Africa. Repeated forcible attempts were fruitless; the Massilians could defend themselves by land and sea;[1] and the Carthaginians were compelled to abandon their design of founding a settlement there. They must, however, have formed connexions at a very early period in the interior of the country, as they drew from thence a large

[1] See Justin, xliii. 5; and compare Campomanes *Antiguedad*, etc., ii. p. 23, 24.

portion of their mercenary troops.[1] In the time of the Roman wars, their allies in Celtica are expressly mentioned in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip.

On the shores of Liguria they were better received. Hired troops of this nation were generally found in their armies; they were, besides, united by a common hatred against the Massilians. We do not, however, find that they had any colonies there. The neighbourhood of the Massilians, who had covered a part of the Ligurian coast with their settlements, might have been sufficient to keep them at a distance.

But upon no country, perhaps, were the eyes of Carthage so constantly fixed as upon Italy Proper. Its situation, its fertility, the opulence of its inhabitants, all attracted her attention. Yet we find there no trace of any Carthaginian settlements. The coasts of the whole country were occupied by seafaring and trading nations,—Etrurians, Romans or Latins, and Greeks, all too well acquainted with their own interest to permit it. The Carthaginians seem, however, to have neglected no opportunity by which they could hope to effect their purpose; whence we may account for the many treaties and alliances by which their rivals endeavoured to prevent their approach. Those with Rome have in part been preserved by Polybius, and have already been several times mentioned. A single glance at them will be sufficient to show with what anxious care the Romans provided that their adversaries should build no fort in Latium, nor retain any town which they might previously have occupied. A number of similar treaties with the Etrurians are quoted by Aristotle.[2] It is unnecessary to mention the Greeks of Lower Italy. When, indeed, could Carthaginians and Greeks ever come to an agreement?

But, on the contrary, a clear and extensive field was open to them on the ocean-shores of Africa and Europe. Here there were no competitors to be feared; here there was no one even to limit their possessions: every establishment in these regions might in its turn become a point from which a still more distant commerce might be carried on, of which they could not themselves foresee the extent. An immeasurable ocean and a new world here offered themselves to their enlarging views and enterprising spirit.

The advantages which these held out were not lost upon the

[1] Polyb. i. p. 39. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 9. "The Carthaginians and Etrurians," says he, "have a great many treaties on their mutual rights and alliances."

Carthaginians, who, at a very early period, seized upon, and followed them up, without suffering themselves to be dazzled by their magnitude. However alluring the prospects, they seem never to have permitted their colonial system to extend to a larger circumference than their naval power would enable them to keep in subjection. But we are so insufficiently informed upon this matter, that we cannot safely pronounce any judgment upon their undertakings.

We know, however, with certainty, that their colonies were scattered along the western coasts of Africa and Spain, and were founded at the same period in both quarters of the globe. About the same time that Hanno was sent to the coast of Africa, Himilco, another commander, was sent to explore the western coast of Europe; and his narrative, as well as that of Hanno, was extant in ancient times.[1] It has not, indeed, like that of Hanno, been preserved to us, but very important extracts from it are found in the fragment of a poem come down to us, valuable for the information it gives us of the coasts in the time of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. I mean the *Ora Maritima* of Festus Avienus, in which Himilco is repeatedly quoted as authority,[2] together with the Greek geographers, who were very nearly, or quite contemporary with him. This poem confirms all that we have said in the section on the Phœnicians, as well concerning their settlements, as on the extent and signification of the name of Tartessus. It also becomes clear that the Carthaginians were their successors in this part of the world, and that to a great extent. Both Avienus and Scylax, who likewise made use of Himilco, agree with each other respecting the fact, that many Carthaginian settlements were founded beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[3] Even from the analogy of the voyage of Hanno, who formed a series of settlements on the western coast of Africa, we cannot conclude otherwise than that the commission of Himilco was of equal or similar extent.

When Scylax says, in the beginning of his Periplus, that from the Pillars of Hercules on the European coast, there lay many settlements of the Carthaginians, it certainly is to be

[1] Pliny, H. N. ii. 67. [2] Festi Avieni *Ora Maritima*, (different from his *Descriptio Orbis*,) v. 177, 412, etc. See the translation of the passages in the Appendix, vi.

[3] Scylax, p. 2. Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἐμπόρια πολλὰ Καρχηδονίων, καὶ πηλὸς καὶ πλημμυρίδες καὶ πελάγη. Festus Avienus correctly translates ἀπὸ by *ultra*, v. 375:

Ultra has columnas propter Europæ latus
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam.

understood that they lay *without* the Pillars, as the context informs us that morasses and shallows next follow, which agreed with the common notion of that people, who believed the ocean to be unnavigable, but did not apply to the Mediterranean. And besides, as Gades and the neighbouring Phœnician colonies lay without the Pillars, we may safely conclude that those parts were not unknown or unoccupied by the Carthaginians. Where their settlements were planted, and how far they stretched, we do not exactly know; but we may with certainty affirm that they reached as far as the river Anas (Guadiana) and to the Sacred Promontory (Cape St. Vincent).[1] That the Carthaginians formed establishments on the north coast of Spain, and in the British islands, is indeed proved by no express evidence; but that they visited these shores, especially the Scilly islands, for commercial purposes, will be placed beyond a doubt in the chapter on their navigation and maritime commerce.

The towns built by Hanno on the western coast of Africa, wherever we may separately place them, certainly did not extend beyond the boundaries of Fez and Morocco: the first of them, Thymiaterium, was only two days' sail from the end of the strait, or promontory of Spartel;[2] Scylax mentions it by name.[3] Next to that follows the promontory Soloe, Cape Blanc near Agimur, where was erected a sanctuary to Neptune, (probably a votive offering for their prosperous voyage,) which Scylax describes as a large altar, decorated with bas-reliefs, representing human figures, lions, and dolphins. A day and a half's farther sail to the south, probably in the vicinity of Saffy, along the sea-coast, five towns were built: their names were Caricum Teichos, Gytta, Acra, Melite, and Arambe. The last settlement to the south was founded on the small island Cerne, which must be sought for either near Mogador, or more probably in the bay of Santa Cruz. The name which it bore (but which the Greeks transferred to almost every distant southern island, in the same manner as they did Thule to every distant northern) was given it by Hanno himself. It was only five stadia (about two-thirds of a mile) in circumference, and lay in a bay close to the shore; where it afforded the Carthaginians a convenient emporium, both on account of its security from

[1] Festus Avienus, v. 205, 225. According to him the province of Tartessus extended as far as the Anas. The whole of this coast is full of Phœnician-Carthaginian remains and names of places. From the Anas to the Sacred Promontory dwelt the Cynetes, who are mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 49, as the most westerly people of Europe.

[2] The further illustration of what follows may be seen in the Appendix, on the Periplus of Hanno. [3] Scylax, p. 52, 53.

the attacks of the natives, and as it permitted the approach of the Carthaginian vessels, which were unable to reach the coast itself on account of its shallows.[1]

These colonies of Hanno seem, indeed, to have been the first planted in these regions. No traces are found in his narrative of any settlements having previously existed there; but the whole length of the coast is described as a new discovery, which he extended beyond the Senegal, as he pushed his discoveries much farther than he founded settlements. The ultimate fate of the latter is wrapt in obscurity; in the time of the Roman wars they had ceased to exist, and had probably fallen a prey to the nomad tribes.

But if, as we shall presently see, the navigation and intercourse with these regions were, at least for a considerable time, kept up, it will not be surprising that some of the western islands should become known to the Carthaginians. Such express evidence is preserved of this, that we cannot doubt of the fact in general, although some obscurity still rests as to particulars. The Phœnicians had, indeed, as Diodorus informs us,[2] discovered an island in the ocean, many days' sail to the west of Libya, the romantic description of which almost forces upon our remembrance some of the Fortunate Islands of the South Sea, which have lately been made known to us. All that Diodorus tells us of its being situated at a considerable distance in the ocean, of its nature, of its plentiful streams and rivers, of its productions, and especially of its great variety of trees, agrees with no other island so well as Madeira.[3] The general information spread abroad respecting it, made the Etrurians, then a formidable maritime power, desirous of possessing it. But the Carthaginians, treading in this respect, as

[1] Scylax, p. 54. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 345.

[3] Quite the contrary is the case with regard to the Canary Islands, to which we might at first apply it; and it agrees with them least of all in the number of streams, even navigable rivers, of which Diodorus speaks. These islands lack water; while in Madeira we reckon seven rivers, besides numerous brooks. It may be asked whether the Carthaginians were likewise acquainted with the Canary Islands. A passage in F. Avienus's *Description of the Coasts*, not only seems to point towards them, but I think I can trace therein a certain allusion to Teneriffe and its volcano. Beyond the Pillars, says he, v. 164, etc., lies an island,

> —on ocean's bosom spread,
> Where varying herbs in wild profusion grow.
> Sacred to Saturn is the land esteemed;
> And nature's power is there terrific seen;
> For when by chance the mariner draws nigh
> The coast, the ambient waters rage around,
> The island shakes and starts among the waves
> And deeply trembles—while the ocean lies
> Calm in the distance, silent and unmoved.

Can an island in which a volcano rages be better pictured in words? Its being dedicated to Saturn shows plainly that it was occupied by the Carthaginians. We shall become acquainted with him, as we advance, as one of their principal deities.

well as others, in the footsteps of their forefathers, would not allow it. They guarded the island with their own peculiar jealousy. When, indeed, the settlements from Carthage began to be numerous, they not only prohibited the entrance of the Etrurians, but, according to another account,[1] exterminated even the ancient inhabitants. They set a higher value upon this island because, according to Diodorus, they regarded it as a place of refuge in case of need: that at the first appearance of decay in the mighty Carthage, this island might shelter its inhabitants, and a new Carthage rise here in the midst of the ocean. Unfortunate people! They foreboded the fall of their empire, whose frail support they felt shake beneath them: but their protecting genius drove from their imagination the lugubrious idea that they should be buried under its ruins.[2]

CHAP. III. *The government of Carthage.*

ARISTOTLE, who possessed so accurate a knowledge of the different constitutions of his age, mentions it as a merit in the Carthaginian government, that it had at that time undergone no very great change, either from the civil broils of its citizens, or the usurpation of tyrants.[3] He justly considers this as a proof of its judicious organization; and an inquiry into it would, on that score alone, deserve attention, even if the state with which it is connected did not, on so many other accounts, justly claim it. To give, indeed, what the historical inquirer would naturally wish for, an historical development of the Carthaginian government throughout all the periods of the republic, our want of information renders impossible. But few accounts have descended to us, and even these few we dare not make use of without mistrust. The foreign historians of this republic rarely extend their research into its internal affairs; and when they do, the form of the Roman government floats continually before their eyes; they compare silently, and often imagine that they find a similarity because they look for it. The names of the Roman magistrates are given to the Carthaginian, and, together with the name, its attributes; although the nature of things tells us that the corresponding situation of the magistrates among a commercial and a warlike people

[1] Aristot. *de Mirab.* cap. 85, *ed. Beckm.* Compare the passage with the corrections of Heyne. [2] Polyb. ii. 598. Ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων.
[3] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. See the translation of the chapter in the Appendix.

must be very different. The inquiry is thus rendered exceedingly difficult, and if we would at all succeed in our object, we must not number the authorities, but weigh them. The first place among the historians is due, without contradiction, to Polybius. He was best acquainted with the constitution, is accurate, and the most uniform in his expressions. His authority, where we can quote it, is in my opinion decisive, whether confirmed by the agreement of others or not. Diodorus and Appian are certainly inferior to him, yet not so much so as Livy and Justin. We make use of them only where Polybius fails us. Fortunately, however, historians in this part of our labour are not the only source of information. In addition to them we have Aristotle, who, in his treatise on politics, has devoted a whole chapter to the constitution of Carthage.[1] To him we are indebted for the most valuable, and at the same time the most faithful particulars; and the following remarks are for the most part founded upon his statements.

The Carthaginian state had, in common with Rome, Athens, Sparta, and the other most celebrated republics of antiquity, the general character of having a single city for its head. And although all parts of the empire did not stand in an equal relation towards the capital, they were, nevertheless, in some degree subordinate to it; and the citizens of Carthage formed the ruling body. However great, therefore, the dominions of this city might become, the government still remained municipal, and must as such be considered. But since the compass of our inquiry confines us to the burghers of this city, it becomes of so much the greater importance that we should form a clear conception not only of what is properly called their constitution, but also respecting their civil relations in general, the classes of the citizens, their sources of profit, etc. These taken together will enable us to estimate with tolerable accuracy the civilization of this people.

Carthage was from the beginning a trading city, and it was undoubtedly by trade that she raised herself to opulence and

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. How much better still should we have been informed if his lost treatise on governments had been preserved. That of Carthage was explained therein. In his Politics this was not his object, but only to show how far the Carthaginian constitution corresponded with the advance which man, according to his system, may make towards a good government. A complete and detailed explanation of it cannot therefore be here expected. The treatise of Theodorus Metochita belonging to the fourteenth century, *περὶ Καρχηδόνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτείας*, was not published till after the third edition of this work, in his *Miscellanea philosophica et historica, Græce, Lips.* 1821; and reprinted and explained by Professor Kluge, at the end of his *Aristoteles de Politia Carthaginiensium*. It is, however, not so much an investigation as a characteristic of the Carthaginian government, mostly from known sources, yet not altogether without new matter.

power. It is, nevertheless, a mistaken notion to suppose the Carthaginians a mere nation of merchants; the foregoing observations have in some measure already shown in what esteem they held the cultivation of the soil as well as commerce. Nature did not lavish upon them her treasures in vain. The establishment of so many inland colonies, appropriated solely to agriculture, is at once a decided proof of the fact. They left not, however, this branch of industry to be carried on in the colonies alone, but followed it themselves. All accounts agree in praising the high state of cultivation found in the neighbourhood of Carthage. "The territory through which Agathocles led his army after their landing," says Diodorus,[1] "was covered with gardens and large plantations, every where intersected by canals, by which they were plentifully watered. A continual succession of landed estates was there seen, adorned with elegant buildings, which betrayed the opulence of their owners. These dwellings were furnished with every thing requisite for the enjoyment of man; the proprietors having accumulated immense stores during the long peace. The lands were planted with vines, with palms, and many other fruit trees. On one side were meadows filled with flocks and herds, and on the lower grounds ranged troops of brood mares. In short the whole prospect displayed the opulence of the inhabitants: the highest rank of Carthaginians had possessions here, and vied with one another in pomp and luxury." Fifty years later, when they were invaded by the Romans under Regulus, Polybius draws a similar picture of this district.[2] A number of elegant villas were upon that occasion destroyed, an immense booty obtained in cattle, and above 20,000 slaves carried off. And in general, says this writer in another place,[3] the Carthaginians drew their private income from their own landed property; the public revenue from the provinces. It is, moreover, a well-known fact, that the science of agriculture in its widest range, and in all its parts, was so well handled by them in their writings, that the Romans did not think them unworthy to be translated into their own language.[4]

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 411. [2] Polyb. i. p. 76. [3] Ibid. p. 177.

[4] Plin. xviii. 3. When the Romans, says he, took Carthage, they gave the libraries found there (consequently there were some) to the native princes; namely, to their allies in Numidia. And this throws a light upon the manner in which the works of the Carthaginian historians had come into the possession of King Hiempsal (see above, p. 1). The works of Mago alone, one of the kings or suffetes of Carthage, upon agriculture, in twenty-eight books, was translated into Latin by D. Silanus. The fragments of it preserved to us by Pliny are sufficient to show us that it treated in full detail upon all kinds of husbandry, agriculture, planting, breeding of cattle, etc. See a translation of them in the Appendix. It

They in fact appear to have even attached more importance to agriculture than to commerce. In scarcely any part of the ancient world did the merchant hold the highest rank, and probably not in Carthage. It is plain from what has been already said, that families of the first rank were in possession of large estates, from whose produce they drew their income; while, on the contrary, there is not a single trace in the whole history of the republic of their being concerned in trade. Aristotle certainly informs us, that their magistrates were not prevented from engaging in trade;[1] but the expression is so vague that it may as well be understood of the produce of their lands and their mines, which in part belonged to private individuals, or with still greater probability of the usurious interest on loans. In whatever way, however, we may explain this passage, it is evident, from the whole tenor of their history, that commerce was not the usual occupation of the higher ranks of Carthaginians. It seems more probable that it was their common custom, as one of the following chapters, on their military system, will show, to devote themselves to a martial life; particularly as the military state is expressly distinguished from that of the merchant.[2]

The government of Carthage was the work of time and circumstances. An express legislation by which the rights and relations of the constitutional authorities were defined is no where mentioned. And if we consider this rightly, it will immediately appear that nothing was more firmly established or accurately determined in the Carthaginian constitution than in the Roman; consequently the government could not come to maturity at once. Probably, therefore, the constitution was perfected by degrees, chiefly by internal broils, of which some slight traces are found in the early history of the state; custom and usage was the sanction which made it legal. A monarchical government is usually given to Carthage at its foundation; this afterwards became changed, we know not how or when, into a republic. That this really happened is stated, though only incidentally, by Aristotle.[3] This opinion, however, only rests upon an uncertain tradition respecting a Queen Dido, who is generally supposed to have been a princess of unlimited au-

cannot then be doubted, even if the above mention of libraries fail to prove it, that there existed a Carthaginian literature; that it was supported by the great of Carthage; and that it was certainly not merely a poetical one, but rather a prosaic. A work so extensive as that of Mago could neither be the first nor the only one.

[1] Aristot. v. 12. Ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς χρηματίζεσθαι.

[2] Diodorus, ii. p. 450.

[3] Aristot. *Polit.* v. 12.

thority.[1] But, without doubt, Carthage adopted, after the custom of all the colonies of ancient times, the constitution of her parent state; and, notwithstanding she might thereby give herself what were called kings, yet, as will be seen under the head of Phœnicia, this government was by no means despotic.

However this may have been, all accounts agree that an aristocracy arose, which soon obtained that strength and solidity which form the striking feature of that kind of government, distinguished, however, by many institutions peculiar to itself.

During the flourishing period of the republic, and even as late as the Roman wars, it remained unshaken; two attempts to overthrow it passing over with little or no effect.[2] The foreign policy of Carthage was the counterpart of her domestic government. While the latter remained firmly established, the former remained equally secure. The constant prosecution of the same plans for many centuries, a willing limitation of her conquests, and a moderation even in the midst of fortune, are all characteristic features of a temperate aristocracy, and are incompatible with a democratic government. The prevailing projects remained as it were hereditary in the ruling families; and as these became changed by the wars with Rome, a reaction upon the internal relations of the state followed, as an almost unavoidable consequence, for they were too closely connected not to be mutually influenced by each other. The all-dissolving hand of time, and the corruption of the national character by avarice and immoderate wealth, helped also to effect this change; but it is probable that the careful and bustling activity of aristocratic policy would have found means to prop up the tottering fabric of the state, if the internal shocks had not been assisted by violence from without.

But what was the form of this aristocracy? Did it give Carthage an hereditary nobility? And if so, what were its rights and privileges? These are questions of very high importance, but which cannot be answered without great difficulty.

If we take hereditary nobility in the stricter sense of the word—that is, if we understand by it a number of families who, by their birth alone, had an exclusive right to the administration of government, such as was possessed by the patricians in the early days of Rome, and by the *nobili* in Venice

[1] That there was also another fable besides that of Dido, according to which Zorus and Carchedon were the founders, we learn from Appian, viii. 1.

[2] Aristot. and Polyb. ii. cc. The first attempt was made by a senator named Hanno, and another by Bomilcar; both of which failed. Justin, l. c.

—there remains no proof that such an hereditary nobility with hereditary rights existed in Carthage. But there are many degrees between so powerful an aristocracy as this and complete political equality; and although there may be no evidence of an hereditary nobility in Carthage similar to the one here described, yet it may, on the other side, be very easily proved that a perfect political equality was still further distant. From the want of a fixed constitution, with its fundamental laws reduced to writing, everything had here been effected by circumstances and relations to which time and place had given birth. In a rich commercial city wealth had naturally the greatest influence. As in Carthage the magisterial office conferred honour without revenue,[1] and as it nevertheless must have brought with it a great expense, it follows of course that it could only be administered by the opulent. Rich families, therefore, although they might have no hereditary claim, procured one by their wealth, which was not less valid while it lasted. Riches, however, were not always alone sufficient. "The magistrates of Carthage," says Aristotle, "were chosen on account of their property, their worth, and their popularity."[2] The latter was essential, as the elections in Carthage depended, in a great measure, on the people. Authority flowed from personal superiority of every description. Birth might assist in obtaining it, but could not give it alone. Even noble families, if they sunk into poverty, lost it. But of all qualifications, none would be so powerful in a conquering state as military renown; and even from the scanty remains of Carthaginian history which are left, we may gather sufficient evidence to prove that it was chiefly at the beginning of what may be called the Period of Conquest, that great and noble families raised themselves to such a pitch, as to excite the jealousy of the state.

It was not, therefore, so much a real hereditary nobility that composed the aristocracy of Carthage, as a number of *optimate families*.[3] The number of these families cannot now be ascertained with anything like certainty; it could not always have been the same; but it is evident that sometimes a single

[1] Aristot. l. c. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* v. 7; ii. p. 280, "Οπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἴς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν, καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ὡύτη ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἐστι. And ii. 2, Οὐ μόνον ἀριστίνδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. The ἀριστίνδην of Aristotle does not signify birth, but personal merit, of whatever sort it might be, which procured for its possessor general esteem.

[3] It bears the appellation of ἔνδοξοι, Polyb. i. 118; of ἐπιφανέστατοι, Diodorus, ii. 399; of *Nobiles*, Livius, xxii. 58, and such like.

family maintained for a long period so high a degree of authority, that the generals and principal magistrates were taken chiefly from it. The house of Mago, the first conquerors in Sicily and Sardinia, affords a striking example of this. From the genealogy of this house, so far as it can now be collected from the fragments which remain of ancient writers,[1] it is clear that for at least four generations (a full century, if not more) it gave generals to Carthage; and even the repeated misfortunes of some of its members did not take from it this privilege.

But however great the power and influence of such families might have been, it remains, nevertheless, certain that the government never became a pure aristocracy, but always contained a mixture of democracy, though that democracy was very limited. Both Polybius[2] and Aristotle[3] agree in placing the government of Carthage among the mixed forms, although the aristocratic element predominated. A closer inquiry into the rights of the people, the nature and power of the senate, concerning the magistrates and their business, as well as the formation of the courts of justice, will give us a deeper insight into the internal organization of the state, and perhaps as deep a one as the scarcity of materials will allow.

Aristotle and Polybius both mention the Spartan government as that which bore the greatest resemblance to the Carthaginian in most of its principal parts; the latter also compares it with that of Rome as it existed in his time, when as yet no demagogue had broken the power of the senate.[4] Although we must beware of following these comparisons too far in particulars, as the great difference in the manners and habits of the two nations will sufficiently teach us, they nevertheless serve, taken together, as the groundwork of many important inquiries; and by employing them we become immediately convinced that the power of the people in Carthage was more moderate than could otherwise have been supposed.

The rights which they possessed were exercised, as we learn from many examples, in their public assemblies; of the internal organization of which we, however, know nothing, as we are altogether ignorant of the way in which the people or citi-

[1] See the Appendix. [2] Polyb. ii. p. 562. The government of Carthage seems also to have been originally well contrived with regard to those general forms that have been mentioned. For there were kings in this government, together with a senate, which was vested with aristocratical authority. The people likewise enjoyed the exercise of certain powers that were appropriated to them. In a word, the entire frame of the republic very much resembled those of Rome and Sparta. [3] Aristot. ii. 11. [4] Aristot. et Polyb. l. c.

zens were divided and classed. Even respecting the extent of their rights we can only give probabilities. We only know for certain, that whatever was brought before the people was first deliberated upon in the senate; how otherwise could the aristocracy have maintained their authority. What, however, was brought before the people we cannot precisely determine. The principal question is, what part had the people in the election of magistrates? Many of these, kings and generals in particular, we know were elected; and so far as we can judge from single examples, the nomination was first made in the senate, and afterwards brought to the people for their confirmation.[1] Although the election, therefore, was not entirely in the hands of the people, they nevertheless acted a principal part in them. This important right kept the leading families in a continual dependence on the people, whose favours they could not do without. But in a state so rich as Carthage these elections would easily produce bribery; which, even in the time of Aristotle, was become so common, that he expressly says, the highest offices in Carthage were bought and sold.

Besides this, another right which was enjoyed by the people, as we can affirm with certainty on the testimony of Aristotle,[2] was that of deciding in all cases upon which the senate and kings could not agree: and when these were brought before them, they not only possessed the power of adopting or rejecting them, but also of deliberating upon them; as every one was at liberty to attack or defend them.[3] Lastly, we find many examples of state affairs of high importance, such as declarations of war and treaties of peace, being brought before the people for their sanction, after having been discussed by the senate,[4] although this does not seem to have been absolutely necessary.[5]

The highest political body of the republic, and upon which devolved the management of all affairs of state, was the senate; and there seems no doubt but that during the flourishing pe-

[1] Hannibal was thus named general, Polyb. iii. 419. Another example of the nomination of the people, which does not however exclude the previous one by the senate, is found in Polyb. i. 206. So, on the contrary, we find the nomination of the senate did not exclude the confirmation by the people, Diodorus, ii. 399. The usual expression of Polybius is, *the Carthaginians elected*, which seems to be used intentionally as including both the senate and people.

[2] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. [3] Aristot. l. c. [4] Polyb. iii. 490, 493, and the principal passage in the speech of Scipio, 508, which leaves no room for doubt. Also Diodorus, i. p. 679. [5] Examples of the contrary are found in Polyb. i. p. 456. Diodorus, ii. p. 412. They are, however, rather specious than real, as from the mere silence of the people it cannot be concluded that they were not consulted. Might it not, also, during the period in which the power of the senate became absolute, as was the case in Rome, have become little more than a mere form?

riod of the republic, previous to the commencement of the wars with Rome, that assembly held in its own hand the whole power of the government. Respecting its internal organization the writers of antiquity are silent, and, as they had occasion so frequently to mention it, we may judge from their silence how little attention they paid to the study of the Carthaginian government. Indeed, whether the senate was merely a chosen body of the citizens, from time to time renewed; or a permanent assembly; whether it was in the power of every citizen to become a member of it, and how many enjoyed this privilege; and finally, by whom the senators were elected; are all questions of high importance, but which, for want of more information, can only very unsatisfactorily be answered.

That the senate of the republic was not periodically renewed from among the citizens, but a permanent assembly, admits of no doubt; otherwise it could not have acquired the solidity which secured it the government of the republic; and Polybius would have been as little able to compare it with the Roman senate as Aristotle with the Spartan. But whether it filled up its own body, or whether, as in Rome, the having filled certain offices opened the entrance to it, or whether new members were elected from the people, there unfortunately remain only very imperfect accounts. We are no better informed respecting the number of its members. Perhaps it was not legally fixed. There are, however, data from which we may conclude that they amounted to a considerable number, and probably, as in Rome, to several hundreds. We find numerous deputations of its members sent forth;[1] many others were absent with armies as commissioners; besides which, a considerable number was requisite for the preservation of its dignity and authority.

The name usually given to the senate by the Greek writers, and which they also applied to the Romans, was *gerusia*. This term is frequently used as synonymous with that given to the council of state (σύγκλητος);[2] and sometimes with the *synedrium*.[3] We learn, however, from more precise writers that those appellations were not synonymous; and this throws an important light upon the internal organization of the Carthaginian senate, which contained within itself a smaller and a larger council. The former, or more select council, was called

[1] In Polyb. i. p. 215, a deputation of thirty members to reconcile Hamilcar and Hanno. Again in Livy, xxx. 16.

[2] As for example in Diodorus, i. p. 679, and many others. [3] Polyb. i. p. 480.

gerusia, and the latter *synkletos*, and both these were sometimes included under the name of *synedrium*. Thus we find in two passages of Polybius, the *gerusia* and *synkletos* expressly distinguished from one another. In the army of Mago in Italy, two out of the *gerusia* and fifteen out of the council were taken prisoners.[1] When Rome obliged the Carthaginians to give up three hundred young men as hostages, they were partly to be taken from the sons of the *gerusia* and partly from those of the council.[2] Diodorus also makes a distinction between them in more than one passage.[3] It is therefore evident that a distinction must have existed; and from the proportion which the number of prisoners above mentioned bear to each other, it seems plain that the members of the council were more numerous than those of the senate, or *gerusia*. We may, therefore, consider the latter as composed of a selection, as its name implies, of the senior or most worthy members; for in it, as is shown by a great number of examples, the most important affairs were first debated. This is placed beyond a doubt by a passage of Livy:[4] "The Carthaginians were so dismayed at the capture of Syphax, that they refused to listen to any one who advised a continuance of hostilities, and sent thirty of their principal elders, as ambassadors, to solicit peace. With them," continues the historian, "the select council is held in the highest reverence, and enjoys a paramount control over the senate itself." The relation in which the *gerusia* stood to the larger council, may doubtless be drawn from this fact: they were not two completely separate assemblies, for the members of the *gerusia* belonged also to the larger council, and we have therefore very properly called it a select council. This is also confirmed by the manner in which they transacted business; for we learn from many examples, that state affairs were first laid before the *gerusia*, and after having been deliberated upon there, were brought before the larger assembly.

Respecting the origin of this select council, an account is preserved to us in Justin which gives us a deep insight into the Carthaginian government. "When the house of Mago," says he,[5] "became dangerous to a free state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators, who, upon the return

[1] Polyb. iii. p. 228. [2] Polyb. iv. p. 671. But in another place Polybius calls the senate σύγκλητος, see iii. p. 490. [3] Diodorus, ll. cc.

[4] Liv. xxx. 16. Oratores ad pacem petendam mittant triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos consilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. What Livy calls the *senatus* is therefore the larger council, the σύγκλητος; the *seniores*, on the contrary (the *gerusia*) the smaller. [5] Justin, xix. 2.

of generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they, being thereby kept in awe, should so bear themselves in their command in the war, as to have regard to the laws and judicature at home." From this passage it is clear that the *hundred* were selected from the more extensive assembly of the senate; and the number of its members is also determined. The subsequent history of Carthage sufficiently shows that it remained a permanent assembly, as does also the severity, and often cruelty, with which it treated unsuccessful commanders, who sometimes chose rather to lay violent hands upon themselves, than submit to its rigour.[1] This assembly was, from its first formation, a high court of judicature and state tribunal; and to it was confided the care of maintaining the existing government. An institution such as this is quite in the spirit of an aristocratical republic, in which a comprehensive system of police is the main support of the government; it is however too apt to degenerate into espionage and tyranny, as did the council of ten, and the state-inquisition connected with it, at Venice. The influence of individual members of an aristocracy, especially when invested with military command, soon excites the jealousy of the other rulers; such a tribunal[2] as this, therefore, is not so much raised against the people as against the aristocracy itself. It is likewise easy to comprehend how an institution like this would go beyond the purpose for which it was originally designed; and as a natural consequence, that the most important affairs of state would ere long be first transacted in it. This is corroborated by the testimony of Aristotle, who calls the council of the hundred the highest tribunal in the state. It is true that he does not expressly say that this council was the same as the *gerusia*, nor on the other hand does he contradict it; and it seems therefore rather to follow from the expression just recited that it was, as we cannot see in what sense a centumvirate like this could have stood superior to the *gerusia*. But the formidable power necessarily under the command of a state-tribunal of this kind, elevated as it is above all that is great and powerful, and, what is almost inseparable from it in whatever form it may appear, even though its primary institution may be merely to repress luxury, the erecting itself into a censorship of public morals,[3] render it frequently dangerous

[1] Diodorus, ii. 412. [2] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

[3] The censorship of morals in Carthage was very rigid. A single magistrate was appointed to the office, whose power was so great that he even reprimanded and checked the general

to that liberty which it is its peculiar duty to protect. This was the course which affairs took in Carthage. During the flourishing periods of the republic, the council certainly answered the end for which it was designed: the prevention of domestic revolutions in the state. Only two attempts of this kind are known to us, both of which failed;[1] and the great and permanent solidity which is universally ascribed to the Carthaginian government, was in some measure owing to this institution. In the latter period of the republic, however, its power degenerated into oppressive despotism, as will be shown in the last chapter of this inquiry.

As regards the internal organization of this council, we have a little more information. Its members, according to Aristotle, discharged the duties of their office without fee or reward. They were elected; yet neither by the people nor the larger senate, but by the *pentarchies*, or councils of five. What these were it is difficult to discover. They are only mentioned by Aristotle; but then it is with the addition that they managed many and the most important affairs of government, and that they filled up their own number. There were therefore not one, but several *pentarchies;* each of them, as the name implies, composed of five members. Aristotle adds that the members of these continued in office for a very long time; as it was necessary that they should hold some office before they could be elected into a *pentarchy*, which still they retained after they ceased to belong to that body.[2] Such is the sum of our information, which, though thus limited, affords some idea of the general character of these bodies. They were committees to which various and indeed the most important branches of the government were intrusted. What these branches were cannot be affirmed with certainty; but it is highly probable that the administration of finance, etc. were among them. It is not, however, probable that the government of the provinces fell within the number of their duties.[3] From all that we know of the Carthaginian state, and from what we have already stated, it appears that these were always confided to individual governors; and never to a council.—Again, it is certain that the *pen-*

Hamilcar, as he interdicted him from following a suspicious connexion. Corn. Nepos, Amilcar, c. 3. If this magistrate was not a magistrate of the *gerusia*, he certainly stood in a close connexion with it.

[1] The one already mentioned by Hanno, B. C. 340, which Aristotle knew of; and that by Bomilcar, Diodorus ii. 437, who did not die till 306, therefore after Aristotle's time.

[2] Aristot. l. c. [3] Kluge, *ad Aristotelem*, p. 120, etc. The reason which the author brings forward is the analogy of the ten men of Sparta; this, however, can have no great weight, as these were only military magistrates.

tarchies were closely connected with the *gerusia*, whose members they even elected. It seems indeed probable that they themselves were nothing more than committees chosen from the *gerusia;* for if all affairs of importance first came before that council, is it to be supposed that they would have transferred the management of them to any but members of their own body? This also best explains the statement of Aristotle, that the members of the *pentarchies* remained very long in office, and took part in the government; because they must previously have belonged either to the *gerusia*, or at least to the larger senate, and afterwards have again become members of the *gerusia*. Although many of the above statements rest only upon conjecture, they appear to be highly probable; not merely from their agreement with all the other written accounts, but because they also are most in unison with the aristocratic character of the government, which nearly approached to an *oligarchy*.

The duties of the Carthaginian senate, including both the larger and smaller body, seem, upon the whole, to have been of the same nature and extent as those of the Roman. There is no doubt that all business relating to foreign affairs were under its management. The official reports were delivered to it by the kings, who presided.[1] It received foreign ambassadors; it deliberated upon all matters of state; and its authority was then so great that it decided even upon war and peace: although, as a matter of form, the question was sometimes laid before the people.[2] Its power, therefore, seems to have been unlimited, so long as its decisions agreed with that of the *suffetes*. In this case it alone had the power of deciding whether the matter should be laid before the people.[3] It was only when these two branches of the government could not agree, that it was left for the people to determine.[4] The senate consequently held the greater part of the legislative power in its hands; nothing being brought before the people upon which it had not first deliberated; and the senate then determined whether or not it should be laid before the popular assembly. That to its care was confided the welfare and security of the city, and that it had the supreme direction of the public revenue, is probable

[1] Polybius, i. p. 456. [2] Polybius, i. p. 81, 456; iii. 498. Diodorus, i. p. 412, 450; ii. p. 574, 679.

[3] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11; Joh. v. Müller, *Univ. Hist.* vol. i. p. 105, is in error when he says that the pentarchy and the senate agreed on the questions which were to be submitted to the people. This is in direct opposition to the testimony of Aristotle, who speaks of the unanimity of the kings and the senate. [4] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

from what has been said of the *gerusia*. They belonged essentially to the character of the aristocracy.

Aristotle, in comparing the Carthaginian with the Spartan constitution, finds another similarity, viz. between the *public meals of the companies*[1] and the Phiditia. But that the *syssitia* or clubs at Carthage were very different from the public tables of Sparta, in which all the citizens, and even the kings, were obliged to share, is however evident. How, in one of the most populous commercial cities of the world, which even at its fall numbered 700,000 inhabitants, composed of every variety and mixture of ranks, could such a regulation exist? On the other hand, social unions among the ruling class (which might perhaps have had some political tendency) are completely in the spirit of an aristocratical republic; and in a city so rich as Carthage they would become connected, if not always, yet occasionally, with public banquets. Such assemblies I understand by the companies of Aristotle, and not a general division of the people. In free states political parties are naturally formed, and we know that there was no want of them in Carthage. The members of such parties required meetings unrestrained by ceremony or form, (perhaps like the Whig club in England,) where they might come to an understanding among themselves; and from modern history we know, that in such political clubs determinations are often formed beforehand, which afterwards are sanctioned in the legitimate assemblies. How far this was the case at Carthage we cannot say with certainty; but traces of it are plainly to be discovered in its history. Deliberations among the nobles without form, or in secret, are repeatedly mentioned by Polybius.[2] The evidence of Livy is still more to the purpose, in the passage where he states, that the plans and negotiations of Aristo, with the Barcine party, when sent to Carthage by the fugitive Hannibal, were debated first in societies and at banquets, and afterwards in the senate.[3] But we obtain most light upon this subject from a passage in the above-mentioned work of Theodorus Metochita. "The Carthaginians," says he, "transacted their state affairs by night; and in the evening and at night time held their meetings and societies." That this cannot be understood of the regular meetings of the senate and people, which certainly were held by day and not by night, may be shown by many examples. If they were held by night, it was

[1] Τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν. [2] Polyb. iii. p. 83; iv. 639. [3] Livy, xxxiv. 61.

because the affairs required secrecy.[1] It can therefore only be understood of social meetings such as clubs or private societies; and which, in so hot a climate, might very naturally take place in the evening or night, and be connected with feasting; without our concluding therefrom that they were secret assemblies. These must not be confounded with the public entertainments which some of the nobles gave to the people.[2]

At the head of the senate and republic were the kings, as they are called by the Greek writers; the Romans usually compare them with their consuls; their proper name was *suffetes*.[3] All that we know positively respecting them is that they were elected, and elected from the principal families; that they had the highest place in the senate, before whom they laid the subjects to be discussed; and that, on the whole, they possessed a high degree of power and influence.[4] Thus far we learn expressly from Aristotle; all beyond is left to conjecture. As Aristotle compares them with the Spartan kings, and Polybius with the Roman consuls,[5] and both speak of them in the plural number, it certainly seems highly probable that there were always two reigning at the same time. That this was in fact the case we are not expressly informed by any contemporary writer,[6] and those of later date have here but little authority; we might, indeed, be led to adopt the contrary supposition because only one king is frequently spoken of;[7] though this is not conclusive that there was not also a second. The same uncertainty exists respecting the duration of their office. It has generally been believed from the analogy of the Roman consuls, that they were changed every year; but little dependence is to be placed on the testimony of Nepos,[8] upon which this opinion rests, as this writer is drawing a parallel between them and the Roman magistrates. On the other hand, there are strong reasons for supposing the contrary to be the case. Thus the name of kings, (βασιλεῖς,) by which the Greeks distinguished them, would indicate rather a ruler for

[1] As the secret audience which the senate were obliged to give the ambassadors of Perseus. Liv. xli. 27.

[2] On this point I cannot concur in the opinion of Kluge upon Aristot. p. 45, though I agree otherwise with his view of the Syssitia. The account of the banquet of Hanno, (Justin, xxi. 4,) intended for the purpose of bringing about a revolution in the state, has nothing to do with our subject. It was altogether of a different kind.

[3] Liv. xxx. 7; Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat. Festus: Suffes, consul lingua Pœnorum. The Schophetim of the Hebrews.

[4] Aristot. l. c. [5] Polyb. ii. p. 562. [6] See Corn. Nep. Hannib. cap. 7.

[7] As in Polyb. i. p. 456, 478. [8] Corn. Nep. l. c.

life than one annually elected.[1] Besides, Aristotle, in comparing them with the Spartan kings, finds only *one* difference of importance between them; namely, that in Sparta the dignity was hereditary in two families, whilst in Carthage it depended upon election. Now had the Carthaginian kings been renewed yearly, would Aristotle have neglected to note so striking a difference? Would he, in short, have been justified in making the comparison at all? The same inference may be drawn from an expression of Polybius. "In Hannibal's army," says he, "was Hanno, the son of king Bomilcar."[2] Would he have thus distinguished him if his father had only been king for one year? The question, however, is decided, in my opinion, by a passage in the newly-discovered work of Cicero, *De Re Publica*.[3] In this he compares the kings of Carthage with those of Rome, and contrasts them with the magistrates who were afterwards annually elected. How could he have done this if he had not been assured that this dignity continued for life?

It is sometimes stated of particular kings of the Carthaginians, "that they ruled according to law."[4] Whether this expression refers to the legitimacy of their power or its restriction by law, or whether it denotes the king who administered affairs at home, as opposed to the one who acted as general abroad,[5] I dare not venture to decide.

Next to the rank of king, that of general was the highest in the republic. "In elections," says Aristotle,[6] "and especially in those of the highest offices, such as kings and generals, respect is paid to the two qualifications of rank and wealth." It appears, therefore, that its government in one particular had a great superiority over the Roman. It kept distinct the military and civil power. The dignity of king and general was not regularly united, though several examples show that these offices were not incompatible with each other. But then the king could not enjoy the latter without the command being expressly conferred upon him.[7] At the close of the campaign his powers expired; and previously to a new one, a fresh nomination was necessary.[8] There are also examples of generals being made kings during their command.[9] That other foreign

[1] Although the second archon in Athens bore the title of *βασιλεὺς*, (king,) it happened, as is well known, because he had under his care the *sacra* of the ancient kings, and so far he stood in their place. [2] Polyb. i. 478. [3] Cicero, *de Repub.* ii. 23. [4] Diodorus, i. p. 685; ii. p. 574, *κατὰ νόμους βασιλέυων*. [5] Kluge, *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 92. [6] Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11. [7] Diod. i. p. 574. The elder Hannibal, ii. p. 14. Upon king Mago was conferred the command in Sicily. [8] Diod. ii. p. 412. [9] Diod. i. p. 685.

expeditions were also intrusted to the kings, is shown by the voyage of Hanno for the establishment of colonies on the western coast of Africa; who is expressly called king of the Carthaginians. At the same time we often meet with generals who were not kings; and Aristotle is therefore right in distinguishing them. Hannibal, in his treaty with Philip, calls himself general, and not king.[1] It would be superfluous to bring forward other examples.

The election of generals according to regular order first took place in the *gerusia*, and afterwards was brought before the senate and people.[2] If the army took upon themselves to nominate one of their commanders, it must only be considered an exception to the rule; and even in this case their nomination required the sanction of the senate and people. It was not unusual for several generals to be appointed when several armies were in the field.[3] The power of the Carthaginian generals does not appear to have been at all times the same. We have examples of unlimited authority being given them;[4] and probably even the title of general was conferred, as that of *imperator*, in the higher sense, among the Romans. At other times commissioners were delegated by the *gerusia* from their own body to attend the generals; and in their name, jointly with that of the generals, public affairs were transacted; though perhaps the power of the commander in military matters still remained unfettered.[5] But the high responsibility of the latter at their return made circumspection necessary; and therefore we often see them, before decisive undertakings, calling the other commanders to a council of war.[6]

The Roman writers speak of prætors and quæstors among the Carthaginians.[7] But only once, and that an extraordinary case, when Hannibal, after the war with Rome, was placed at the head of the state, do we hear of a prætor. It does not therefore seem to have been a regular office in the republic. The quæstor, in close connexion with the *gerusia*, had the management of all matters relating to the finances; but neither the duties of his office nor his proper title can be more accu-

[1] Corn. Nep. *Hannib.* 7, is the only one who says of Hannibal, he had become *rex* at twenty-two years of age. This, however, is evidently a blunder either of the writer or transcriber, and *rex* is put instead of *dux;* for we know that Hannibal at this age was created general. [2] Polyb. i. 413. [3] Polyb. i. 77. [4] Polyb. i. p. 156; Diod. ii. 575.

[5] This was the case in the army of Hannibal, as is shown by the treaty with Philip. Polyb. ii. p. 598. It is well known that the same was done by the French National Convention during the wars of the French Revolution.

[6] Hannibal called to a council his brother Mago and the rest of the officers. Polyb. i. p. 538.

[7] Livy, xxxiii. 46.

rately determined. Perhaps he was the chief of a pentarchy which conducted the affairs of the treasury.

Respecting the administration of justice in Carthage, our information is very scanty; we shall nevertheless be able to seize its general character. For this we are indebted to Aristotle, who, though he is so brief in his remarks on the Carthaginian constitution as to be almost unintelligible, yet, in another part of his work, he explains himself somewhat more fully. "In some states," he says,[1] "there is no body of citizens (*δῆμος*) and no popular assembly (*ἐκκλησία*), but only a senate (*σύγκλητος*), and lawsuits are decided solely by individuals (*κατὰ μέρος*), as is the case in Lacedemon, where civil suits (*συμβολαῖα*) are decided by the different ephors, criminal cases by the *gerusia*, and other magistrates perhaps determine other causes. It is just the same at Carthage, for there all lawsuits are decided by certain magistrates."[2] From these statements it will at once appear that there was no judiciary assembly of the people at Carthage, as at Rome and Athens. This must certainly have prevented many evils; as popular tribunals formed one of the most dangerous and injurious institutions possessed by the free states of antiquity. The foregoing arrangement too was quite in the spirit of aristocracy, with which popular tribunals are incompatible. It further appears from the passage quoted, that all lawsuits were decided in Carthage by magistrates and regular courts of justice. Respecting the constitution of these courts we have indeed little information, as Aristotle, our only authority, is here so very concise. He names expressly only one of these bodies, that of the *hundred and four*,[3] which we must be careful to distinguish from that

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1.

[2] [Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1. *Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικὰς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ καρχηδόνα· πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας.* Compare ii. 9, *καὶ (ἀριστοκρατικὸν) τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.* The meaning of the latter of these passages (as to which the author expresses some doubt) is the same as of the former, viz. that at Carthage some one separate court (though doubtless sitting in distinct tribunals) decided all lawsuits, whether in the nature of civil causes, or cases of homicide, which in the ancient states were commonly left to be prosecuted by the kinsmen of the deceased; whereas at Sparta different species of lawsuits were distributed among different courts; cases of homicide being heard by the councillors, civil suits being apportioned in classes to particular ephors, cases of adoption and the marriage of heiresses belonging to the kings, etc. In Carthage every court had an universal jurisdiction: at Sparta the jurisdiction of each magistrate was limited to particular kinds of suits. The meaning of the former part of the passage translated in the text is, that in some states there is no large body of free citizens, (i. e. the commons are in the power either of a narrow hereditary oligarchy, or of the public magistrates,) nor is there a regular popular assembly, but the magistrates have the power of convening the people when they please, and lawsuits are decided not by the whole body of the people judging in rotation, (as at Athens,) but by a certain class or order of the community, *κατὰ μέρος*. See Arnold on Thucyd. ii. 37. *Note added to this translation.*]

[3] Aristot. ii. 11.

of *the hundred*, with which it is often confounded, although the difference is accurately marked. He compares it with the ephors of Sparta, and points out only this difference, that the latter were chosen from all classes of the people, while the hundred and four were selected from among the more powerful citizens. That this also was an aristocratic principle requires no proof; nor that the great dissimilarity in their number must have arisen from the great difference in the populousness of the two cities. From its being compared with the ephors, it is also plain that this board was a superior court for the decision of civil suits. As to its other powers, we can offer little more than conjecture. It is probable that this board contained several subdivisions or sections, to which the examination of certain classes of lawsuits was intrusted, and that the sentence was afterwards pronounced in full assembly (*in pleno*). Whether, however, to this *full assembly*, besides the *hundred and four*, all the remaining magistrates of Carthage belonged, admits of doubt.[1] Livy certainly says in one place, that the *suffetes* sat in judgment;[2] but I understand this as referring to the high tribunal of the hundred, or the *gerusia*, in which we know that they presided, and which took cognizance of treason, as did also the *gerusia* of Sparta, as we learn from the comparison of Aristotle, which is confirmed by history. That besides the board of the hundred and four, there were other courts of justice at Carthage not mentioned by Aristotle, can scarcely be doubted; but they are not known to us.

Such is the sum of our information respecting the constitution of Carthage during its flourishing period. The great rock upon which it split was the too powerful influence of wealth in procuring the highest offices of state, and, what was closely connected with it, the accumulation of many offices in one person.[3] The ties however by which the whole state was knit together were too strong for the effects of these evils to be immediately felt,—religion was one of the most important of them, and must not be left unnoticed.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the same as that of their forefathers the Phœnicians.[4] It appears, however, to

[1] Kluge, *ad Aristot. Polit.* p. 168. [2] Livy, xxxiv. 61.

[3] Both are remarked by Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 11.

[4] See in particular the learned treatise of my friend: †Bishop D. Munter: *The Religion of the Carthaginians, the second and much improved edition, Copenhagen*, 1822, to which I refer for everything relating to religion, which does not come within the scope of the present work. But though we here speak of the religion of the southern nations, it must not be forgotten, that it here was always connected with fanaticism. How much this prevailed among the Carthaginians may be seen from the statement of Diodorus, i. p. 701, that three hundred men willingly devoted themselves to death as sacrifices.

have undergone many changes on the coast of Africa; as the Carthaginians were not at all averse to the introduction of foreign gods.[1] But that it continued substantially the same is proved by the great veneration paid by the Carthaginians to the Tyrian Hercules, to whom they sent yearly embassies and offerings, and by their adherence to ancient and sometimes cruel rites, though greatly softened by the spirit of the age.[2] The Greek and Roman writers commonly give the names of their own gods to those of the Carthaginians; and Hercules, Saturn, and Neptune were the first among them. The Carthaginian name of Hercules was *Melcart*, the tutelar deity of the city both in Carthage and Tyre; that of Saturn or Cronos, *Moloch* or *Bel*, already spoken of under the head of Babylon; but neither that of Poseidon or Neptune, nor that of Triton, both originally Libyan deities, are preserved. Besides these gods there was the goddess Astarte, frequently confounded with Aphrodite, or Venus, likewise of Phœnician origin. What objects or powers of nature were originally represented by these beings, and received the adoration of man, may be left to the learned in religious history to determine. The only question to be considered here is, whether, and how far, their religion was interwoven with the constitution and became a part of the government? Many passages show that this was the case to a considerable degree. There was, however, no distinct order of priests, or religious caste, in Carthage as there was in Egypt. Neither do we find traces of any particular sacerdotal functions being hereditary in certain families. Nor have we any information as to the degrees of dignity in the hierarchy. But the offices of the priesthood were filled by the highest persons in the state, and had outward marks of honour

[1] Thus the Carthaginians introduced the worship of Ceres from Sicily. Diodorus, i. p. 701. They sent ambassadors to the Delphic oracle, ii. p. 318.

[2] We know that the offering of human sacrifices was a native custom in Phœnicia and Carthage. According to Diodorus, ii. p. 415, it had gradually grown so much out of use, that only the children of slaves were clandestinely sacrificed; and it was only had recourse to in times of peculiar distress. The Romans, and other civilized nations of antiquity, practised it, and therefore it affords us no rule by which we can judge of their civilization. It is true that the number of human sacrifices was greater among the Carthaginians than among these nations; but what was it compared with the thousands destroyed by the Spanish Inquisition! and these not merely children, not merely offered in the times of pressing calamity, as among the Carthaginians, when man in his despair sought and hoped to find deliverance! No one I hope will consider this remark as an endeavour to defend the practice of sacrificing human beings. I only wish to show that it requires but a modification of the same idea, to bring back in different ages, and even among civilized nations, the same horrors. The further particulars upon this custom among the Carthaginians may be found collected by Munter, p. 17, etc. I place but little reliance upon later Roman writers with regard to what they relate of the more early periods. But as we read in Bowdich and others, that the custom of offering human sacrifices even now prevails in Africa to a fearful extent, must not its origin lie still deeper? May not this custom originally be in some way connected with the slave trade?

attached to them; so that some of the most important of them were not deemed unworthy the sons of their kings.[1] Among these was doubtless the priesthood of Melcart, with which the religious missions, or *Theoriæ*, to the temple of the national god at Tyre were connected.[2] Indeed the most important public affairs were so intermingled with religious ceremonies, that it seems probable that the magistrates were also priests, or at least might become so. The generals were obliged to offer sacrifices even during the time of battle.[3] Prophets accompanied the armies, without whose advice nothing could be undertaken.[4] Public monuments of the greatest enterprises were placed in the principal temples of Carthage;[5] and the foundation of sanctuaries[6] was also connected with the planting of their foreign settlements, where care was taken, as has been shown in its proper place, to introduce the religion and form of worship of the mother country.

Imperfect as this account of the Carthaginian constitution is, and must remain, it is nevertheless sufficient to show its general character. In a commercial state, depending upon a single city, little else could be expected than that the more opulent families would seize the government and form an aristocracy, of which the mainspring was the senate, which derived dignity from the splendour of its wealth and conquests, and which found its support in the mutual jealousy of its members, and the religion of the people. It was thus for a succession of centuries preserved unshaken, until after the first peace with Rome new circumstances and relations were introduced, which loosened the bands that had hitherto held the government together. How this change came to pass, and what were its consequences, will be explained in the last chapter of our inquiries respecting this republic.

CHAP. IV. *Public Revenue of Carthage.*

THE greatness and power of a conquering commercial state naturally depend in a great measure upon its finances. Of its

[1] See the account of Cartalo the son of Malchus, in Justin, lib. xvii. 7. When the worship of Ceres and Proserpine was introduced at Carthage, the principal men of the city were appointed as their priests. Diodorus, i. 171. [2] Justin, l. c.

[3] As Hamilcar did in Sicily. Diodorus, i. 699. And again, Herod. vii. 167.

[4] Diodorus, l. c. [5] Like the voyage of Hanno which was inscribed in the temple of Saturn; and also the monuments which Hamilcar, the son of Mago, erected in the colonies, and particularly in the capital. Herod. l. c. [6] As was the sanctuary of Neptune on the west coast of Africa by Hanno; and that of Hercules at New Carthage in Spain by Asdrubal.

most splendid undertakings many are altogether different from those of merely warlike nations; even its wars are carried on rather by its riches than its armies. What immense treasures Carthage must have expended in the foundation of her many colonies! And how much it must have cost her to maintain her numerous armies, almost entirely composed of mercenaries!

It would therefore be highly desirable to know whence these vast treasures flowed, the way in which they were managed, and how they were expended? But unfortunately upon these subjects we are left almost wholly in the dark. Scarcely one of the ancient writers has given us more than a few scattered hints respecting them.

Before, however, we discuss the revenue of a state, it is necessary to define accurately in what its wealth consisted, and what were its most important expenses. Gold and silver were certainly the standard of value at Carthage; money, probably of both metals, was also coined there.[1] That the possession of the rich mines which they obtained brought a considerable quantity of the precious metals into their country is certain; but their wealth consisted quite as much in the produce of their industry. It has already been shown how diligently agriculture was followed among them; and in countries so highly favoured labour must have been abundantly rewarded. Not less important was the produce of their manufacturers and artisans. Many and indeed the most important expenses of the state were of a kind that never require to be paid in the precious metals. The expenses of the government in Carthage were probably light. There, as well as in Rome, the offices of state were regarded as appointments of honour, and filled without pay. The chief expense of the nation was undoubtedly the maintenance of its fleets and armies; the latter, however, might be, and indeed, as will be shown, was effected in a great measure by payment in kind. Neither was their foreign trade

[1] Whether the Carthaginians stamped gold and silver coins is a question still doubtful. See Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vet.* iv. p. 136. We are not without coins with Punic inscriptions, some of which were coined in the Sicilian cities, Panormus for instance, under the dominion of Carthage. Yet it still remains uncertain whether any coins are extant issued by the city of Carthage herself. But that in Carthage a gold coinage was current is clear from Polybius, vol. i. p. 164, who mentions that the mercenaries should be paid with it. There is also the example of Hanno, who, after the loss of Agrigentum, was fined about six thousand pieces of gold. Diodorus, vol. ii. p. 503. But it is not probable, that a commercial city like Carthage, whose colonies coined money, should not have had any coinage herself. It may, however, be believed that the Carthaginians learned the art of coining from the Sicilian Greeks, who had brought it to the highest perfection. The Punic money extant was mostly coined in Sicilian cities. This in some degree explains, how the art might remain confined to these cities, without being exercised in the capital.

carried on entirely by means of gold and silver; but to a considerable extent, perhaps the greater part, by barter.

Up to the time of the great conquests made in Spain by Hamilcar Barca and his successors, the quantity of gold and silver, and also of coin at Carthage, was probably much less than might at first sight be supposed. These conquests were the means of increasing to a large amount the revenues and treasure of Carthage. The first peace with Rome, and the war with the mercenaries which followed, were both occasioned by want of money; a want which is never perceived after the conquests in Spain. Another circumstance also in the early history of Carthage clearly shows, if not the absolute, yet the relative want of a circulating medium composed of the precious metals.

Although the Carthaginians had in reality no paper money, or bank-notes, they had nevertheless a contrivance answering nearly the same purpose, and which existed also in some of the Greek commercial cities, as well as in some modern states,—namely, tokens. They are, indeed, in many places mentioned as a money of leather; but it is no where so clearly described as in the dialogue upon riches, attributed to Æschines the Socratic philosopher.[1] "We must look, however," says he, in the passage quoted, "to the sort of money. The Carthaginians make use of the following kind: in a small piece of leather a substance is wrapped of the size of a piece of four-drachmæ; but what this substance is no one knows except the maker. After this it is sealed and issued for circulation; and he who possesses the most of this is regarded as having the most money, and as being the wealthiest man. But if any one among us had ever so much, he would be no richer than if he possessed a quantity of pebbles." It follows from this description, that this money (which therefore by others is improperly called *leather-money*) was not, like the small coins, composed of copper or bronze, which would pass only for their intrinsic worth; but rather a representative of specie, upon which a fictitious value was bestowed in circulation, and which therefore out of Carthage was of no value. Another fact may be gathered from this description, namely, that it was only under the authority of the state that this money was stamped and issued. The seal was evidently a peculiar mark impressed by the state, and which probably showed at the same time its current value. Finally,

[1] See Æschines *Dialogi c. Fischeri*, p. 78, ed. 3, where the other passages of Plato, Aristides, etc. are collected.

it is clear from the same account that they had found means to prevent its being imitated, since the manner of preparing it remained a secret. The words, "what was contained within the leather was unknown to all except the maker," cannot reasonably be supposed to mean that they had not a general knowledge of what it was, but rather that they were ignorant of its exact material. If it were, as may be supposed, a composition of metals, their proportions remained a state secret. The great disadvantages arising from the forgery of representative money are too obvious not to call forth immediately the exercise of ingenuity as far as possible to prevent it.

The revenues of Carthage flowed from various sources, and were of various kinds; to gain, therefore, a complete knowledge of them, we must divide them into classes, and examine them in detail.

In a conquering state, with such extensive possessions, the tribute paid by dependent nations must necessarily have been a most important branch of the public revenue. They were not, however, in all parts the same; and in Africa itself the contributions paid by the cities were widely different from those of the country.[1] These towns were situated along the coast, and were mostly opulent places of trade; it is therefore natural to suppose that they paid their taxes either in money or in the precious metals. The territory of Carthage had its coast covered with a succession of towns whose number alone must have given them importance. But the largest contributions were drawn from the towns around the Lesser Syrtis, in the district of Emporia: a specimen of their value is shown in the quota of Little-Leptis,[2] that town alone paying a talent daily to the capital.[3] The amount of these taxes seem in general to have been fixed and certain; but in time of war they were so much increased, as easily to account for the disaffection of some of those towns towards Carthage.[4]

Very different was the tribute collected in the open country, and the settlements founded therein. The tribes which inhabited these regions were, as we have seen above, employed in husbandry, and, as was very natural, paid their tribute in the produce of their industry.[5] And this was also the case with the foreign provinces, especially Sardinia. Many passages prove that the tribute here was paid in kind;[6] and that a part

[1] This distinction is clearly pointed out by Polybius, vol. i. p. 179. [2] An important passage upon this will be found in Polyb. vol. iv. p. 547. [3] Livy, xxxiv. 62.
[4] An example of it is mentioned in Polyb. vol. i. p. 179. [5] Polyb. l. c.
[6] See the foregoing section upon Sardinia.

was stored up in the country for the use of the army, part sent to Carthage, where it was stowed in large magazines for the same purpose.[1] To what extent this tribute was levied in peaceable times is unknown, but examples are not wanting to prove that, in cases of need, they were raised sometimes even to half the produce.[2] Can we wonder then that the seeds of discontent should take root here; or that every insurrection and foreign invasion of the territory of Carthage should teem with so much danger to that republic?

Another principal source of the Carthaginian revenue seems to have been the customs, which were collected as well in the ports of the colonies as in those of the capital itself. In the commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome[3] still extant, the conditions under which foreigners could enter some of the Carthaginian ports are defined with great precision. We are informed by Aristotle, that in their treaties with the Etrurians, it was accurately stipulated what commodities might or might not be imported. That these duties were very heavy is proved by the contraband trade; which was very considerable between Cyrenaica and the commercial towns of Carthage.[4] Indeed, in the last period of the republic, the customs seem to have been the most important branch of the revenue. The thorough reformation of the finances which Hannibal effected at the conclusion of the second Roman war, when he was placed at the head of the government, consisted chiefly in his regulating the sea and land customs, which became so important, that without the imposition of any new tax upon individuals, they supplied all the wants of the state.[5]

A third, and perhaps in later times the most fruitful, source of the public revenue, was its mines. The Carthaginians inherited from their forefathers a propensity to seek for the precious metals; and as they succeeded them in the possession of the countries which contained them, it was natural that they should again work the mines which they there found already opened. Spain, the country in which they chiefly, if not exclusively abounded, is mentioned in our inquiries respecting the Phœnicians, and has already been spoken of in the present work. Its chain of mountains, stretching across the southern part of that kingdom, seems to have been particularly rich in metals; in gold and iron, but especially in silver. We learn

[1] Polyb. vol. i. p. 178. Appian, i. p. 435. [2] Polyb. vol. i. p. 179. [3] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 9. *Op.* ii. p. 261. [4] Strabo, p. 1193. [5] Livy, xxxiii. 47. Annibal postquam vectigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent, et in quas res erogarentur, animadvertit, etc. The words plainly show, that the vectigalia were the real customs.

also from Diodorus,[1] that the invention and ingenuity of man was brought to aid his industry in working the mines. That it was carried to a vast extent we may be assured from the statement of the same writer, that "all the mines which were known in his times were opened by the Carthaginians."[2] There must, however, have been a great difference in this respect in the period before and after the great accession of territory obtained by the victories of the family of Barca. The mines which they possessed in the infancy of their power, were probably limited to Bœtica, or the country near the Guadalquiver, the ancient colony of the Phœnicians; the mountains in the territory of Castulo, not far from Cordua, the present Sierra Morena, are celebrated for their riches;[3] but the conquests of Hamilcar Barca having been undertaken principally with a view to extend these establishments, we find, after his victories, that the richest mines lay in the neighbourhood of New Carthage, (Carthagena,) the new capital built by the Carthaginians in this European Peru. They were situated, according to the accounts of Polybius,[4] about three miles from the city, and were in his time, when the Romans had become masters of it, so considerable as to employ forty thousand slaves, and to give a daily produce estimated at twenty-five thousand drachmas.[5] A certain Aletes is said to have discovered them, and met with more gratitude from the Carthaginians than the discoverer of the mines of Potosi did from the Spaniards. A temple, next to those of Æsculapius and Vulcan, was erected to him in New Carthage, in which he was venerated as a demigod by a grateful posterity.[6]

Whom the Carthaginians employed to work these mines we are not told: whether they sent slaves there for that purpose, as the Romans did afterwards, or employed the natives who were themselves miners.[7] Probably, as the number of slaves among them was so great, they did both. Nor are we better informed to whom the mines belonged—whether to private individuals or to the state. The fact that the Carthaginians were enabled by them to pay their numerous armies and to carry on their great wars, renders it indeed probable that, to a certain degree, they were the property of the state. In oppo-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 359, etc. [2] Ibid. i. p. 360. [3] Polyb. vol. iii. p. 277. It is nevertheless remarkable, that Diodorus places the most ancient mines of Spain in the Pyrenees. Or is this only the general name for the mountains in that place?
[4] Polyb. vol. iii. p. 208. [5] About £2000. [6] Polyb. l. c.
[7] Diodorus, l. c. What Diodorus says of the slaves there who worked them, is not to be understood of the time previous to the Roman.

sition to this, however, we find examples of some of them being in the possession of the great families, who worked them for their own profit.[1]

The foregoing were the ordinary revenues of the state; but in pressing circumstances other means were resorted to. Thus we find the republic during her first war with Rome, endeavouring to procure a foreign loan; for which purpose an embassy was sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus, but failed in its object.[2] Privateering was another means which the Carthaginians sometimes had recourse to, and of which Aristotle gives us a remarkable example. "The Carthaginians having numerous mercenaries in their city, whose pay they were unable to discharge, devised the following measure: they gave notice that if any citizen or resident alien had, or wished to have, a licence to make reprisals on any foreign state or individual, he should register his name. In consequence of this, many persons having registered, they plundered with a fair pretext all ships sailing into the open sea, a time being appointed for giving an account of the prizes. A large sum of money having been thus collected, the soldiers were paid and dismissed, and a judicial inquiry was made respecting the prizes, after which a satisfaction was made from the public revenue to those who had been unjustly plundered."[3] A remarkable instance of the Carthaginian maritime law. Under the mask of reprisals a piracy was carried on, in which the state made itself the accuser, the judge, and the executioner. Might we not almost take this for the model of a prize court in modern Europe?

From this enumeration of the known sources of the revenues of Carthage, and from the little that we do know respecting this state, it may clearly be seen of how much we still remain ignorant! With regard to all that concerns the administration of the revenue, we are unfortunately left in the dark. From what we have said above of the gerusia, it appears to

[1] This is very certain so far as regards the Barcine family, from the use which they made of the Spanish treasures as bribes. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 6, remarks, that Hannibal derived a large income from one of his mines. [2] Appian, i. p. 92. They requested two thousand talents (about £400,000); Ptolemy refused it, but offered his mediation. He stood in a friendly relation with Rome as well as with Carthage, and a loan to either of the states would probably have been regarded as a breach of his neutrality. [3] Aristot. *Op.* vol. ii. p. 384. [In the passage of the Œconomics referred to, (ii. 2, 10,) the author has been deceived by the reading of the common editions Καρχηδόνιοι, instead of the right reading Καλχηδόνιοι, which Schneider has restored from the Leipsig manuscript. The words, which after the German have been rendered "into the open sea," evidently signify "into the Euxine sea," (εἰς τὸν Πόντον,) at the mouth of which Chalcedon was situated. The whole narration is therefore inapplicable. See Schneider's notes on the passage, and Gaisford on Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 12, 18. *Note added to this translation.*]

have had the general direction of the public revenue; we may also venture to regard it as more than probable that one of the pentarchies, with a magistrate at its head, whom the Romans called *quæstor*, formed a board for its immediate management. But how many questions still remain which we either cannot answer at all, or at best only by conjecture! Before whom did the managers lay their accounts? Who fixed the taxes; was it the people, or, as seems most probable, the senate? But it is better to confess our ignorance than to advance empty conjectures. Even the little that might be deduced from the passage of Livy already mentioned[1] would only perhaps lead us to false conclusions; since he only speaks of *abuses*, from which we cannot infer the state of things during the flourishing period of the republic.

CHAP. V. *Of the Navigation and Maritime Commerce of Carthage.*

The situation of Carthage appears to have determined both the general course and extent of her commerce. It consisted of a land and sea trade. The following chapter will be dedicated to the former; the present will be devoted to the discussion of the latter.

The groundwork for our researches on this subject has already been laid in the accounts which we have given of the foreign possessions and settlements of the Carthaginians. If it be true, as we have shown it to be in treating of the Phœnicians, that it is the genius of all great maritime nations to make their colonies the principal seats of their trade, the same might naturally be expected to hold of the Carthaginians. The peculiarities, however, in the relations of Carthage with her colonies, which have already been developed, will explain some deviations from this general principle, which would otherwise seem extraordinary. Every individual who has discovered a profitable branch of industry, endeavours as much as possible to keep his discovery secret; it seems then natural that states, with so much greater means in their power, should have a similar feeling. That jealousy, therefore, which exists in trading communities, is not the effect of a refinement in general politics, but springs up with the first efforts of com-

[1] Livy, xxxiii. 45, 46.

merce; hence we may expect to find that the ancient states devised various plans for securing a monopoly of trade. By no other trading people of antiquity do we find this policy carried to a greater length than by the Carthaginians; no other, indeed, could maintain its colonies in such strict dependence; an advantage which enabled her to keep her trade so entirely to herself, and to preserve it for so long a time.

If we still possessed copies of that succession of alliances and treaties which Carthage concluded with foreign powers, we should be able still more distinctly to trace the principles of her commercial policy. From the fragments, however, which are left, we clearly see that she was too selfish to allow of foreign participation where it could be avoided, although she was at times sufficiently yielding to give up a part rather than risk the whole.

The city of Carthage was the capital and mistress of the state, and the people or citizens of Carthage the ruling body. The colonies, on the contrary, served merely as staples for trade, planted on foreign coasts. Hence the maxim naturally arose to make the capital the centre of commerce, and to prohibit its colonies from trading further than was consistent with the interest of the capital. This will at once show the motive which led Carthage to those jealous restrictions imposed upon her colonies; and will account for the remarkable fact, that no instance occurs of one of them ever becoming a great commercial city. Had the parent city allowed these the exercise of a free trade, it would have been impossible for her to have prevented their rise, or to have maintained her authority over them.

The harbours of the capital were open to the vessels and merchants of foreign nations, according to the treaties entered into respecting them; to all the remaining ports in the territory of the republic in Africa admission was either altogether forbidden, or rendered extremely difficult. To those places alone where a competition in trade could not be prevented, as in Sicily, was access permitted to foreigners; but in such cases only under very severe restrictions. Foreign trade was carried on under the inspection of the government; officers were appointed to superintend it, and the money due to the seller was guaranteed by the state.[1]

[1] Proofs of this remark are contained in the first two treaties with Rome, already often mentioned. From them it is evident that the gulf in which Carthage lay, as well as all the rich and fertile eastern coast belonging to it, was altogether prohibited to the Romans.

However selfish this policy may appear, it is not unexampled in modern times; but among the Carthaginians there existed special reasons for adopting it.

First, the greater part of their trade being carried on with barbarous nations, consisted in barter; and here competition is most to be dreaded. So long as the savage is kept in ignorance, he is ready to exchange his goods for the merest trifles, because he knows not their true value; but every rival opens his eyes by offering him double, nay, sometimes tenfold, for his commodities. To allow free trade to their colonies, and open their ports to foreigners, was, in other words, to destroy their own market.

Again, Africa and Sardinia were the granaries whence Carthage drew food for her numerous armies. The less, therefore, the other countries on the Mediterranean cultivated their lands, the greater must have been the disadvantage to the republic of a free trade, and of course a free exportation of corn.

We may then fairly conclude, that the policy of Carthage, however paltry and selfish it may seem in a general point of view, was imposed upon her by circumstances. I shall now take a survey of the principal branches of her maritime commerce; premising only a few remarks upon the manner in which it was carried on.

The Pœnulus of Plautus shows[1] how usual it was among the maritime nations of antiquity, when commerce by commission was yet in its infancy or altogether unknown, for the merchant not only to trade in his own vessels, but even to carry his wares from place to place. This seems to have been the case with the Carthaginians, and in some degree proves, that their ruling families could scarcely apply themselves to commerce. These voyages of the merchant rendered some arrangement necessary for his reception among strangers; and this led the Carthaginians to adopt a law or alliance of hospitality in use among the Greeks, as the form of that people was most current among the Greek cities. This was sometimes practised by individuals towards individuals, and sometimes by whole cities towards individuals. It was customary for men to exchange certain *tokens*, the production of which secured them the rights of hospitality; and it is in this manner that the Carthaginian merchant in Plautus shows his token of hospitality

[1] Act V. Sc. 2, v. 54, etc. The patriotism and national pride which Plautus, judging from the translation of Bellermans, attributes to the Carthaginian merchant should not pass unnoticed.

at Calydon in Ætolia.[1] This was also frequently the case in many other Greek cities of the mother-country, but more especially in the colonies.

Notwithstanding Carthage preserved a close correspondence with her parent state, and notwithstanding the intercourse which she maintained with Greece, with Egypt—especially in the time of the Ptolemies,—and with Cyrene, she seems never to have had much share in the commerce of the eastern part of the Mediterranean: the competition here was perhaps too great, or perhaps she had not a sufficient number of colonies in this quarter; though her trade with the parent state, so long as that maintained its splendour, could not have been inconsiderable. To counterbalance this, Carthage coveted the exclusive possession of the commerce of the western Mediterranean; and although the jealousy of many powerful rivals in Massilia, Italy, and Sicily, prevented her obtaining it, she nevertheless bent the whole force of her policy to preserve her station among them; and probably obtained more by this means than by outward force her decided superiority over them.

Sicily and Southern Italy were the first points to which her navigation was directed. Carthaginian merchants had settled in Syracuse, as well as in other Greek cities, whose harbours were always full of their ships.[2] These fertile countries found Carthage the best market for their commodities, especially for their oil and wine, both of which they produced of an excellent quality;[3] and this the rather because the Carthaginians could advantageously dispose of the wine in Cyrene, where they exchanged it for silphium, a contraband article.[4] Vineyards are mentioned as having been cultivated in some parts of ancient Africa,[5] and olives flourished, at least in the Carthaginian territory; they were not however sufficiently abundant to supply the great consumption, especially of the armies, though they might perhaps have sufficed for the wants of the capital. Had Carthage ever obtained the entire possession of Sicily, this trade alone would have indemnified her for all her expenses; the immense wealth which it gave to the towns of Sicily and Italy is sufficiently known.

[1] l. c. v. 85. ———Si ita est, tesseram
Conferre si vis hospitalem: eccam attuli.
The words of the Carthaginian merchant. The *tessera hospitalis* of Malta, still extant, does not bear upon our subject, as it was sent by the Greek city in this island, to a Greek in Syracuse. See the explanation in Bres, *Malta Antica*, p. 192, etc.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 678. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 606. [4] Strabo, p. 1193.
[5] Diodorus, l. xx. ii. p. 411. Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 55, ed. *Huds.*

That an active commerce existed between Carthage and the other nations of Italy, the Etrurians and Romans, is shown by the many commercial treaties contracted by them.[1] A great part of these related to the suppression of *piracy*, at that time carried on by all maritime nations, but particularly by the Romans and Etrurians. This not only increased the kidnapping of slaves, then in general use, but was so little thought of, that unless express treaties to the contrary had been made, it was not even regarded as an act of hostility. The Romans expressly engaged in their commercial treaties not to plunder on the coast of Carthage; and the Carthaginians engaged to spare the coast of Italy belonging to the Romans and Latins: they were not to retain the towns there not subject to the Romans, although they had taken and pillaged them; and prisoners captured could not be brought into Roman sea-ports for sale, as every free Roman had the privilege of reclaiming them as free persons.[2] So variously are modified the principles of national law in different ages.

The Etrurians appear to have been in general rather pirates than merchants. But when their maritime cities are mentioned, it is not so much the cities of Etruria Proper as their colonies in the south of Italy that are meant. Etruria Proper never possessed any known harbour except Populonum; all its great cities were in the interior, consequently, navigation could never have been its principal pursuit. This nation, however, had not only extended itself over the south of Italy, but also over the smaller islands in the Mediterranean. All their great expeditions, if we believe the express testimony of Polybius, were fitted out from their cities in Southern Italy;[3] and the little islands, especially those of Liparæ, served as stations for privateering squadrons.

The articles of commerce which the Carthaginians gave in exchange, were black slaves from the interior of Africa, who, from the earliest times, were highly esteemed in Italy and Greece,[4] precious stones, gold, and Carthaginian manufactures. The inhabitants of Italy bartered for these the product of their soil and industry, which have been already mentioned.

Malta, even in the times of Scylax, as well as the neighbouring islands of Gaulos and Lampedusa, was inhabited by Carthaginians,[5] and had, even thus early, risen to distinction by its

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* iii. cap. 6. [2] Polyb. vol. i. p. 438. [3] Ibid. i. p. 260.
[4] Terent. *Eunuch.* i. 2. [5] Scylax, p. 50. Gaulos is the present Gozzo.

trade and manufactures. It was celebrated in antiquity for the beautiful cloths which it produced, equally distinguished for their fineness and their softness.[1] As the cotton-tree is a native of this island[2] it can scarcely be doubted that this was the material of which these fabrics were composed. They formed an important article in the trade with the African tribes.

Lipara and the adjoining islands were also soon brought under the Carthaginian yoke, and their produce also helped to enrich their conquerors. Its most valuable article of commerce was resin, which was exported to many parts: upon this and the well-frequented hot-baths the prosperity of these islands chiefly depended. Diodorus informs us that on one of the smaller islands the Carthaginians, during the war with Syracuse, exposed a number of mutinous mercenaries to perish with hunger.[3]

Corsica produced an abundance of wax and honey; its slaves were esteemed superior to all others.[4]

The small island of Æthalia, the present Elba, was very early celebrated for its inexhaustible stores of iron, whence the fable arose that the ores grew again.[5] It was refined upon the island in large furnaces, and in that state exported by the merchants, or manufactured into various implements.[6]

The Balearic Islands, Majorca and Minorca, although their inhabitants were perhaps not entirely dependent upon Carthage, were yet of great importance to her commerce. The uncivilized natives, probably taught by the example of the neighbouring countries, refused absolutely to permit either gold or silver among them; this, however, offered no obstacle to a profitable traffic being carried on by barter. Their indulgence in sensual pleasures made wine and female slaves always saleable among them; so that even the mercenary troops who served in the Carthaginian armies were ready at any time to exchange their pay for these articles.[7] Fruit and beasts of burden, especially mules, of which a very beautiful kind was bred here, were their native product. The neigh-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 339.

[2] Three sorts of cotton are now cultivated at Malta: that of Siam, that of the Antilles, and the native. They are manufactured on the island, especially at Gozzo. *Modern Picture of Malta*, vol. iii. p. 9. The old capital of Melita, the present *Città Vecchia*, is in the centre of the island. The woven goods of Carthage were in general very celebrated. Polemon, a Greek, wrote a separate treatise on the subject: περὶ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πέπλων, Athen. xii. p. 541.

[3] Diodorus, l. c.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Aristot. *Mirab.* p. 194, ed. *Beckm.*

[6] Diodorus, i. p. 340.

[7] Diodorus, i. p. 343, 344. He estimates the number of inhabitants at thirty thousand. The demand for female slaves was such, that the price of a woman was three or four times greater than that of a man.

bourhood of Spain, only one day's sail distant, made these islands the best station for carrying on a commerce with that country, and of course increased their value.

That Spain, so rich in natural productions, was always one of the most profitable places to which Carthaginian vessels traded, that its mines formed one of the principal sources of the Carthaginian revenue, and that the intercourse maintained with the tribes of Spain, as well Phœnician as native, was of great importance to the republic of Carthage, has already been shown. The inhabitants of this country had attained just that degree of civilization which made them acquainted with foreign commodities, and led them to covet their possession, without having taught them the art of manufacturing for themselves. The Carthaginians must therefore have found here a ready sale for their manufactures; especially as their connexions, proved by the number of Spanish troops in their pay, extended over all the peninsula. Besides this, Carthage seems to have carried on, across Spain, a trade with the ruder Gauls; and in this way because she had not a single colony on their coast, and the Massilians would scarcely permit their vessels, except under heavy restrictions, to enter their harbours. The early intercourse of Carthage with Gaul is proved by the great number of mercenary troops which she had from that country, who, in the very earliest period, fought in her armies; and likewise by her jealousy of Massilia, which she so much wished to destroy.

Their ancestors, the Phœnicians, had already opened the way for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and they continued and extended the trade begun by these navigators. Respecting the boundaries of the Phœnician and Carthaginian trade so much has been written, conjectured, and fabled, that not only the judicious historical inquirer, but even the boldest lover of hypothesis, could scarcely add anything new. If indeed all the geographical obscurities could be completely cleared up, it would still be impossible to separate the enterprises of the proper Phœnicians from those of the Carthaginians, beyond what a general determination of the time will allow; since neither of these nations were distinguished in ancient times by their proper names. This particularly applies to their navigation along the European coast; the accounts respecting their exertions in the west of Africa are much more accurately determined.

The republic had a number of colonies on the western coast of Spain, and maintained an intimate connexion with Gades.[1] This circumstance alone would show that their ships were wont to visit the western coast of Europe, even if the tin and amber trade, in which they took a part, did not prove it beyond contradiction. What I have to say on the subject is thrown together in the following remarks, in which I neither seek to contradict nor defend the opinions of others.

First, when we speak of tin we mean by it that metal, which among the Greeks was called *cassiteros*. That this metal was the same as our tin is a fact, which, according to the judgment of mineralogists, cannot indeed be denied, although it cannot be proved with scientific accuracy, as is also the case with many other productions of the ancient world, of which the classical writers have not given us technical definitions. When, however, we consider that the same countries which produced *cassiteros* produce tin, but no other metal of similar value or quality, and that the little said of it by ancient writers does not at all contradict the supposition of its identity with that metal, there seems every probability that it really was such. The further investigation, however, of this question, does not belong to my subject, and I willingly refer the reader to another writer who has examined it with all the accuracy which the scanty accounts will permit.[2]

Further, this metal, which I may now be permitted to call tin, was, according to the express evidence of antiquity, found in various countries of western Europe: first, in the north of Spain;[3] secondly, in Britain; and again, in the islands called from it *Cassiterides*, which, though all the circumstances mentioned by the ancients do not agree, can be no other than the Scilly Islands.[4] I am ignorant whether tin is still found there; but in former times they produced not only tin but also lead,[5] though they derived their name from the former, of which they were the principal market; for the tin which was raised in Britain was carried to the small islands lying off the Land's End, accessible to wagons at the time of ebb tide.[6] That such

[1] See above, chap. ii. p. 44.

[2] Beckmann's *History of Inventions*. It is here first shown, that the Latin *stannum* may be different from the κασσίτερος. The former is what in the German smelting houses is called *werk*, the latter is the *plumbum album* of the Romans. Pliny, xxxiv. 17, etc. The writer thinks it probable that *cassiteros* was tin, without attempting strictly to prove it. Some chemical inquiry upon ancient works of art, it is to be hoped, will lead us to certainty.

[3] Strabo, p. 219. [4] Mannert, vol. i. p. 412. [5] Strabo, 265.

[6] Diodorus, i. p. 347. He here mentions the island *Irtica;* probably now become a part of the mainland, or may it not perhaps be *Bresan?*

small islands were the usual emporiums and marts of the Carthaginians will be presently confirmed by another example.

Finally, with respect to the course of this trade, we are told by Strabo, that in early times it was carried on from Gades by the Phœnicians.[1] It seems therefore that the part which the Carthaginians at first took in it, was only that of carriers; though, from their usual manner of trade, and the extent of their navigation, it is probable that they sailed directly to the countries which produced this metal. Upon this particular, however, we can fortunately speak with certainty, as Avienus has preserved an account of it from Himilcon's voyage.[2] The *Æstrymnian* islands (as he calls the Cassiterides by their earliest, probably Phœnician, name) abound in tin and lead. Their numerous inhabitants are proud and ingenious, and devote themselves entirely to commerce, gliding over the sea in their frail canoes, formed not of wood but of hides. In two days' sail from them is the *sacred island*, inhabited by the nation of Hibernians; but the island of the Albiones is close at hand. The Tartessians were the first traders to the Æstrymnian islands, though the colonies and the people of Carthage about the Pillars of Hercules navigate these seas: the voyage, as Himilcon informs us, taking four months; he himself having attempted and proved it. This passage throws much light upon the extent and manner of this trade. It was principally the Tartessians, that is, the Phœnician colonists in Spain, and above all in Gades, who performed these voyages. Carthage, however, and her settlements also, took an active part, and Himilcon himself had stretched his course, whether for trade or discovery, to the same place. It is easy to account for its taking four months, as we learn from his own narrative that it was a coasting voyage, and that the progress of the vessel was often obstructed by sea weeds, no one daring to stretch out into the open main. The Cassiterides, or Scilly Islands, were certainly the object; but the intercourse with them comprised also the neighbouring Hibernia and Albion, the inhabitants of the Cassiterides frequenting those islands in their canoes. It is not, however, probable that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians failed to visit them. From what Strabo says, it may be inferred that an active commerce existed on the British coast, as he informs us that the manners of its native tribes were rendered milder

[1] Strabo, p. 265. By Phœnicians we must here understand, as is shown by the context, Carthaginians and Gaditani. [2] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 95—125 and 375, etc. See a translation in the Appendix.

by their long and frequent intercourse with strangers; from which statement it is probable that the Carthaginians had settlements on the British coast, without which a long stay there would have been scarcely possible. The commerce here, as well as in the Scilly Islands, was carried on by barter. Earthenware, salt, and iron tools, were the commodities with which the merchants supplied them:[1] the trade, however, till the time of the Romans, was kept by the Carthaginians as secret as possible; although they were not successful in keeping away all competitors. The way which the Phœnicians found out by sea the Massilians found out by land, along the shore as far as the British Channel; and conveyed this metal, so much in request, across Gaul to their own city on the mouth of the Rhone, a journey of thirty days.[2]

The geographical statements of the ancients thus far, are so precise, that I really see no well-grounded objection to the above remarks. The case, however, is widely different when we approach the amber trade (*electrum*). A detailed inquiry into this subject would require a distinct treatise, which will scarcely be expected here; and even that could only end in mere conjecture. Every circumstance respecting it was so mystified by fable, that the whole has become enveloped in an obscurity which was never completely penetrated, even at the time when the clearest information was obtained respecting the tin islands. This fact alone shows that the country in which amber abounded, was more remote than that which produced tin. It is, however, incorrect to confine this trade to a single place; as from the accounts of Pliny it plainly appears that amber was a native of many countries or islands (for the whole Scandinavian region was formerly thought to consist of islands) in the north of Europe.[3] I see no reason then, always bearing in mind that we are still confining ourselves to a coasting navigation, why that daring nation, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed from Tyre to Britain, might not also have reached the Samlandic coast, the native country of amber, as many traces, though certainly of a dubious nature, seem to attest. But let no one, whilst exploring this field, attempt to affix a determinate application to, and explain every obscure hint in the ancient writers. He who endeavours to elicit rigid historical truth out of fabulous geography, pursues a phantom which will always elude his grasp. The ancient river Eridanus

[1] Strabo, l. c. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 348. [3] Pliny, iv. 13. Compare Diod. i. p. 348.

was entirely fictitious, and existed only in the tradition of the vulgar, and the imagination of poets. I see not what can be gained whether we take it for the Rhine or the Raduna. Its name may signify either one or the other.

The navigation of Carthage on the western coast of Africa has already been proved in the account of the colonies founded there. We have only now to consider its course, and in what manner the Carthaginians turned these colonies to advantage.

The colonies of the republic known to us, reaching as far as the island of Cerne, were all planted on the coast of Morocco and Fez. A commercial intercourse with the neighbouring African tribes was the purpose for which they were all founded; but the great mart was the island of Cerne. The merchant vessels of Carthage here anchored to unlade their goods; tents were pitched upon the island; and light vessels conveyed their wares to the continent. The inhabitants of this part of the coast were a dark pastoral race, with long hair; remarkable for the beautiful symmetry of their figure; the tallest among them they elected as king. They delighted in finery, and were all expert riders and bowmen. The trade was carried on by barter. The Carthaginians brought various kinds of finery for the women, and harness for the horses, cups, large earthen vessels, wine, and Egyptian linen. They received in exchange elephants' teeth, and hides of tame and savage beasts. There is even a town of this people mentioned; from which we may conclude that at least a part of them had forsaken the nomad life.[1]

To these branches of commerce may be added, as we learn from another source, a profitable fishery.[2] The fish was salted and conveyed to Carthage, where it became so highly esteemed, that its exportation was prohibited.

Beyond this, said the Carthaginians, it was impossible to sail. The sea becomes so full of shallows, and so covered with floating weeds, that navigation is obstructed.[3] Can it however be believed, that the Carthaginians stopped short on this poor coast, and discovered not the way to the rich gold countries which are found about the Senegal? They could hardly in-

[1] Scylax, p. 54. Were these Taurics? Every particular agrees with them.

[2] The species of fish was called *thynnus*, in the present system *scomber thynnus*. See Aristot. *de Mirab.* cap. 148, with Beckmann's note.

[3] Scylax, l. c. These floating weeds, *fucus natans*, or *sargossa*, are still found, in the manner described by the ancients, about the Canary Islands; and among them there are usually a great number of fish. See Beckmann, as before cited.

deed be blamed if their jealousy had been successful in keeping this secret from the world: it has, however, been betrayed.

Even Hanno's voyage of discovery, as has been already shown, extended to the Senegal and Gambia. But it was a mere voyage of discovery. The rudeness of the inhabitants prevented him from entering into trade. But that deep inquirer, Herodotus, whose thirst of information led him to discover so much, discovered the secret of the gold trade.

"The Carthaginians state," says he,[1] "that they are wont to sail to a nation beyond the Pillars of Hercules on the Libyan coast. When they come there, they transport their wares on shore, where they leave them, and after kindling a fire go back to their ships. Upon this signal the natives come down to the sea, and placing gold against the wares, again retire. The Carthaginians then again approach, and see whether what they have left be sufficient. If it be, they take it and depart; should it, however, not be enough for their wares, they again go back to their ships and wait; and the other party bring more gold until the strangers are satisfied. But neither party deals unfairly by the other; for the one touches not the gold till the value of the wares be brought, nor the other the wares until the gold be taken away."

Herodotus has frequently been accused of credulity till successive centuries have established his authenticity, and such is the case here. We certainly knew not till now his perfect accuracy respecting this dumb trade; which is proved to be carried on in the gold countries about the Niger.

"The inhabitants of Morocco," says Hoest,[2] "send usually, once a year, a caravan to the frontiers of Guinea, namely, to Tombuctoo, where they exchange tobacco, salt, raw wool, woollen cloths, silk stuffs, and linen of all sorts, for gold dust, negroes, and ostrich feathers. This caravan is composed of some hundreds of camels, the greater part of which carry nothing but water, as on that side of Suz not a drop is to be found for twenty days' journey.[3] They report that the Moors enter not into the negro country, but only go to a certain place on the frontiers, where one of each party exhibits and exchanges

[1] Herod. iv. cap. 196.

[2] Hoest, p. 279. A mutual ignorance of the language of the other nation is the natural cause of a trade such as this. But a dumb trade, carried on merely by signs, is not very uncommon in the East, as we learn from the account of the great fairs in Arabia Felix.

[3] It is that most terrible of all the caravan routes, which passes over that most dreadful of all the African deserts, Zuenziga. The Carthaginians seem not to have ventured across it, but to have preferred the dangers of the sea.

the goods, without scarcely opening their lips." Captain Lyon, again, the latest traveller in this quarter, brings an account from the very heart of Africa in almost the very words of Herodotus. In Soudan, beyond the desert, in the countries abounding in gold, there dwells, as Lyon was told, an invisible nation, who are said to trade only by night. Those who come to traffic for their gold, lay their merchandise in heaps, and retire. In the morning they find a certain quantity of gold dust placed against every heap, which if they think sufficient, they leave the goods; if not, they let both remain until more of the precious ore is added.[1]

The slight variation in these circumstances may be accounted for from the places not being exactly the same; as the Carthaginians did not go by land, as the inhabitants of Morocco and Fez do, but by water. Can, however, proofs more conclusive be offered of the connexion of Carthage with those gold countries, her trade with which was perhaps much more important and profitable to her than might be inferred from the passage of Herodotus. To seek out and to keep secret the discovery of countries abundant in metal was also quite agreeable to the genius of Phœnician policy. The danger of rivals and the desire of concealment being always proportioned to the richness of the country.

The port of Gades must be regarded as the chief place, and as the new starting-point for all these distant voyages. Gades was adapted for the navigation of the ocean, whose boundless expanse seemed to dare the hardy adventurer to the discovery of what lay beyond. Whether Phœnician or Carthaginian ever reached that point, whether one of their ships was ever driven to America, are questions which curiosity has often asked, and which it has answered according to its own fancy. But he who fairly surveys the character of ancient navigation, which, however extended, was always confined to the coasts, will believe in no intentional voyage across the trackless ocean: should however a doubt still remain, we have the evidence of a Carthaginian mariner and adventurer;[2] that

> Beyond the pillars lies an open sea;
> It stretches far, as Himilcon has said;
> Yet no one saw it, or guided his ship thereto;

[1] *Narrative*, p. 149.

[2] Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, v. 380—384.

> Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
> Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
> Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta
> Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit.

but that they navigated the coasts to a very wide extent cannot, after the foregoing inquiries, be doubtful.

CHAP. VI. *The Land Trade of Carthage.*

THE navigation and maritime commerce of Carthage have hitherto alone occupied the attention of historians. But that this opulent republic carried on an extensive trade by land, and kept up an intercourse with the inner nations of Africa, seems not to have been suspected; and yet it would have been a remarkable phenomenon if the active spirit of speculation which prevailed in this commercial state, had in this point alone been blind to the advantages of its situation.

Here, however, we advance into a region over which every thing conspires to throw a veil of the deepest mystery. Africa, in its interior, is the least known of any quarter of the globe, and, perhaps, fortunately for its inhabitants, will long remain so. Of the great empires which it contains, we know scarcely even the names; and the numerous caravans which yearly traverse it have added little to our stock of information.

The caravan trade of Carthage seems, besides, to have been one of its state secrets. The jealous merchants were so silent, that it remained concealed even from the historians who wrote upon Carthage. We cannot, therefore, venture to hope for more than scanty and obscure information: indeed, we must have been satisfied with bare conjecture if Herodotus had not discovered and betrayed the secret. He alone conducts us across the deserts of Libya, from the Nile to the Niger, and thence to the dominions of Carthage. Before, however, we set out upon these journeys through the deserts, let me be allowed to premise a few remarks upon the internal trade of Africa in general, without which what follows could scarcely be understood.

The commerce of inner Africa is confined in a great measure to commodities either belonging to the first wants of life, or else to those upon which men place so much store, in consequence of their serving as the standard of value, that they readily bid defiance to the greatest dangers in order to obtain them. To the first belong dates, salt, and what from the constitution of society in the ancient world was one of its principal necessaries,—slaves. To the latter, gold in grains or dust.

The slave trade, over which true philosophy in the present day has gained her latest and most glorious victory, is as old in Africa as history reaches back. Among the ruling nations on the north coast, the Egyptians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, slavery was not only established, but they imported whole armies of slaves, proofs of which will presently be given, partly for home use, and partly, at least by the latter, to be shipped off to foreign markets. These wretched beings were chiefly drawn from the interior, where kidnapping was just as much carried on then as it is at present. Black male and female slaves were even an article of luxury, not only among the above-mentioned nations, but even in Greece and Italy; and as the allurement to this traffic was on this account so great, the unfortunate negro race had, even thus early, the wretched fate to be dragged into distant lands under the galling yoke of bondage.

Salt is another commodity of the trade of inner Africa; and perhaps, as it is the most indispensable, it may be deemed the most important. Salt-pits, it is true, are found on the northern coasts, but it is otherwise with the fertile and thickly-peopled districts beyond the great desert, about the Niger, and to the south of that river. These are entirely destitute of salt either in mines or springs,[1] while nature has established immense magazines of this useful mineral in the great barren waste. These are sometimes in salt-lakes, which, dried up by the summer heat, leave behind a vast quantity of salt, covering extensive patches of the earth; sometimes in large beds or layers, which frequently extend for many miles and rise in hills; and sometimes, where these are covered by the earth, pits and mines are formed both of white and coloured salt.[2] The swarthy race, therefore, dwelling about the Niger, are obliged either to fetch this commodity themselves in numerous caravans, or it is brought them by foreign merchants, who take gold-dust or other wares in exchange. A scarcity of salt often arises in Kashna and Tombuctoo, as a famine does in Europe. The price of salt at these times increases to such a pitch, that Leo Africanus saw an ass's load sold at Tombuctoo for eighty ducats.[3] Thus nature compels mankind to a mutual intercourse, by endowing even the desert with articles necessary for human existence.

[1] Leo, p. 260. Dapper, p. 320. *Proceedings*, etc. p. 237. [2] Hornemann, p. 10, 20, 82. Leo Afric. p. 224. Lyon, *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 205, 211. [3] Leo, p. 250.

A third great article in the interior trade of Africa is dates. The tree which bears this fruit is one of the family of palms, and is well known as the date-palm. The fruit, which contains one single large kernel, has a sweetish taste, and is mealy. As we are acquainted with the bread tree, and its great use in the South-Sea Islands, we are the better able to comprehend the value of the date-palm: what the former is for those islands the latter is for a great part of Africa. Its fruit serves the inhabitants in general for food; in the ancient world as well as in the modern, it underwent a preparation by which it might be preserved for some time; out of its sap is made a liquor whose intoxicating power supplies the place of wine; it serves also as food for cattle, and goats are fattened with its bruised kernels.[1]

Dates, however, are not to be found in every part of Africa. The same bountiful Nature which gives her treasures to the sandy wilderness, has planted the date-palm in the midst of those habitable regions, where the barrenness of the soil prevents the growth of corn. All those countries bordering on the north side of the great desert between 29 and 26° north latitude, which the Arabians comprise under the name of Biledulgerid, as well as many fertile patches in the great waste itself, are the native districts of the date tree. In other places they are found less plentifully, or not at all. Here, however, they are the necessary substitute for grain. Every year, in October, the great harvest begins, whose productiveness creates as much anxious attention as we feel a few months earlier for the corn harvest.[2]

From these districts this fruit is carried over the greater part of Africa, even as far as the Negro countries about the Niger, and the lands beyond that river. But above all to the inhabitants of the desert, where it is indispensable. These tribes form numerous caravans which journey to Biledulgerid, where they exchange the produce of their flocks for this necessary of life; while the agricultural Arab barters for it the superfluity of his corn.

The last great article of the inner trade of Africa is gold, and particularly gold dust, or rather gold grains. It is not, however, according to the common notion, collected in the

[1] Leo, p. 31, 235. According to more recent travellers, the palm wine is not made of the sap of the tree, but of its fruit. Rennel, *Expedition of Cyrus*, p. 120. Perhaps preparations of both exist.

[2] Leo, p. 31, who is also my authority for the following statements. His accounts are confirmed by the latest travellers, Hornemann, Lyon, etc. The date harvest, however, falls at very different times in different years. Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 39.

sandy desert. Gold is only found in Africa, as in all other places, in the bosom of mountains. From these it is sometimes dug, though we do not know that any artificial mine-works are made use of; sometimes it is washed down by the violence of the mountain torrents during the rainy season, and when these have passed away it is separated from the sand by a very simple process.[1]

In the north of Africa, on this side the desert, little or no gold is to be found. It is the countries beyond it, and especially the districts to the south of the Niger, upon which this perilous gift is bestowed. And although common report may have exaggerated the truth, the riches of the earth must here be immense.

The gold countries with which we are at present acquainted, and of which Bambuk is the most considerable, lie in the Kong mountains, a chain which stretches itself right across Africa. It appears highly probable that this chain abounds every where in gold; as we can see no reason why its riches should be limited to one small district. But even in these countries, as in Bambuk, no artificial means have been adopted for working the mines.[2] The inhabitants understand no method beyond the simple one of digging pits, which, without danger of falling in, cannot be carried lower than forty feet; and although the treasures of the soil begin to appear at this depth, the principal veins must certainly lie deeper. Nevertheless, the produce is considerable; and the quantity of this metal is so great among many of the inland negro nations, that the common utensils of their kings are made of it.[3] The early accounts respecting them, which it has been usual to regard as exaggerated, have been completely confirmed by the latest travellers in their description of the Ashantees, their capital, and the court of their monarch.

Gold dust, therefore, is the common payment which the Moorish merchants receive for their goods. This has always

[1] *Description de la Nigritie*, p. 140, 141.

[2] Respecting Bambuk, compare Golberry's *Fragments of a Voyage in Africa*, vol. i. chap. 10, 11, where also the attempts made, some time ago, in France, to procure these treasures, are described and examined.

[3] "A hundred miles inland from fort Mina is found a negro nation, the *Argentais*, among whom gold is so plentiful that the doors of the king's house are covered with it, and in the market the merest trifle is bought for gold." *Descrip. de la Nigr.* p. 142. These Argentais, from the place of their abode, could be no other than the *Ashantees*, (whose name is only mistaken,) with whom we are become better acquainted since Bowdich's *Mission*. His account completely confirms that of the French work just quoted. Compare the brilliant spectacle which the king and his court formed at his presentation; where the sight is almost overpowered by the splendour and quantity of the gold, of which not merely the ornaments but the greater part of the utensils were composed. Bowdich's *Mission to Ashantee*. Bowdich also expressly confirms the fact, that in the market of the capital, Kumassi, the usual payments are made in gold dust. p. 330.

been the loadstone which drew them from the north of Africa; —this alone inspired them with sufficient courage to brave the terrors of the desert;—and the great attraction of this metal accounts for the high antiquity of this commercial intercourse.

Nature having thus, by the distribution of her bounties, invited the nations of Africa to a mutual intercourse, has also, to a certain degree, prescribed the way by which it should be carried on. The great distance which the countries lie apart, the vast deserts and the hordes of robbers wandering about them, render travelling here altogether impracticable to single traders; it is only in numerous companies that these perils can be overcome; consequently the inner trade of Africa must always have been a caravan trade. But among the many consequences resulting from this particular mode of trading, there is one to which it necessarily leads. I mean that of rendering it the affair of whole nations to an extent beyond what could take place in European commerce. The nomad life, and the possession of the camel, an animal so particularly adapted for it, seem to have induced certain nations to devote themselves almost entirely to this trade, which they carry on partly on their own account, and partly as mere carriers. Great caravans are thus formed by them, in which whole tribes, or the greater portion of them, often take part. The civilization of these nations, and with them that of inner Africa in general, has therefore, in a great measure, depended upon this trade, the importance of which, in this respect, will be more clearly pointed out in the portion of this work devoted to the Ethiopians and Egyptians. Its great staples, and the routes by which it has been carried on, cannot, from the nature of the country, have been subject to many changes. It is reasonable to suppose that where the course of a trade lies through immense deserts, the commodities to be transported will naturally be collected in the countries on the borders, and the business connected with it will there centre and accumulate. This sufficiently accounts for the fact that particular districts in Africa, in spite of violent or gradual revolutions, have always remained places of commerce. The routes through the deserts are also unchangeably fixed by Nature. Had she not interposed in the midst of them fertile oases to refresh with their springs and their palms the wearied traveller, the difficulties of the way would have been insurmountable. How could a journey of several months have been performed when encumbered with

a necessary supply of water; and where could be found beasts of burden strong enough to support this tedious journey? Nature, however, has so dotted the sandy wastes with these islands, as at once to determine the resting-places of the traveller, and to point out the routes by which this intercourse of nations shall be carried on. However surprising, therefore, it may appear, it will no longer seem strange that the caravans of Africa are still seen moving along the very same route that they have been in the habit of following for more than two thousand years.

The information which Herodotus obtained, and transmitted to posterity, respecting the interior of Africa, shows both the great extent of its trade, even at that early period, and the nations by whom it was carried on. Herodotus collected the materials for this part of his history in Egypt, the only country of Africa that he is known to have visited. The circumstance of his computing the distances and days' journeys from thence, is a sufficient proof of this fact. That ancient country has in all ages been the rendezvous of the caravans from the western and southern nations; so that he could not here fail of opportunities of consulting those Ammonians, Carthaginians, Nasamonians, and other nations of Libya, whom he often quotes as authorities for his statements.[1] His general knowledge of Africa embraced the greater part of the northern division. He gives us an accurate enumeration of all the small tribes dwelling on the coast as far as the territory of Carthage.[2] To the western part, afterwards called Numidia, or Mauritania, his information did not extend; although he was acquainted by name with the promontory Soloës, on the western coast of Africa.[3] But his knowledge of the interior is most deserving of our admiration. It comprises not only whatever is most remarkable in the desert, the oases, and the tribes inhabiting them; but it extends to that mysterious stream beyond the desert flowing from east to west, which, under the name of the Joliba, has been again brought into notice in the present age. The account of the first discovery of this river is of too much importance to the commerce of inner Africa for any part of it to be omitted here.

"What I have hitherto related," says Herodotus,[4] who has just given a minute description of the course of the Nile above Egypt, "I have heard from men of Cyrene, who told me they

[1] Herod. ii. 28, 32; iv. 43, 173, 187, 195, 196. [2] Herod. iv. 168, sqq.
[3] Herod. iv. 43. [4] Herod. ii. 32.

had been to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and had a conversation with Etearchus, king of the Ammonians. Among other matters they fell into a discourse upon the Nile, and upon no one's knowing its sources. Whereupon Etearchus observed, that certain Nasamones had visited him, (these Nasamones are a Libyan race, dwelling on the [Greater] Syrtis, and a small territory to the east,) and that when he asked them if they had any thing to tell him respecting the desert, they gave him the following relation: 'that there had been among them some hardy youths, belonging to the most powerful families, who, having reached to man's estate, imagined various extravagant projects; and, among others, elected by lot five among them who were to visit the deserts of Libya, and endeavour to see more than any who had gone before them. The Nasamones went on to state, that the young men who were sent on this expedition by their comrades, having well provided themselves with water and provision, first traversed the inhabited country; after which they proceeded to the region of wild beasts, whence they marched across the desert, travelling westward; that after passing through a large sandy region, and travelling many days, they at last beheld some trees growing in a plain; that going up to them, they tasted of the fruits hanging on the branches; but while they were eating, some pigmies came up to them, smaller than men of middle stature, who seized and carried them off. That the Nasamones did not understand the language of these people, neither did they who were carrying them off understand that of the Nasamones. These people accordingly took them across some vast marshes, after passing which they came to a city, wherein all the inhabitants were of the same size as those who had seized them, and black in colour; near the city flowed a wide river, the stream of which run from west to east; and in that river were crocodiles.' So far accordingly I have reported the words of Etearchus, excepting that he said, according to the account of the Cyrenians, 'that the Nasamones had returned, and that the people to whom they reached were all enchanters.' The stream flowing by the city, Etearchus conjectured to be the Nile, which seems indeed the most probable."

The nation of the Nasamones, to which the adventurers who made this discovery belonged, was one of the tribes dwelling in the districts about the Syrtes, by whom, as has already been stated, the trade with inner Africa was chiefly carried on.

This enterprise, therefore, is not represented as an expedition into a land altogether unknown. "They had," says the historian, "already undertaken many hardy adventures. But they still wished to see if they could not go farther than any one had hitherto gone." It appears, moreover, evident, that although the number of real adventurers were only five, yet their attendants must have been more numerous, so as altogether to form a small caravan. In no other way is travelling possible in these regions. They are, besides, represented as being of the highest rank in their nation; and took, says the writer, a plentiful supply of water and food.

Their route lay through the inhabited and wild-beast districts of Africa, which brought them to the desert. Traversing this in a south-westerly direction,[1] they came, after many days' journey, to a cultivated land, inhabited by black men of diminutive stature, under the usual size,[2] who received them kindly, and became their guides. They conducted them through large marshy districts, to a city whose inhabitants were of the same form as their guides, and were much given to magic. Near this city was a large river, certainly flowing from west to east.

It is evident from this account, that the Nasamones reached the negro lands beyond the desert, and came to a negro people, who received them with that hospitality which still forms such an honourable distinction between these nations and their neighbours, the Moors. Their swarthy complexion, and their whole exterior, which so strongly mark them as altogether a different race of men from the northern Africans, clearly prove this. We know from Mungo Park, that a belief in magic and amulets generally prevails among the negro nations; and even the account of their diminutive stature is confirmed by a belief still prevalent in Africa. The sultan of Darfur's brother told Denon, the latest French traveller, that the inhabitants of Tombuctoo are a very small and gentle people,[3] living on the banks of a large river; and he was likely to be well acquaint-

[1] The expression πρὸς ζέφυρον, which Herodotus uses, means a westerly direction. But that it must be understood south-west here is evident, as otherwise they would not have entered at all into the interior of the great desert. Perhaps there is still something particular in the expression. The great caravan road into the interior, from the country of the Nasamones, lies, as we shall presently see, directly south. It seems, therefore, that they wished expressly to take another, namely, a more westerly direction, that so they might explore the great western desert of Africa. [2] Not dwarfs, the writer does not say so much.

[3] *Fort petits et doux.* Denon, *Voyage en Egypte*, i. p. 309. The addition that the river flows towards the west is a mistake. The small stature of the Ethiopians is noticed by Strabo, p. 1176. It probably gave rise to the fable of the pigmies.

ed with the fact, as there is a brisk intercourse between this nation and the inhabitants of that city, as they exchange with them the wares they receive from Egypt for gold dust and ivory. Mungo Park, as he approached the Joliba, found the inhabitants under their fruit trees,—butter trees. The whole description presents the picture of a genuine African country.

But the river flowing near their city in an easterly direction is certainly the most remarkable circumstance in the whole relation. Was it the Joliba? and were the Nasamones the first discoverers of it? And could a rumour of this mysterious stream, although its name still remained confined to the desert, have reached the ears of Herodotus, who noted it down, and he thus again becomes understood by modern discoveries?

Herodotus does not mention this river by name, but merely calls it a *large* stream. We know now that there is no other such stream in northern Africa running from west to east; the Joliba is often called the great stream.[1] It is the first that a traveller would come to after crossing the desert; and the direction which the Nasamones took must have brought them to it. Herodotus's further description of it confirms this conjecture. A swampy district must be passed over before reaching it; on its banks was a city; and in its waters are crocodiles. The Joliba flows through a deep valley formed by the elevation of the desert on the north, and the chain of the Kong mountains on the south. Like all other tropical rivers, it yearly overflows, and then covers the rich valley through which it holds its course with its waters. Hence it might form morasses and lakes, in which it is said to lose itself at Wangara. That the large towns of central Africa are built upon its banks is likewise certain; it was therefore natural to suppose that the Nasamones would be conducted to one of them. The fact that it contains crocodiles is also confirmed by Mungo Park, the modern discoverer of this river, who says they are frequently found in it, but are harmless.[2]

This account of Herodotus, in connexion with other still more precise information, which he collected respecting inner Africa, not only shows the existence of a commerce between its inhabitants, but likewise points out the nations by whom it was chiefly carried on. These were the nomad tribes between the two Syrtes; and even now the inhabitants of these districts chiefly form the caravans which traverse all Africa, as the

[1] Mungo Park, *Travels*, etc., p. 194. [2] Ibid. p. 219.

accounts of the latest travellers inform us.[1] However, this did not prevent the Carthaginians from taking an active part in it; indeed it was carried on principally for them, and on their account. Even the number of slaves[2] which they bought, partly for their own use, and partly for exportation, is a striking proof of their great share in this trade. These not only performed the laborious parts of agriculture, and of the public works, but also manned their fleets; and where could the Carthaginians so well procure them as from the very place whence the inhabitants of the coasts of Tripoli and Tunis for the most part procure them at the present moment? They likewise obtained the precious stones which bore the name of their city, from the countries lying in the interior:[3] and that they themselves took part in the journeys through the desert is proved by the fact of a certain Mago having three times journeyed across it with no other sustenance than dry meal.[4]

But the national intercourse of Africa can only be seen in its proper light by an acquaintance with the routes by which it was carried on. We now know, from some of the latest writers and travellers,[5] the routes of the principal caravans which yearly traverse Africa. We know that the northern half of this continent is crossed in its whole length and breadth: from Tripoli to the Niger, to Kashna and Bornou; and from Tombuctoo and Morocco to Cairo. Even the western Sahara, the most dreadful desert on the face of our globe, which swallows up nearly half the caravans, and for three hundred miles contains not a drop of water, has not proved a barrier to the courage of man stimulated by avarice.[6]

Just so was it in ancient times. What I have thus far said will serve as a preparation to my readers for a journey, in which, conducted by Herodotus, we shall now accompany an

[1] Hornemann, p. 78. [2] Appian, vol. i. p. 378. The reader need only be reminded of the history of their servile wars.

[3] Viz. through the Garamantes, beyond Fezzan. Strabo, p. 1192.

[4] Athen. p. 44. Meal mixed with water is one of the most common articles of food upon these journeys. Hornemann, p. 7.

[5] For our knowledge of the subject we are chiefly indebted to the compiler of *The Proceedings*, etc., with Bruce, Browne, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and the recent British travellers, Lyon, Denham, etc.

[6] A description of it may be seen in Leo, p. 28, who himself performed this journey; and a more modern account in Gray Jackson's *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809. From Fez to Tombuctoo is reckoned a fifty-four days' journey, exclusive of halting days. In the year 1806 a whole caravan from Tombuctoo to Tafilit, consisting of 2000 men and 1800 camels, perished for want of water. I cannot refrain from giving the following caravan legend from Leo. "In the midst of the desert are two marble monuments, to which tradition gives the following origin. A rich merchant met here a camel-driver, and begged him to sell him a cup of water. They agreed upon the price, 10,000 ducats. Now, however, the seller wanted it himself, and both perished of thirst."

African caravan; a journey of more than thirteen or fourteen hundred miles, through parched sandy plains and everlasting deserts. I insert here the whole of the remarkable passage of Herodotus, only rendered intelligible by recent discoveries, because every line is of importance. It is found in the fourth book of his history, chap. 181 to 185.

"The above tribes that have been mentioned are those of the Libyan nomades, (which Herodotus has just before enumerated,) dwelling on the sea-side. Above these, inland, lies Wild-beast Libya (Biledulgerid); above Wild-beast Libya is a sandy ridge stretching from Thebes of the Egyptians to the Pillars of Hercules; in this ridge, at the distance of about ten days' journey the one from the other, are seen on the hills masses of salt in large lumps; and at the summit of each hill a stream of cold and soft water gushes forth in the midst of the salt. About those springs dwell the last tribes towards the desert, and above Wild-beast Libya. First: ten days' journey from Thebes are the Ammonians, who have the temple of the Theban Jove; for at Thebes likewise, as I have before observed, the image of Jove is with a ram's head. They have another stream of spring water, which, early in the morning, is lukewarm; more cool in the middle of the forenoon; and when it is mid-day, becomes exceedingly cold; at which time, accordingly, they water their gardens: as the day wears, it loses its coolness till such time as the sun sets, when the water becomes lukewarm, and continues to increase in heat till midnight draws near, at which time it boils violently; when midnight is gone by, the water becomes cooler towards dawn. This spring is called the fountain of the Sun.—Next to the Ammonians, after ten days' journey along the ridge of sand, there is another hill of salt, like the Ammonian one, with a spring, and men dwelling around; the name of this country is Augila; and to this quarter the Nasamonians go to gather the dates. From the Augili, after another ten days' journey, there is another salt-hill, with water, and abundance of fruit-bearing palms, as on the other hills. In this quarter dwell a nation of men, who are called Garamantes, a very large tribe. These people throw mould upon the salt, and then sow their seeds. From these to the Lotophagi, by the shortest cut, is a thirty days' journey. Among the Garamantes are found the kine that graze backwards; they are obliged to graze in this manner, because they have horns bending forward, on account of

which they walk backwards as they graze; not being able to step forwards, as their horns would stick in the ground. These kine are, in no other respect, different from the rest of oxen, except in this and in the thickness and closeness of their skin. The Garamantes go in chase of the Ethiopian Troglodytæ in four-horse chariots; for the Troglodytæ are the swiftest on foot of all men that we have ever heard mentioned. The Troglodytæ eat serpents and efts, and such like crawling things. They use a language similar to none other, for they shriek like bats.

"At ten days' journey from the Garamantes is another salt-hill and water; around which dwells a nation who are called the Atarantes; these are the only men that we know of who have no proper names; for their name, as a body, is Atarantes, but there is no separate name given to individuals; they curse the sun when he is right over their heads, and use all kinds of injurious language, because he scorches and harasses both the country and its inhabitants.

"After these, at the distance of another ten days' journey is another salt-hill and spring; and men dwelling round. Adjoining this salt-hill is a mountain, the name of which is Atlas; it is steep, and round on every side; it is said to be so lofty, that it is not possible to see its top; for the clouds never disperse from about the summit, whether in summer or winter. This mountain, the natives say, is the pillar of heaven: and from it those people take their name; they are, in fact, called Atlantes. They are represented as eating nothing that has life, and as having no dreams. As far, therefore, as these Atlantes, I am enabled to give the names of the nations residing on the ridge, but not of any beyond them: although it extends as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and even beyond them.

"Every ten days' journey is found a salt mine, (ἁλὸς μέταλλον,) and a settlement of men. With all these people the houses are built of blocks of salt, for rain never falls in any of these parts of Libya; and, indeed, if it were to rain, the walls, being of salt, could not stand: the salt dug up there is both of a white and a purple colour. Higher up, beyond this ridge, towards the south and midland of Libya, the country is desert, without water, without beasts, without wood, and without dew."

Thus far Herodotus.—It is almost impossible not to see in this narrative the description of a caravan road, although none of his commentators has hitherto remarked it. I am convinced

that the greater part of my readers will assent without further proof, when they consider our former remarks on the trade of inner Africa, and the manner of travelling there. But to those who still require further proofs, I offer the following arguments.

In the first place: The route passes in its whole length across deserts which can only be travelled over by caravans, as in this manner only are they passable. It was by them alone that accounts could be brought to Egypt, where Herodotus collected them.

Again: The definitions of the route are all such as are usually given of caravan roads: the distances are measured by days' journeys; the resting-places mentioned are those in which fresh water is to be found.

Nor indeed does Herodotus conceal the sources whence he drew his information. He repeatedly appeals to the testimony of the Libyans, whom he met with in Egypt, and from whom he collected his accounts respecting the interior of Africa:[1] that is, from the very persons themselves who performed these caravan journeys, and who, without doubt, had at that time come to Egypt in company with some of these caravans.

And lastly: The route pointed out by Herodotus is the same, with very slight deviations, which may be easily accounted for, as that now in use; a striking proof to those who are acquainted with the little variation which takes place in these commercial roads.

Should it, nevertheless, be asked, how it happens that Herodotus no where mentions these caravans, I have no other answer to give than because he considered it as having nothing to do with his object, which was only to give geographical information. Moreover, to persons who have travelled much and seen much, many ideas and facts become so familiar, that they are apt to presuppose a knowledge of them in others.

Taking it for granted, then, that this is a description of a caravan road running through Africa, we have next to inquire into its nature and direction.

It is plain, that the account of Herodotus contains the description of the commercial road between Upper Egypt and Fezzan; likewise between Carthage and these countries, and probably still farther, even to the countries near the Niger. Its course is traced from Egypt by the desert of Thebais to the temple of Ammon; thence by part of the desert of Barca,

[1] Herod. iv. 173, 187.

and the deserts of the Harutsh mountains to Fezzan; and finally seems to be lost in the present kingdoms of Kashna and Bornou.

The first of these routes Herodotus describes from station to station; but notwithstanding the great certainty with which we can determine upon the whole, there yet remains some difficulties as to the distance of one or two of the stations from one another, which cannot be completely removed. They will, as the explanation of the separate stations almost immediately show, excite a suspicion that two of the intermediate places have been left out, although probably not by the carelessness of the writer, but rather by that of the travellers from whom he received his information. These persons endeavoured, as it seems, to give such a regularity to the whole journey, that exactly at the end of every ten days a resting-place should be found, with something remarkable belonging to it. But it is only by minute commentary on the words of Herodotus that these assertions can be proved; and this can be given the more easily, as one of the latest travellers in this part of Africa has minutely described the very same route which is here described by the father of history.[1]

The place from which we set out is Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt. This is the point from which Herodotus reckons all distances, as well here as in other parts of his work, relating to places and nations in inner Africa. A decided proof that he collected his information respecting Africa in Upper Egypt.

Thebes, in ancient Egypt, was therefore the rendezvous of caravans, just the same as the new capital, Cairo, is at present. This change has necessarily occasioned some variation in the direction of the road through the desert, which now runs a little more to the north, in order to reach the latter city.

The first station is the temple of Jupiter Ammon. And now becomes explained the intention of this great oracle, and the cause of its mysterious situation in the midst of a sandy waste, the terrors of which must have frightened the most hardy adventurer. The interests of these priests would have taught them that the single adventurers who might haply arrive at their temple, would not afford a sufficient compensation for the

[1] The journey of Hornemann, the only one who has hitherto travelled the *whole* of the way, only deviates a little from this route in consequence of his having started from the present capital, Cairo, instead of Thebes; and, therefore, as far as Ammonium, he diverged more to the north. The latest travellers, who went *part* of this route, Lyon, Caillaud, Edmonston, and Minutoli, will be mentioned in their proper place.

loss of the crowds of votaries whom the dangers of the desert deterred from such a journey. Now these difficulties vanish at once! The temple of Jupiter Ammon was not only a sanctuary but a resting-place for caravans; and its situation was equally convenient for those coming from the negro countries as from northern Africa to Egypt. How many valuable presents must here have been offered! now by the curious who came to consult the oracle; and now by the pious gratitude of the rich merchant, who had either just commenced a fearful expedition through the desert, or coming from Africa, here saw himself near the end of a fortunate and tedious journey!

The re-discovery of this place, in several respects so remarkable, has been the favourite undertaking of several modern travellers; and their labours have not been in vain. Two of the latest have succeeded in reaching it. The first traveller who discovered the ruins of the temple of Ammon was Mr. Browne, and his accounts have been both confirmed and extended by Hornemann.[1] Although accidents and the jealousy of the natives prevented both travellers from taking an accurate examination, they both agree in considering the present Siwah as the ancient Ammonium. The place accords in every respect with the ancient accounts, several of which also agree as to its situation.[2] The reports of the latest traveller, who has not only been able to inquire, but also to make drawings and models, have put an end to all uncertainty.

Ancient Ammonium is described not as a mere temple, but as a small state founded in common by the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and having its own chief or king.[3] Its origin and large population are shown by the number of catacombs and the remains of mummies with which the neighbouring hills abound.[4] The oasis itself is of moderate extent. The fertile soil, according to the survey of Minutoli, extends about ten miles in length, but is no where more than three in breadth.[5] The present Siwah, consisting of four or five towns, the chief of which is called Kebir, is governed by its own sheiks or chiefs. It is only lately that the present pasha of Egypt, who led an expedition against it, has forced it to pay tribute.[6] The castle of the ancient princes is still remaining. Its present

[1] See Browne's *Travels*, p. 23, etc., and Hornemann's *Journey*, p. 18.

[2] I here draw from the copious and accurate researches of Rennel, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 576. [3] Herod. ii. 32, 42. [4] Minutoli's *Journey*, p. 171. Their number is much greater than has been supposed. Many are painted and covered with hieroglyphics. They bear entirely an Egyptian character. [5] Minutoli, p. 88. [6] In the year 1820. Minutoli, p. 93.

name is Shargieh; and a description and drawing of it will be found in Minutoli.[1] From the entrance of the ancient temple, in a direct line, it is only three hundred and twenty paces distant; and its principal gate is exactly opposite.

The ruins of the ancient temple the inhabitants sometimes call *Birbé*, (temple,) but usually *Umebeda*.[2] They lie about three miles from Kebir; between the village of Shargieh and a mountain in which the stone quarries are still to be seen whence the building materials were taken. The remains of the temple itself consists of two parts; one, a sort of *pronaos*, or antechamber, and the other an inner chamber, the proper sanctuary. The back south wall is entirely gone; it is therefore impossible now to give the original dimensions of the temple. Large it never could have been, though evidently larger than it is at present.[3] The construction, as well as the whole form of the building, agrees completely with the ancient Egyptian. The walls are entirely composed of hewn stones. The whole temple within and without was covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; all of which, however, are not in an equally good state of preservation.[4] The interstices between the hieroglyphics on the walls and on the ceiling were painted; the green and blue colours are still bright. In every part of the sculpture traces of the worship of Ammon are to be found, similar to that of Thebes; even the procession with the sacred ark. The rest of the temple, according to the Egyptian custom, was surrounded by a wall, which separated the holy precinct from that which was less sacred. It was of considerable thickness and formed of freestone; it has now, however, almost entirely disappeared, though its direction may still be clearly traced. It is only in the corners that the largest of the stones have preserved unmoved their original situation, and show the extent of the whole enclosure. Its length amounts to seventy paces and its breadth to sixty-six, and the sides are pretty accurately placed according to the points of the compass.[5] Within this wall vestiges of a second are found, which render it probable that certain other partitions were formed, of which, however, nothing further can be determined.

[1] Minutoli, p. 165, 167. And the drawing, Tab. xi. fig. a. What follows is also borrowed from him. See the annexed plan. [2] Minutoli, p. 165, 167. [3] That the ancient temple of Ammon was only of a moderate size is shown by Professor Toelken, the publisher of Minutoli, from ancient authors. Minutoli, p. 169. See the ground plan and plates, vi.—x. [4] Minutoli has favoured us with accurate copies of them; we are also indebted to his learned publisher for copious explanations of them, to which he has devoted the whole of the sixth chapter of his work, p. 100—162. [5] Minutoli, p. 166.

On the south of the temple, at the distance of a full quarter of an hour's walk, rises, in a delightful grove of dates, the fountain of the Sun, formerly sacred to Ammon. It forms a small pool[1] about thirty paces in length and twenty wide. It is said to be six fathoms deep; but it is so clear that the bottom is seen, from which bubbles continually arise like those of a boiling caldron. The temperature of the water varies, it is warmer at night than in the day, and about day-break is wont to smoke. It is probably a hot spring, the warmth of which is not observed during the heat of the day. A small brook, which runs from the pool, unites itself soon after to another spring, (Herodotus says that there are other wells of fresh water,) which likewise arises in the palm grove, and runs towards the ruin, near to which it forms a swamp, probably because its ancient outlets are stopped up. The early and high cultivation of the oasis is still shown by its rich produce of dates, pomegranates, and other fruits. The date is the most cultivated, and is obtained in vast quantities and of very fine flavour. In favourable seasons, say the inhabitants, the whole place is covered with this fruit; and the yearly produce amounts to from five to nine thousand camel loads of three hundred pounds each. The annual tribute is now also paid in dates.[2] There is no want of cattle, though the camel does not thrive here, which is probably owing to the dampness of the soil. The inhabitants, therefore, do not export the produce of their land themselves; it is fetched from them by strangers,[3] and their existence depends now, as it always has done, upon the passage of caravans. Near this oasis Nature has placed a large magazine of salt,[4] which rises in considerable masses above the ground; there are patches, above a mile long, so covered with this substance as to have the appearance of a field of snow; out of the midst of these, springs of fresh water sometimes gush forth. The salt is excellent, and was much valued in antiquity on account of its purity. Every year on the very same day, namely, that on which the great caravan departs for Mecca, the inhabitants begin their salt harvest. A chemical analysis of some of it, which has been brought to Europe, confirms its superior quality.[5]

Though from all these circumstances Siwah seems to be identified with the ancient Ammonium, yet a difficulty still

[1] Minutoli, p. 96, 164. [2] Ibid. p. 89. [3] Ibid. p. 90, 91. [4] Ibid. p. 174, 175. [5] By Professor John. Minutoli, p. 179. According to this it is a compound of gypsum, with from ten to twenty per cent. of rock salt.

remains; the distance of ten days' journey which Herodotus places between Thebes and Ammonium.[1] As the situation both of Thebes and Siwah is known with certainty, the distance between the two has been determined, and is computed at four hundred geographical miles. Now as a day's journey of a caravan can only be reckoned at sixteen, or, at the most, at twenty of these miles, it is clear that not ten but twenty days, or double the time stated, is required for this journey. Should it however be still supposed that Siwah is not the ancient Ammonium, and that the latter must be sought for nearer to Thebes,[2] nothing will be gained; as the distance of the following station in that case will not agree, which now, as we shall presently see, tallies exactly. Under these circumstances the conjecture almost forces itself upon us, that a station of ten days' journey has here been left out, by which every difficulty would at once be cleared up. This station too may, with great probability, be precisely determined; for the road from Thebes to Ammonium must necessarily lead towards the great oasis, *El Wah*, where Nature has formed a station fit for caravans. That the usual way to Ammonium passes through this is also clear from another passage of Herodotus,[3] where he likewise fixes its distance from Thebes at seven days' journey. The great oasis, with its formerly unknown monuments, is now rescued from obscurity, since Caillaud[4] and Edmonstone[5] have visited and described it. It is formed of two parts, an eastern and western, which are in fact two different oases, as a sandy tract of thirty hours lies between them. They are distinguished by the names of their principal towns; that of the eastern, or properly the great oasis, being *El Kargeh*, and of the western, *El Dakel*. In antiquity they seem both to have been taken for one oasis,[6] the western at least is never mentioned as a separate one, whilst traces of habitation, and even remains of a temple, near *El Amur*, are still found between the two. Both are rich in ancient monuments. In the east-

[1] Rennel, *Geography of Herod.* p. 577, gets over this difficulty by saying, that Herodotus only says to the territory of the Ammonians, and not to the temple of Ammon. But as the Ammonians, according to all the information we have, only occupied the district about the temple, or the oasis, of very moderate extent, I see not what can be gained by this fact.

[2] Belzoni thought that he had found it in the lesser oasis, first visited by him. *Narrative*, p. 408. An hypothesis which since Minutoli's journey requires no refutation. Belzoni was a bold and successful traveller, but no scholar.

[3] III. 26. Strabo, p. 1168, says the same.

[4] Caillaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes. Paris*, 1813.

[5] A Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt, by Sir Archibald Edmonstone. *Lond.* 1823.

[6] Strabo, p. 1168, only speaks of three oases in Libya, the great, the lesser, and that of Ammon. It is therefore clear, that he considered what is called the westerly one as belonging to the great oasis. No other ancient writer has disjoined them.

ern is the great temple *El Kargeh*, for a ground plan and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud.[1] In the western is that of *El Hadjur*, besides some other smaller ones. The distance from Thebes specified by Herodotus, which is confirmed by Strabo, agrees exactly; it likewise shows that the former reckoned according to the days' journey of the caravans. There were two roads which led from Thebes to the oasis; one bearing to the north and something shorter, by Abydus, the other southerly by Latopolis.[2] By the first Caillaud reckoned it to be forty-two, and by the other fifty-two hours to the principal place, *El Kargeh*, which is without doubt the city oasis in Herodotus. The latter road appears to have been that mostly in use in antiquity, as from seven to eight hours seem to have been a usual day's journey for caravans;[3] so that if we add one day's journey for the length of the oasis—and greater accuracy cannot well in this case be expected—the distance from Thebes to Siwah will amount to twenty days' journey, or twice the number mentioned by Herodotus. The great oasis therefore lay in the midst of the way; it still continues a station for caravans, not only for those bound to Siwah, but also for those pursuing a more southerly direction and going to Soudan and Darfur.[4] And if in its temples the worship of Ammon was established, as we have every reason to conjecture it was, perhaps that may account for this station not being reckoned; or it might have been omitted because it was considered a part of Thebes, for the great journey through the desert commenced from this place; or, perhaps, because no strata of salt were found here as in the other stations.

But in whatever way this omission may have arisen, there can be no doubt as to the fact; and we may conclude that Siwah is the place where stood the temple of Ammon, at which our caravan is arrived, in order, after a short refreshment, to proceed on its journey through the desert.

Leaving then the lofty palms and the sacred groves of Jupiter Ammon, the last traces of vegetation and animated nature soon disappear. The southern desert of Barca opens its arid plains,[5] only interrupted by parched barren hills. For ten days this continues, till at length the date groves of Augila

[1] Caillaud, plate xv.—xviii.; and Edmonstone, plate vi., who also gives views of the other temple. [2] Caillaud, plate x. and p. 46. [3] Hornemann, p. 150.
[4] Caillaud, p. 50. Edmonstone, p. 126.
[5] Hornemann gives a description of the route, p. 36, etc.

appear, and the wearied caravan again lands on one of those fertile islands, which Nature has sprinkled with so sparing a hand over the sandy ocean of Africa.

Augila is a well-known name both in ancient and modern geography. It is at present the capital of a district which comprises two other villages.[1] Hornemann reached it from Siwah after nine long days' journey,[2] which, if we reckon them as ten common ones, confirms what Herodotus states to be the distance between the two stations. Augila owes nothing to its size, nor is there any thing remarkable about it; but it is principally known as being the great thoroughfare for caravans, which still touch at it in their route from western Africa to Cairo.[3] Even in the present day a portion of the inhabitants devote themselves to the caravan trade.[4] Besides this, Augila is a principal mart for dates, which have always been found here of an excellent quality and in great abundance.[5] Herodotus expressly remarks, that the Nasamones in the Regio-Syrtica annually made a journey to this place in order to purchase a supply of this fruit.[6] In like manner the Arabians of Bengasi now carry, yearly, their wheat and barley to the same regions for sale.[7]

All this is confirmed by the accounts which Minutoli collected from some Augilians who had fled to Siwah.[8] According to them Augila is ten days' journey from Siwah; and between three and four miles long, and two broad. It contains only two villages. The inhabitants carry on a trade with the caravans which pass through, and frequently take a part therein as camel drivers or merchants, as they possess many camels. Augila produces nearly double the quantity of dates that Siwah does. In this manner is the testimony of Herodotus again confirmed.

But who will now direct us to where the Garamantes dwell; whose territory, rich in springs of fresh water, becomes the next point of our journey? What direction shall we take without the fear of losing ourselves in the desert?

The name of Garamantes alone does not sufficiently indicate

[1] Mojabra and Meledila. Hornemann, p. 46.
[2] Hornemann, p. 46. The caravan travelled during two whole nights; men and beasts were quite exhausted. p. 45. The Arabian geographers estimate the distance at ten days' journey. p. 154. Herodotus's statement, therefore, is the one usually current in Africa.
[3] Leo, p. 246. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289. [4] Hornemann, p. 44. [5] Leo, l. c. *Proceedings, etc.* p. 289. [6] Herod. iv. 182. [7] Hornemann, p. 48. See also p. 179.
[8] Minutoli, p. 172. Half the inhabitants had fled in order to escape the tribute which the government of Tripoli wished to impose upon them, and had set up their dwellings in the catacombs of Siwah.

their abode. It is one of the most comprehensive of ancient geography, and signifies a widely-extended people of inner Africa, from the Land of Dates to the Niger, and eastward as far as Ethiopia.[1] Herodotus is therefore perfectly right in calling them a very large nation. But it still remains to be determined where his Garamantes were situated, and the father of history has given us sufficient particulars to do it satisfactorily.

The Garamantes, he tells us, dwell towards the south, above the Psylli; and from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest route, is thirty days' journey.[2]

These two particulars point out with sufficient accuracy the country which we must make our next resting-place. The Psylli, according to the precise statement of Herodotus,[3] dwelt in the midst of the Syrtes' territory, about the present Mesurate, between the Lotophagi and the Nasamones: this latter nation took possession of their country, after they, or, what is more likely, only a part of them, had been destroyed in an expedition which they undertook to procure water. This particular specification of the route leads us to the present Fezzan, the ancient Phazania, the first inhabited country which is found southwards beyond that district; but the second statement, that it lies thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi, leaves us without the shadow of a doubt upon the subject. The seat of the Lotophagi, as we have shown above,[4] was to the west of the Psylli, extending from Tripolis to the Lesser Syrtis. Now, by taking the centre of their country and Zuila, the usual station of the caravans coming from Egypt, (not far from *Germa*, the capital of the ancient Phazania,) as the two probable extremes of the journey, we have at once the number of days' journey required, as will be very clearly shown presently, when it will be necessary to give a more accurate description of this route.

Upon Fezzan, the ancient country of the Garamantes, much light has been thrown within these last few years. Hornemann, indeed, resided there for half a year, but his Narrative does not extend to the southern part of the country, which he did not see till afterwards. This part, which is of most importance to us, was first visited and described by Captain Lyon. Fezzan is not to be regarded as a small oasis, but rather as a district of considerable magnitude, being in length about four hundred

[1] Cellar. *Geogr. Ant.* ii. p. 944. [2] Herod. iv. 174 and 183. [3] Ibid. iv. 173.
[4] See above, p. 15.

miles from north to south, and from about two hundred to two hundred and fifty in breadth. The question then arises, where are we to seek for the station of which Herodotus speaks, and where are the features he describes to be found?

In this case we again find, that the station of the ancients was the same as that of the caravans arriving from Egypt and Soudan in the present day, namely, as we learn from Hornemann and Lyon, the city and territory of Zuila, not far from the eastern boundary of the country, and therefore the natural place to rest at. The latitude of Zuila is settled by Lyon (who took the sun's altitude) to be 26° 11′ 48″ north. The longitude, according to Rennel, is 16° 50′, Greenwich.[1] Not far from Zuila, near Trahan, springs of sweet water are met with, the only ones, as Lyon assures us, to be found in Fezzan;[2] in other parts it is only found at from twelve to twenty feet below the surface: and in the neighbourhood of Mafen there is a curious plain of salt earth extending above twenty miles from east to west.[3] Zuila lies at two good days' journey from Mourzouk, the present capital; and at scarcely one, according to Rennel's map, from Germa, the ancient one.[4] Thus every thing here agrees with the situation mentioned by Herodotus. The district of Zuila and Germa, moreover, was formerly the chief seat of the trade which has now moved to Mourzouk; and indeed so much so, that even yet the trade of Fezzan is called in central Africa the trade of Zuila.[5]

But a difficulty arises here in Herodotus's statement similar to the one already remarked between Thebes and Ammonium. The distance from Augila to Fezzan is too great for the journey to be performed in ten days. The caravan with which Hornemann travelled, notwithstanding their day's journeys must have surpassed the ordinary measure, took sixteen days in going to Temissa, the first village in Fezzan; and still one more before it reached Zuila. But the Arabian geographers reckon it twenty days' journey from Augila to Fezzan, which seems to correspond with the usual course of the caravans.[6] Here, then, the case is exactly the same as in the distance between Ammonium and Thebes; that is, it amounts to double what

[1] *Narrative*, p. 219. Rennel has placed it upon his map almost a degree farther to the north. [2] There are three of them; *Narrative*, p. 270. [3] *Narrative*, p. 257. It resembles the rough and irregular lava of Vesuvius. A poor path has with much difficulty been cut and worn through it. [4] Lyon places Germa much farther to the north-east on his map, but without any foundation. He did not visit it himself. Rennel, in his *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 615, has stated his reasons. [5] Hornemann, p. 69.
[6] Hartmann, *Geogr. Edrisii*, p. 158. *Proceedings*, p. 197.

Herodotus states it at. As, however, there can exist no doubt respecting the position of the two extremes, Augila and Fezzan, recourse must again be had to the conjecture, by which alone the difficulty can be cleared up, that a station may be found between them; and this is rendered more probable, by the existence of Zala, a station which the Arabian geographers place midway between Augila and Zuila, at ten days' journey from each.[1] Hornemann reached the watered and fertile valley in which he reposed on the ninth day of his strained journey; but the course which the caravans pursue, lies through the southern part of the valley;[2] so that the town, or at least the place where it lay, for the name itself seems to be lost, was perhaps half a day's journey to the north.[3]

But whether this or some other solution may be adopted, the route which our caravan must follow, in neither case remains doubtful; we are certain respecting the object of the journey. Our progress hitherto has been almost entirely in a westerly direction, it now becomes, as we penetrate deeper into central Africa, more southerly, still, however, with a bearing towards the west.

With renewed courage and strength we now quit Augila. Its groves of palms are soon left behind, and the vault of heaven, and the plains of burning sand, are the only objects which the eye can reach.[4] No sound of animated nature, nor the rustle of a leaf, breaks the everlasting death-silence of the dreary waste. Suffocated birds point out the path of the fiery simoon, and perhaps only yesterday fell its victims; the heavens seem to glow, and volumes of sand, whirling upwards into spiral columns, are chased by the wind, like clouds of mist, athwart the dreadful desert.[5] And though the fruitful valley of Zala seem to promise a more smiling region to the weary traveller, hope is soon turned to disappointment: the most desolate of all wastes, the Harutsh mountains, still lies before him, and demands another ten days' journey ere these terrors

[1] Edrisi, l. c. Compare Rennel's map, Hornemann's route; upon which the situation of Zala and its distance from both stations is accurately given. [2] The fertile valley which he describes, p. 55, is undoubtedly the valley of Zala, though he has not named it.

[3] Not only Hornemann, but even Hadgee Abdallah, was ignorant of it. See *Proceedings*, p. 197. [4] Hornemann, p. 51.

[5] Those who would wish to see a more particular account of this dreadful phenomenon of the desert, may compare Bruce, iv. p. 584, and *Proceedings*, p. 195. Lyon gives us, from his own experience, the picture of a caravan surprised by a simoon. *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 85, 94, plate vii. The death-silence of the desert also appeared most dreadful to him. "Nothing can be more awful than the stillness which prevails. I have often walked so far from the caravans in the night as to be beyond the noise made by the camels or horses, and have experienced a sensation I am unable to describe, as I felt the wind blow past me, and heard the sound which my figure caused it to make, by arresting its progress." p. 347.

can be overcome.[1] Then the gigantic ostrich reappears, troops of playful antelopes disport before him, and announce the vicinity of more hospitable regions.[2]

Thus we reach Fezzan, or the country of the Garamantes, of whose inhabitants Herodotus has told us several remarkable particulars. They practise agriculture; he tells us they put soil upon the salt. The soil of Fezzan, according to Lyon, is in general sandy and barren. It is only by the help of manure that a forced produce is raised.[3] That salt, therefore, may answer the purpose equally well, must no doubt be admitted; and the great salt plain of Mafer proves that there is plenty of it. Nothing, therefore, hinders Herodotus's account from being taken in its most literal sense. Should this, however, be doubted, the Narrative of Lyon offers still another, and perhaps more probable, explanation: for Fezzan, according to him, is in some parts very abundant in white clay.[4] In order to render the soil more productive this is mixed with sand, as it is with marl in many parts of Europe. It is unnecessary to observe how easily ignorance or carelessness might confound this white clay with salt.

Respecting the kine with horns bending forward, I have in vain sought for some explanation in our writers on natural history. Fezzan contains, according to Lyon, three different species of the buffalo;[5] the *wadan*, an animal of the size of an ass, having very large horns; the *bogra el weish*, which is a red buffalo with large horns, and about the size of an ordinary cow; and the white buffalo, of a lighter make; but of horns bending forward he makes no mention. They were better known, however, in antiquity. Alexander of Myndus, a celebrated naturalist, has minutely described them in his works;[6] but I doubt, nevertheless, their having formed a distinct species. The neatherds of Africa frequently amuse themselves in giving an artificial form to the horns of their cattle by continually bending them.[7] This was probably the case here; and this, an early conjecture of mine, has been since confirmed by a monument. In the procession upon the great bas-relief of Kalabshe, for an accurate drawing of which we are indebted

[1] The desolate mountains, in which nature appears entirely lifeless, are divided into the black and white, and were first described by Hornemann. The black were known to the Romans by the name of *mons ater*. Pliny, v. 5. [2] *Proceedings*, l. c. Hornemann, p. 55. [3] *Narrative*, p. 271. [4] *Narrative*, p. 272. Even though it should be the grey, and not the completely white clay, the mistake might occur very easily.
[5] *Narrative*, p. 76. [6] Athen. p. 221. [7] Like the Caffres. Barrow, *Descript. of the Cape, etc.*, p. 130.

to Gau, among the presents brought to the king appear two yoke of steers, with horns, not of a natural, but evidently of an artificial shape:[1] one being bent straight forwards, the other backwards. Whether this was done in mere wantonness, or whether, like the Caffres, before elephants were tamed, they made use of them in war, and in that state found them more adapted to the purpose of attack, I cannot determine.[2] The extraordinary thickness and hardness of their hides, mentioned by Herodotus, is also noticed by modern travellers in their description of African cattle.[3]

The hunting of men, in which the Garamantes are said to have taken delight, scarcely requires an explanation. "They are wont," says Herodotus, "to hunt the Troglodyte Ethiopians in four-horsed chariots." These Ethiopians seem to have been a wild negro race, dwelling in caves in the neighbouring mountains, who were kidnapped by the Garamantes to be sold for slaves. And the latest accounts respecting Africa throw, even upon these statements of Herodotus, a really astonishing though melancholy light.[4]

The mountains, of whose inhabitants we are now speaking, belong to the Tibesti range, found at some days' journey to the south of Fezzan, in the deserts of Borgoo. These are in the present day inhabited by the Tibboos, most probably a branch of the ancient Libyan race. The Tibboo Raschadé, or Rock Tibboos, still dwell in caves. But the old inhabitants of this country, among whom the Tibboos have settled themselves by force, were negroes; and even at present the inhabitants of Bilma are mostly negroes, or of a black colour; and the historian, therefore, is fully justified in describing them as such.

The *hunting* of the human race is indeed so little out of use, that the sultan of Fezzan still carries it on annually, substituting, however, for four-horse chariots, a body of cavalry and infantry. While Captain Lyon was there, an expedition of this kind took place under the command of one of the sultan's sons, and the father wept tears of joy when he returned from the *Grazzie*, for so is this expedition called,[5] with one thousand eight hundred prisoners, composed of old and young men, women, and children. In this respect, then, Africa has always remained the same. Beside this, a trifling circumstance mentioned by Herodotus, respecting the language of these people,

[1] Gau, *Monuments of Nubia*, plate xv. [2] Marmol, *Afrique*, i. p. 52.
[3] Hornemann, p. 127. [4] *Narrative*, p. 281. [5] *Narrative*, p. 250, etc.

is confirmed in a manner we could hardly have expected. "They have no language like other men," says he, "but shriek like bats." "When the Augilians speak of these tribes," says Hornemann, "they say their language is similar to the whistling of birds."[1]

In another place, and upon another occasion, Herodotus says of these Garamantes, that they fly the society of men, and shun all intercourse with them: they are entirely without war-like weapons, and know not how to defend themselves.[2] It is plain that this can only be understood of a single tribe, who dwelt in some out of the way corner of the desert, lying at a distance from the route of the caravans. It is almost impossible to picture more briefly and accurately the timidity of these poor creatures, who take every stranger for a robber, than is here done by Herodotus. A similar picture, but drawn in still more lively colours, is given us by Leo of Africa, in his Narrative, of a company of merchants, who, missing their way, unexpectedly fell in with a horde of this description.[3] Should we seek for another in the present Fezzan, it may be found in what Captain Lyon states respecting the poor inhabitants of the village of Terboo.[4]

Thus have we traced with certainty the route which led from Upper Egypt to Fezzan, and identified it with that now in use. But in doing this we have almost forgotten Carthage. It is apparent, however, that these caravans were almost entirely composed of her subjects; Herodotus, moreover, has given us a hint, which at once leads us to turn back, and plainly points out the road *by which they journeyed from the territory of the republic to Fezzan.* I therefore claim the indulgence of the reader to say a few words on this, before I attempt to trace the two still more distant stations of the Atarantes and Atlantes.

When Herodotus mentions the Garamantes, he states that "from them to the Lotophagi, by the shortest way, is thirty days' journey."[5] This remark contains sufficient information.

The seat of the Lotophagi has been ascertained to lie in the neighbourhood of the present Tripoli; between it and the Lesser Syrtis. A journey, therefore, southwards, into the interior to the Garamantes, would lead us, according to the latest

[1] Hornemann, p. 143. [2] Herod. iv. 174.

[3] Leo, p. 246. Hornemann's account of the poor inhabitants of the village of Ummesogeir, who, being peaceable and weak, chose rather to trust to the protection of their sanctuary than to take up arms, may serve as an example. Hornemann, p. 16.

[4] *Narrative*, p. 220. [Or the *Modern Traveller, Africa*, ii. p. 190.] [5] Herod. iv. 185.

English accounts, exactly along the same line of road by which the caravans now go from Tripoli to Fezzan, and from this city still farther into the negro countries. Hornemann performed this journey, though not with a caravan, and deviated from the usual direction. Thanks, however, to Captain Lyon, we have a complete description of the route.[1]

The usual route from Tripoli runs at first along the coast beyond Lebida, the ancient Leptis Magna, not far from Mesurata. From this point it turns directly towards the south. Great Leptis, therefore, was the staple town for the caravan trade; its extensive remains still bear witness of its ancient splendour.[2] It is here that persons arriving from the interior catch a first glimpse of the sea; and those who journey towards central Africa take their leave of it, as it is no farther visible. The first place on the road is Bonjem, on the northern boundary of Fezzan, 30½° N. Lat.; the next is Sockna, 29° 5′; farther on is Sebha, 27° 2′; and next is Mourzouk, or Zuila, the distance being the same to each. The road lies partly through the desert; but travellers never provide water for more than five days, as there are several fertile districts on the way. This route, therefore, seems appointed by nature, for on both sides, to the east and west, are uninterrupted wastes. It was also the ancient route. Should any one question it, the exact agreement of the time stated by Herodotus, with that of Captain Lyon, will convince him. He departed from Mourzouk the 10th of February, with rather a small caravan, consisting of loaded camels and slaves, which were joined by others on the way. His day's journeys were, therefore, of the usual length of the caravans. On the 17th of March he came in sight of the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, in the country of the ancient Lotophagi. His journey therefore took up thirty-six days, six of which he halted at Sockna, and which being deducted from the whole amount leave thirty, exactly the number stated by Herodotus.[3]

We have therefore now shown that the route from the country of the Lotophagi, and likewise from Carthage, to Fezzan in the interior of Africa, was a common and well-known

[1] *Narrative*, chap. viii. ix. p. 290—334.

[2] The remains of the walls, pillars, etc., are in the gigantic style. *Narrative*, p. 337.

[3] Hornemann performed the whole of the journey from Mourzouk to Tripoli in fifty-one days. His statement, however, cannot be taken as a rule; as he himself remarks that he journeyed very leisurely; and the number of halting days, which he has not mentioned, are included. Hornemann, p. 119. His way led by Wadan, which was situate some distance to the left of Lyon's route.

route, respecting which, and that from Upper Egypt to the same place, no doubt can remain. The routes, however, described by Herodotus, do not end in the country of the Garamantes, though they meet there. He carries us still twenty days' journey farther, to the seat of the Atarantes, and finally to the Atlantes, where, as he himself confesses, his knowledge ends. Thus far we have been able to follow him, conducted by modern travellers who have trod exactly in his footsteps. Now, however, these guides gradually, though not altogether, leave us. The Narrative of Lyon, in connexion with that of the latest adventurers, which has already found its way to Europe,[1] will direct us a little farther on the road. The reader, however, will be aware, that probability is all that can be now expected. I hope, however, to render this more than empty conjecture.

Recent discoveries have changed, in one important feature, the geography of the interior of Africa. They show that the great empire of Bornou, which is placed in our maps to the south-west of Fezzan, lies almost directly south. Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, and Lari, the boundary city, together with Angornou, the most considerable town of the Bornou empire, according to these accounts, lie almost exactly under the same meridian.[2] These accounts, resting upon accurate information, and not upon hearsay statements, throw a light upon the direction in which were situated the series of tribes enumerated by Herodotus.

Herodotus has no further determined this direction than by saying that it stretches along the border of the great desert. Probably he thought it enough to say it here run along to the west, without stating anything particular respecting it. That it did not, however, continue full west, but swerved to the south, the previous inquiry and Herodotus's statement respecting the abode of the Garamantes, have already shown. It will not therefore be straining the meaning of his words to give it a more southerly direction. By taking this course it also runs along the border of the desert, which is here occasionally relieved by fertile patches; while, on the contrary, a full westerly direction from Fezzan would lead into the midst of the great desert, which he himself held to be impenetrable and inaccessible.

[1] See above, p. xxxi. [Heeren adds in this note that he made use of Denham, Clapperton, and Oudeny's Narratives, as given in the *Quarterly Review*, *Dec.* 1823; *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1824, *etc.* It scarcely needs be mentioned that the full Narrative of their Travels and Researches has been since published.] [2] *N. Annales*, p. 137.

Without attempting, however, to bias the judgment of the reader, or to pass that for more than probable which is still doubtful, let me be yet allowed to explain the reasons which induce me to believe that those two tribes must be sought for in a direction south of the Garamantes.

The country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan, has always been a principal seat of the trade of inner Africa and the negro countries. This appears from the statements of the Arabian geographers, and from those of the latest travellers.[1] It is here that the caravans assemble which go to Bornou, and to the southern countries, comprised under the name of Soudan, or Nigritia. It is not, however, a country rich in natural productions; but is merely, from its position, the great mart of the trade carried on between the countries on both sides of the desert.

Surely, then, when we find this place mentioned in antiquity as the point where the commercial roads from Egypt and from the Carthaginian territory joined, without, however, ending here, we must admit that the conjecture thereby obtains great force, that it was at that time what it has been since; and that the continuation of the route would run towards the south. This opinion will acquire additional force if we remember the permanency, of which we have already spoken, of the commercial intercourse in this quarter of the world.

To this it may be added, that the articles of commerce obtained here, show that such an intercourse existed. The slaves and precious stones obtained by the Carthaginians from the country of the Garamantes, necessarily presuppose an intercourse with the most distant countries where both these articles were to be procured.

Let us see, then, who these Atarantes are, to whom a new journey of ten days would bring us, and where they are to be found. What direction must the caravans now take, so as not to miss them? Since we have determined to follow the great road towards Bornou and Soudan, we discover them in the territory of Tegerry, the most southern place reached by Captain Lyon.

Tegerry is the frontier town of Fezzan towards the south, in 24° 4′ N. Lat. According to Lyon it is the usual halting place for the caravans which come through the desert from

[1] Hornemann, p. 186.

Bornou, and frequently of those which come from Soudan.[1] The inhabitants sell, at a high price, the necessaries of life to the half-famished merchants. Dates are the only things to be had cheap and of any quantity. The cultivation of the date-palm, however, ends here. On the south of the city the desert immediately begins. The springs contain brackish water; salt cannot, therefore, be wanted, although this is not expressly remarked. The exact distance from Zuila, as marked on Captain Lyon's chart, is one hundred and sixty miles; which, according to the usual course of the caravans, certainly amounts to no more than eight days' journey.[2] I must leave my readers to choose whether they will take the day's journey at something shorter, or include the last two in the following station, which, as we shall presently see, amounts to something more than ten days' journey.

Although Tegerry belongs to Fezzan, yet it is here, according to Captain Lyon, that the Arabian language ends and the Bornou begins. And it is certainly a very extraordinary fact, that here, likewise, a report handed down to us by Herodotus, should be confirmed by a late account of Bornou, written too by a traveller who knew nothing of his history, and who lived almost two thousand years after him.[3]

"The Atarantes," says Herodotus, "have among them no proper names for individuals, and are the only people of this sort." This is certainly a most extraordinary fact, as not one of our modern travellers has met with anything of a similar kind, even among the rudest nations. Notwithstanding this, Leo of Africa relates exactly the same thing of the inhabitants of Bornou, to the south of Fezzan; and gives us at the same time a clew to this difficult question. "A merchant," says he, "who came from the empire of Bornou, and had lived for a considerable period among its people, informed me that there were no proper names whatever among them. All are called after their height, thickness, or some other accidental quality, and have, therefore, merely nicknames." How far this account may be worthy of credit, is a matter of no importance;

[1] *Narrative*, p. 240, 241. [2] This is the time it took Capt. Lyon, (*Narrative*, p. 219—238,) although he did not travel with a laden caravan, for which ten days would scarcely seem too much. A difference of one or two days' journey in ten almost always happens to single travellers from accidental causes. [3] Leo, p. 255. He also says of this same people, p. 247, that they invoke, with great vehemence, the rising sun. Does this explain Herodotus's account of the imprecations which they utter against it? It must, besides, be particularly remarked, that Leo had not read Herodotus. He knew nothing but Arabic, and a little Italian, which he only learned in his old age. But if he had read it, it would not have lessened the force of his evidence.

it proves in either case the existence of a tradition in Africa which confirms the fact mentioned by Herodotus respecting his Atarantes, in the time of Leo; and certainly, respecting a people who dwelt within the boundaries of the very extensive empire of Bornou. We also find another example in the Narrative of Captain Lyon[1] which further confirms it: a black wife of Mukni, sultan of Fezzan, who came from that country, was named Zaitoon, (olive-tree,) probably from her shape.

We have now only to fix the last station mentioned by Herodotus; that of the Atlantes, which closes his account of the Libyan tribes. At this point Captain Lyon leaves us as an eye-witness; nevertheless the information he collected, in connexion with the narrative of later British travellers, throws a light upon the statement of Herodotus which is truly surprising. The route holds the same direction; and is a continuation of the great commercial road to Bornou. It leads to Bilma, the principal seat of the Tibboos; just midway between Mourzouk and Lari, the frontier town of Bornou, we find the Atlantes of Herodotus. The distance from Tegerry is stated by Captain Lyon to be eighteen days' journey, but only of eight hours each;[2] others reckon it no more than seventeen,[3] which, according to the usual manner of reckoning, amount to somewhere about twelve or thirteen days' journey. Greater accuracy than this can scarcely be expected. If, however, we add the two day's journeys which are over, to the distance from Zuila to Tegerry, we have exactly the number of twenty days' journey, which, to agree with Herodotus, is required from the Garamantes to the Atlantes; and there only remains the discrepancy, that the intervening station of the Atarantes does not lie exactly in the midst.

The Atlantes, according to Herodotus, dwelt on a very high mountain, steep and round on every side. It is so lofty that the inhabitants call it the pillar of heaven; a salt-hill lies in its neighbourhood.[4] The district of Bilma, we are told by Lyon, is very mountainous, having large rocky tracts of perfectly black stone.[5] Some of these rocks are so high and steep that their tops are scarcely visible; or, as the Arabians express it in their figurative language, "you cannot see their top without losing your cap." According to the latest travellers, it is upon these rocks that are situated, in order that they may be secure

[1] *Narrative*, p. 59. [2] Ibid. p. 244. [3] Ibid. p. 265.
[4] See p. 97. [5] *Narrative*, p. 266.

from the attacks of the Tauriks, the four towns of the Tibboos, of which Bilma is the most important.[1] How well does Herodotus's description apply to this neighbourhood! Another circumstance is still to be noticed. Bilma is the great salt mart for the negro countries: thirty thousand camel loads are yearly carried from its salt-lakes by the Tauriks to Soudan.[2] Nature herself prescribes this commerce, as no salt is to be found farther south.[3] Does not this offer us a very natural reason, why Herodotus's information respecting these tribes should end here? It was the great market where the tribes exchanged their commodities with one another. A similar circumstance occurs in the steppes of central Asia, among the Argippæi.[4]

The reader is still at liberty to adopt or reject the observations I have here made; but before taking leave of the narrative of Herodotus, let us cast a glance at the last wonder he mentions relating to inner Africa.[5] "Ten days' journey into the great desert is a salt mine (ἁλὸς μέταλλον). The inhabitants there build their huts with blocks of salt, because no rain of any kind ever falls there. The salt which they dig is partly white and partly coloured; beyond these places a completely barren desert follows."

The same account is given almost verbatim in Leo Africanus's description of the large salt mines of Tegaza, in the heart of the desert, where he himself was detained for three days. According to his account[6] they are situated on the south-east border of the desert of Zanhaga,[7] and are about twenty days' journey from Tombuctoo. They were worked by people sent there for that purpose, who dwell in miserable huts about the entrance of the mines. Their food is brought them; and they not unfrequently perish of hunger, or become blind

[1] *N. Annales des Voyages*, p. 137. They are named Kiskbi, Aschanuma, Dirki, and Bilma. [2] *N. Annales*, l. c.

[3] *Proceedings*, p. 252, 253. "The merchants of Kashna and Agades," it is here said, "go every year in numerous caravans to Bilma, to fetch salt, which they cannot procure at a shorter distance." The reader who will take the trouble to compare this now settled question with the former editions of this work, will find that the results are the same: only the proofs—thanks to extended discoveries—are new. [4] See Researches on Asia.

[5] Herod. iv. 185. The connexion of the passage in Herodotus shows plainly that this is neither the continuation of his description of the caravan route, nor a repetition of what he had said before; but only the account of a remarkable particular of which he had been informed. He therefore says: ten days' journey *into* the desert, not on the borders, as he himself thought the others. The preciseness of Herodotus in his choice of expressions is one of his greatest merits. He always says exactly what he should. How carefully he has here distinguished by the expressions ἁλὸς μέταλλον these *salt mines* from the *salt hills*.

[6] Leo, p. 224, 946. [7] *Zanhaga*, according to Leo, is the name of the western part of the desert between Morocco and Tombuctoo, it joins the often-mentioned desert of Zuenziga. The sandy region is here the broadest and the most dangerous to travellers.

by the fiery heat. From these mines of white and coloured salt it is that the negro countries on the Niger, belonging to the empire of Tombuctoo, are supplied with this necessary article. Large caravans of merchants travel there to procure it.

Let the reader judge for himself how far these two accounts agree; the statement of neither writer is sufficiently precise to enable us to determine exactly the situation of the salt mines spoken of. Whether, however, they are the same or different, (for many such may perhaps be found in this vast desert,) they at least convince us how well Herodotus was acquainted with everything remarkable in the desert, and how true his statements are. Short-sighted critics have often calumniated his manes; but the silence of the desert remains, in awful grandeur, an eternal witness of his credibility!

The regions of antiquity, which distance has so long mystified, and which have been buried, as it were, in a night of centuries, again begin to dawn. It is time, however, that we should draw to a close; let us, therefore, first collect, as well as we can, into general views, the great variety of circumstances which have come before us.

Respecting the commercial intercourse in general of the nations of interior Africa, no doubt can now remain; the vestiges that are left prove how active it must once have been. It has been shown that the places and districts which were its principal seats in antiquity have continued so to the present day. But how inferior its actual state, compared with what it was formerly, is amply proved by the monuments which still remain. What is the present Siwah opposed to ancient Ammonium; what even Cairo itself opposed to the royal Thebes? And yet it was the commerce of which we have been speaking, knit perhaps by certain religious ties, (now transplanted to Mecca,) to which they were indebted for their magnificence and splendour. If we may, or rather if we must, measure the trade of those days by this standard, how much greater and more important must it have been then! when the north coast of Africa, instead of being overrun by barbarians, was occupied by mighty civilized nations; by nations in whom commerce, if not the only, was at least the ruling passion.

Further: the principal articles of commerce were then the same as they are now; salt, dates, slaves, and gold. The caravans had a profitable motive for passing through districts

where salt was plentiful. Here they could load their camels free of expense with this commodity, which in the negro countries met with a sure and ready sale for slaves and gold dust. Respecting the traffic in the human species, its extent, and its arrangements, we have seen, as well in the interior of Africa as in Carthage and its foreign possessions, so many examples that further observations are quite unnecessary. I shall only add this single remark, that the slave trade of Africa at that time, as well as now, was mainly directed to females, who in the Balearian islands were sold for three times as much as the men.[1] Gold dust was always an article much sought for in the negro countries; and how well the Carthaginians understood the trade in this precious metal, has been already shown in the narrative of Herodotus given above. In addition to these commodities, there was in antiquity the equally important one of precious stones; particularly of that species called calcedonius, and which derived its name from Carthage.[2] The Carthaginians obtained them, as I have already shown, from the country of the Garamantes, whither they could only be brought from the mountainous districts of central Africa.[3] The calcedonius, or, as it is also called, the carbuncle, holds the first rank among the onyxes; it was made use of for drinking and other vessels; and from the extravagance shown in this respect, we may form some idea of the extent of this trade.

Again: the nations by whom this commerce was chiefly carried on, were the inhabitants of the districts between the two Syrtes; and particularly the Nasamones.[4] The expeditions and hardy journeys of discovery made by this people, are celebrated upon more than one occasion by Herodotus; they indeed imparted to him this information. These tribes and their neighbours still carry on an active trade. The bold inhabitants of Fezzan venture from the borders of the negro lands to the centre of India.[5]

The Carthaginians, then, by having these tribes under their dominion, held the caravan trade in their own hands; and the

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 344. That the caravans still continue to export more female than male slaves, is evident from the statements of Lyon, Burkhardt, and others.

[2] Καρχηδόνιος λίθος.

[3] Plin. xxxvii. 7. It is known that among the cut stones of antiquity there are many of whose native country we are entirely ignorant. Might not many of these be from central Africa? A remark, which I heard from a learned naturalist, that almost all these unknown stones are of Roman, and not of Greek workmanship, perhaps confirms this conjecture. A better acquaintance with the inner regions of Africa can alone render it certain.

[4] But that they did not all remain merely carriers, but took also a part in the trade, scarcely requires a proof. They became, in consequence, a very rich people, though they still continued nomades. Scylax, p. 49.

[5] *Proceedings*, p. 192.

otherwise barren districts of the Syrtes became, on that account, one of their most important possessions; and the acquisition of which tradition continued to celebrate, as having been procured by the voluntary sacrifice of the ambassadors.[1] The Emporia, or cities of Byzacium, on the borders of this territory, were, by their situation, the natural staple places of this trade, of the possession of which Carthage had truly reason to be jealous, and therefore remained completely silent respecting all that concerned it. The commercial intercourse with inner Africa was also the more easily hid from the world, because Carthage itself was not the place to which the caravans resorted; they were formed in districts scarcely known, and the towns nearest to the borders of the desert were the great staples for their wares.

CHAP. VII. *War Forces.*

ALTHOUGH the history of the Carthaginian wars does not come within the scope of the present work, yet the information respecting this republic would be incomplete, without some notice of its fleet and armies. After a glance at these, we shall be better able to judge of the might of Carthage; and neither the history of her aggrandizement or her fall could be well understood without it.

Carthage was powerful by sea and by land, limiting, in both cases, the force of this expression to the sense in which it may be used with regard to the states of that period, when the ocean had not yet been brought under the dominion of man; nor large standing armies, even in times of peace, kept in pay.

The idea, however, of maritime dominion must naturally have presented itself to the Carthaginians,[2] as soon as they obtained possession of foreign colonies, to which their fleets alone could carry them, and with which the maintenance of a continual and peaceful intercourse was highly necessary, even if the security of their own dominions had not depended upon it. The extent of their navy, and their whole maritime system, was formed to answer this particular purpose.

The operations of their navy were principally confined to the Mediterranean, or rather to its western half, and, perhaps, a small portion of the ocean lying just without the Pillars of

[1] See above, p. 18. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 134, 412.

Hercules. In this part lay the islands which the Carthaginians had partially or completely conquered; the coasts were here covered with their colonies; and we may therefrom form some idea of their maritime forces, which naturally arose with the necessity of maintaining these in subjection, and consequently of preserving a free communication with them, besides securing a passage over for their troops, and of defending their settlements from the approach of foreign enemies. To effect all this it required no more than an uninterrupted navigation of the seas, and secure stations for their fleets. When engagements took place in the open sea, naval tactics were not much wanted; distant voyages of warlike squadrons were at this period wholly unnecessary, and therefore unknown.

But even this dominion of the sea, limited as it was, had to be won from powerful rivals, and was not obtained without many struggles. They had the Etrurians in Italy, the Greeks in Syracuse and Massilia to contend with; and when at last they might have flattered themselves with having wrested the prize from these, the most formidable of all their rivals started up in Rome, where it was soon felt, that without the dominion of the sea, it was impossible to humble the pride of Carthage. There is no doubt but it was a continual jealousy of these powers which gradually developed the strength of the republic; and a due consideration of the long series of victories and defeats, even for centuries, which it cost it to maintain its preponderance, will give us the best means of estimating the powerful resources which it must have possessed.

Upon the nature and strength of the Carthaginian navy we are better informed than upon most other matters relating to that republic. Writers had so frequent occasion to speak of it, that they could not well avoid leaving us many particulars respecting it.

The principal harbour of the republic for its ships of war, was in the capital itself.[1] This had a double harbour, an outward and an inner one, so arranged that vessels were obliged to sail through the first to arrive at the other. An entrance, seventy feet wide, which might be barred with a chain, led to the outer, appropriated solely to merchant vessels, which could here safely ride at anchor. On one side of this a broad bank, or quay, ran along, upon which the merchandise was unladen,

[1] For the following particulars we are indebted to Appian, i. p. 435—438, and 482. Other Carthaginian cities, however, had harbours and docks for vessels of war, as Hippo, for example. Appian, i. p. 459.

and delivered to purchasers; and a gate opened from it into the city, without passing through the inner harbour. This latter was separated from the outward one by a double wall, and was destined to receive only vessels of war. In its centre arose a lofty island from which the open sea could be plainly seen. The station of the commander of the fleet was upon this isle, where signals were made, and watches kept, and from which could be seen all that was going forward at sea without those at sea being able to look into the interior of the harbour. The island as well as the harbour was strongly fortified, and surrounded with high banks, along which the docks, or depôts for the war-galleys, two hundred and twenty in number, were situated. Above these, in an equal number of divisions, were the magazines, containing everything necessary for the outfit of the ships.[1] At the entrance of each dock stood two Ionic columns, which, as they were ranged round the island and harbour, gave the whole the appearance of a magnificent portico.

The war-ships of the Carthaginians, previous to the time of the Roman wars, seem to have been triremes; of which the history of their wars with Syracuse gives several proofs.[2] But the custom of building larger vessels, which had been much followed since the time of Alexander the Great, particularly by Demetrius the town-taker, seems also to have been adopted by the Carthaginians; and even in their first war with Rome their fleets consisted of quinqueremes;[3] a vessel indeed with seven banks of oars is mentioned, though only as one captured from their enemies.[4]

The navigation of the Carthaginians was under the protection of their gods, of whom the sea-deities, their Poseidon, Triton, and the Cabiri, formed a separate class.[5] Images of these deities were placed upon the stern of their ships, (especially of their ships of war,) some of which bore, if we may rely upon the evidence of a poet, their names.[6]

[1] Without doubt, therefore, every ship had its storehouse, as they also have in our modern harbours. It seems likely that these magazines were of wood; for under Dionysius I. a report was spread that they were burnt, whereupon he built a vain hope that their fleet had suffered the same fate. Diodorus, ii. p. 60. [2] As, for example, in Diodorus, ii. p. 9, and in other places where he speaks of the Carthaginian fleets. There seems, in general, no doubt but that the Carthaginians, in their naval architecture, followed the Grecian school, especially that of Syracuse. Necessity must have led them to it. [3] This is clear from Polybius, i. p. 158, 159. [4] Polyb. i. p. 58. It was built by Pyrrhus.

[5] Munter, *Religion of the Carthaginians*, p. 97, etc. [6] Silius Italicus, lib. xiv. In the description of the sea-fight and the burning of the fleet; especially v. 572.

Uritur undivagus Python, et corniger Ammon,
Et quæ Sidonios vultus portabat Elissæ;
Et Triton captivus, et ardua rupibus Ætne, etc.

It certainly is not improbable that this was the case.

The usual number of their ships of war, or galleys, seems almost determined by the arrangement of the harbour, which agrees very well with what other information we have as to the strength of their fleets.[1] The number of vessels of war mentioned in the Syracusan war, by creditable writers, varies from a hundred and fifty to two hundred. It was greater in the first war with Rome, when their maritime force in general seems to have attained its highest pitch. In the fatal naval engagement by which Regulus opened for himself a way to Africa, the Carthaginian fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty galleys with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and that of the Romans of three hundred and thirty galleys with one hundred and forty thousand men.[2]

The navy of Carthage was manned partly by fighting men (ἐπιβάταις) and partly by rowers; so that a quinquereme contained one hundred and twenty of the former and three hundred of the latter.[3] The number of rowers contributed in a great measure to that velocity in their movements, for which the Carthaginian vessels are expressly stated to have been distinguished.[4] These rowers were composed of slaves bought by the state for this particular purpose,[5] and who, as they required practice, formed without doubt a standing body, that was in part, or altogether, kept up in time of peace. The quickness with which they manned their squadrons would otherwise be inexplicable.

The commanders of their fleet were distinguished from those of their land forces, to whom they were subordinate in those undertakings in which they acted in concert.[6] At other times they received their orders from the senate, which were not unfrequently sealed, and could not be broken open till the bearer arrived at a certain destination.[7] The victories of their fleets were celebrated by public rejoicings, and their defeat by public

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 685, 691; ii. 134. Though the same writer in two other passages (vol. i. p. 419, 606) mentions various greater numbers, yet they are evidently exaggerated, for which we are indebted to Ephorus. It remains to say that transports were always distinguished from vessels of war among the Carthaginians.

[2] Polyb. i. p. 66. The description of this engagement gives the best idea of the naval tactics of that period. The wedge-shaped formed fleet of the Romans broke through that of the Carthaginians, who had taken a position with the view of outflanking them. Above fifty ships were sunk in the battle, and sixty-four boarded and captured by the Romans. Above thirty thousand men perished. According to these statements, are not our greatest sea battles mere skirmishes compared with those of that time? [3] Polyb. l. c.

[4] As superior to the Syracusans, Diodorus, ii. p. 409, and to the Romans, Polyb. i. p. 130.

[5] According to Appian, i. p. 315, Asdrubal bought, during the second war with Rome, five thousand slaves at one time as rowers. Another proof of the extent of the Carthaginian slave trade. What market of Africa could now supply so many at one time?

[6] Polyb. i. p. 223. Hamilcar had his son-in-law, Asdrubal, in this manner under him.

[7] Diodorus, i. p. 685; cf. Polyæn. v. x. 2.

mourning. In the latter case the walls of the city were hung with black, and the fore part of the vessels were spread over with skins.[1]

The situation of the republic, and the whole course of its affairs, must naturally have led the Carthaginians to consider their navy as their main strength. This accounts for their paying so much attention to it, and its obtaining a degree of perfection, to which, as Polybius expressly remarks, their land forces would bear no comparison.[2] The many wars, however, in which the republic was engaged, and the maintenance of its large possessions, obliged it to keep large armies almost continually in the field. Here again, however, Carthage had regulations and designs peculiar to herself. Here we again recognise the policy of a commercial state, which chose rather to pay others to fight her battles, than to engage in them herself; and made even this policy the foundation of a commerce with distant nations.

It is evident, that in a state like Carthage not more than a small proportion of the citizens could devote themselves to the profession of arms; it is also clear that this more especially comprised the higher classes and nobles of the republic.[3] This explains Polybius's remark, that the land forces of the Carthaginians were neglected, with the exception of the cavalry;[4] the expense of which, as it made the service costly, endeared it in the eyes of these classes;[5] to whom it was further enhanced by the outward marks of dignity, the rings, which belonged to it. One of these was allowed to be worn for every campaign which had been made.[6] In the large Carthaginian armies we always find the number of proper Carthaginians small in proportion to the whole.[7] They formed, either altogether or in part, a separate corps, dignified with the title of the *sacred legion*, which seems to have been a sort of body guard of the general, not less distinguished by its valour than by its splendour, which was equally conspicuous in the equipments and drinking-vessels of its members.[8]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 422; ii. p. 399, 412. The meaning in the last custom is doubtful. Were they not perhaps black sheep skins? [2] Polyb. ii. p. 564. [3] See Diodorus, ii. p. 144, 399, 414. [4] Polyb. ii. p. 565. [5] But that in times of necessity the others also armed themselves will easily be understood. In one case of this sort the city of Carthage furnished forty thousand foot and one thousand horse. Diodorus, ii. p. 413, 450.

[6] Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 2. Does not this explain why Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, sent the rings of the Roman knights that were slain to Carthage, with the remark, that only knights durst wear them among the Romans? Livy, xxiii. 12. [7] In an army of seventy thousand men there were only two thousand five hundred. Diodorus, ii. p. 143, 414.

[8] Diodorus, l. c. It seems, however, from this passage, that this *sacred legion* did not consist of cavalry, but heavy-armed infantry.

The great armies which Carthage brought into the field, consisted, then, almost entirely of foreigners, whom they hired. Conquering commercial states, at all times, fall, to a certain degree, into some such custom, which is only changed in form by temporary circumstances. What, indeed, are the subsidies granted in the present day, but a modification of the same system? Scarcely any state, however, carried it so far as the Carthaginian: almost half Africa and Europe were in the pay of that rich republic.

A Carthaginian army, therefore, would have been a more interesting spectacle for one who desired to study the human species than for any information it afforded respecting military tactics. It was an assemblage of the most opposite races of the human species, from the most dissimilar parts of the globe. Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Phœnici-Africans formed the centre; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed as it were a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army.

The Carthaginians formed their armies designedly, as Polybius remarks,[1] of these various nations, that the difference in their languages might prevent them plotting conspiracies and tumults.

In respect to the mixed and heterogeneous mass of which it was composed, the army of Carthage bore a resemblance to that of the Persians. The latter united in itself the nations of the east, as did the former the tribes of the west. At one time only were these two states allied,—in the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and the enterprise of the Carthaginians against Sicily. Had circumstances permitted these two armies, at that time, to unite, what a remarkable exhibition they would have presented, —a muster of nearly all the varieties of the human species at that time known!

But even the Carthaginian army alone, when fully assembled, offers a considerable variety; and it comes exactly within the scope of my plan to examine, in detail, this interesting spectacle.

The number of Carthaginian citizens in their armies was

[1] Polyb. i. p. 167.

not, as has been already said, very considerable, although the corps itself was the most splendid of the whole. Their African subjects, which are always mentioned by Polybius under the name of Libyans,[1] constituted the sinews of their armies. They served both on horse and foot; and composed as well a part of the heavy cavalry as of the heavy-armed infantry.[2] Their weapons consisted of long lances, which Hannibal after the battle of Thrasymene exchanged for Roman arms.[3]

Next to these stood bodies of Spanish and Gallic or Celtic troops. Spanish soldiers were among the best disciplined of the Carthaginian armies, and generally served as heavy-armed infantry. Their uniform consisted of white linen vests bordered with red; and a large sword, with which they could either cut or thrust, was their principal weapon.[4]

Tribes of Gauls fought at an early period in the armies of Carthage. I can discover no where the least hint respecting what part of Gaul they were hired from; but I conjecture, from that lying nearest the Mediterranean. It seems, however, that the rudest and most savage tribes were chosen. They went entirely naked except a girdle, and fought with a sword only adapted for striking.[5]

Italy also supplied the Carthaginians with soldiers of several tribes. Ligurians appeared in their armies at the commencement of the wars with Rome,[6] and the Campanians even in those of Syracuse;[7] Greeks also were in their pay, but probably not before the Roman wars.[8]

The Balearic slingers were a kind of light troops peculiar to the Carthaginian army. They usually formed a corps of about a thousand men; and their powerful hurl had nearly the effect of our small muskets. Their stones dashed to pieces buckler and armour, and in a battle against the Syracusans they gained the victory for the Carthaginians.[9]

But the main strength of the Carthaginian armies consisted

[1] Polyb. i. p. 161, 196, 458, etc.; iii. p. 359. [2] Ibid. i. 647.

[3] Ibid. i. p. 584. [4] The most accurate account of the arms and clothing of the various troops will be found in Polybius, i. p. 648.

[5] They cast away their clothes in battle, Polyb. i. p. 287. The same writer also mentions them (i. p. 39) as in the Carthaginian pay before the time of the Roman wars.

[6] Polyb. i. p. 39. Compare Herodotus's list (vii. 165) of the nations of which Hamilcar's army was composed at the invasion of Sicily, B. C. 480, there were Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Lygians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, together, three hundred thousand men. We likewise learn, from the same passage, that the death of this Hamilcar was regarded as a sacrifice, that he was worshipped as a hero with offerings, and that monuments were erected to him in all their colonial cities, (*πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων,*) Herod. vii. 167.

[7] Diodorus, i. 605.

[8] Polyb. i. p. 82. Perhaps the Sicilian wars against Pyrrhus, which had a great influence upon the military affairs in general of Carthage, gave them the first idea of so doing.

[9] Diodorus, ii. p. 399, 401; cf. Polyb. i. 647.

in general of their light cavalry, of which they found an abundant supply in the nomad races on both sides of their territory. These hordes have always possessed, and do even now, an excellent breed of horses. They are in a manner born horsemen, being accustomed from their youth to exercise themselves and their fleet steeds in skirmishes and battles. All these tribes, from the neighbouring Massyli to the more distant Maurusii, who dwelt on the western ocean, in the present Fez and Morocco, were wont to fight in the Carthaginian armies, and to remain in Carthaginian pay:[1] from the east of their state, as far as Cyrene, the Carthaginians also drew levies, both in Africa and Europe, which were managed by senators deputed for that purpose.[2] Bands of these Numidian horsemen fought on small horses without saddles. A halter of twisted rushes served them for bridle, and even for that they scarcely had occasion, so well were their steeds disciplined. The skin of a lion or tiger served both for their dress and their nightly couch, and when they fought on foot a piece of elephant's hide was their shield. Their onset was rendered dreadful by the fleetness and cunning of their horses. Flight was no disgrace to soldiers who only fled to prepare for a new attack.[3] They were to the Carthaginians what the Cossacks are to the Russians. The heavy cavalry (*equi frænati*) consisted, in addition to the Carthaginians themselves, of Libyan, Spanish, and afterwards of Gallic horsemen. All these are often mentioned by Polybius.[4]

The Carthaginian military establishment partook of all the advantages and disadvantages to which great armies, composed of light troops, are generally subject. Among the former were, security from sudden attacks, facility of movement, capability of making forced marches and devastating routes, with the consequent impossibility of retreat; among the latter, want of discipline, pestilential disorders, difficulty of transporting horses and elephants by sea,[5] and almost certain defeat in regular

[1] Polyb. i. p. 458. This author enumerates four different tribes of these nomades from the territory of Carthage to the ocean: the Massyli, the Massæsyli, the Makkæi, (upon whose name critics disagree,) and the Maurusii, the most distant of them. All these tribes had their princes, chiefs, or kings, (just as writers choose to call them,) whom the Carthaginians always had for allies, and whose friendship they endeavoured by every means to preserve, especially by marriages with Carthaginian ladies of rank. Besides the example of Syphax, there is another in Polyb. i. p. 193. When an army was to be raised, Carthage sent senators to these chiefs to make contracts with them respecting the troops to be taken into pay. The tribes then followed their leaders. Diodorus, i. p. 581.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 635. An important passage, which gives us a clear notion of these extensive levies. What great preparations must have been necessary to raise such an army!

[3] Strabo, p. 1184. Appian, i. p. 317. [4] As for example, i. p. 532, 647.

[5] The remark will generally be found true, that the Carthaginians, wherever it was pos-

engagements against well-disciplined troops. It required the power and genius of a Hannibal to tame these savage hordes, and to discipline them into an army capable of defeating even the legions of Rome!

The way in which the Carthaginians collected their armies, sufficiently accounts for their being so numerous, although we have reasonable grounds to mistrust the large round numbers frequently specified. Even the reduced statements of Timæus,[1] make the amount of their armies much greater in the Syracusan than in the Roman wars, when the numbers could be more exactly ascertained.[2] That the republic, however, with her numerous resources, could easily raise an army of a hundred thousand men, requires no further proof.

Carthage only required armies of this magnitude in time of war; there is, however, no doubt but that a certain force was kept embodied during peace.[3] The numerous garrisons of the provinces were mostly composed of mercenaries,[4] as was also that of the capital.[5] The triple walls of the city contained both quarters for the troops and magazines for military stores. Each of these, on the inner side, had a double row of vaulted chambers. The lower ones contained stalls for three hundred elephants, and repositories for their food. In the upper were formed stables for four thousand horses, together with the necessary storehouses; and quarters for twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry.[6] These troops were under the command of a particular governor of the city.[7]

These accounts naturally lead us to reflections, which enable us to estimate fairly the real strength of the republic.

sible, preferred marching their troops by land, to transporting them by sea. Hamilcar went by land as far as the Straits on his expedition to Spain, (Polyb. i. p. 222,) Hannibal went by land to Italy. They do not seem to have found out the method of transporting elephants by sea previous to the Roman wars (Diodorus, ii. p. 502); at least we have no example of it in the earlier wars with Syracuse. They most probably learnt the use of elephants in warfare from Pyrrhus, and adopted them because Africa supplied them with these animals. The hunting of them must have been carried on upon a large scale, as even their first generals were sent out for that purpose, as Asdrubal, Giscor's son. Appian, i. p. 314. In the earlier times they made use of war-chariots instead. It is uncertain whether they imported this invention from Phœnicia;—we know from the wars of Joshua that they were not unknown there;—or whether they adopted them from the African tribes, with whom they were native, as among the Garamantes and the Zaueces. Herod. iv. 183, 193. The contagious disease in their armies deserves a separate inquiry. Was it really the plague? I doubt. See Diodorus, i. p. 697.

[1] See above, p. 2.

[2] According to the accurate statements of Hannibal, copied by Polybius from the monuments which he left behind at Lacinium, his army did not amount upon its arrival in Italy (where it certainly was soon reinforced by Gauls) to above twenty-six thousand men; and the African troops left behind in Spain, under his brother Asdrubal, to thirteen thousand four hundred. Polyb. i. p. 459, 511.

[3] Diodorus, ii. p. 457, gives a clear proof that such troops were kept always in pay.

[4] As in Sardinia. Polyb. i. p. 195, 203.

[5] Compare the accounts of the garrison which Hannibal placed here, Polyb. i. p. 459.

[6] Appian, i. p. 436.

[7] Polyb. i. 163, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγός.

Armies of hired troops can at no time completely supply the place of native warriors fighting for their home and their country. The moral excitement is wanting. The overpowering genius of a great man, joined to long exercise, as was the case in the two wars with Rome, may make such an army for some time formidable, but such a leader cannot always be found. In the war carried on against the ruler of Syracuse, mercenaries were mostly opposed to mercenaries, and here the balance was equally poised; in the wars against Rome they had to contend with Romans, and Carthage could not fail in the end to be subdued.

On the other hand, this system was so far of advantage to the republic, that foreign defeats caused but little harm: it was only the head of the hydra, which grew again as often as it was cut off. What did it matter to Carthage, whether a hundred thousand barbarians, more or less, remained in the world, so long as she had the power to replace them, and the money to pay them with?[1] To cut off these supplies was to paralyse the sinews of the state; and Roman policy did not fail to turn its attention to this point. Scipio forbade them to enlist troops in Europe;[2] and Massinissa improved the nomades of Africa into agriculturists.[3]

Finally, it will be easily seen that this system of war was closely connected with their commercial policy. National intercourse and national alliances could not be better promoted than in this way. By this a number of distant nations learned to know one another as comrades in arms; and all considered themselves as allies of Carthage, for whose interest they fought. How easy must the Carthaginian merchants have found access to these nations, when they every where found friends and old acquaintance? This must also have paved the way to the extension of their dominion. It is only by this that we can account for the otherwise inconceivably rapid conquest of Spain, which Carthage, after the first Roman war, completed in a few years, and which, nevertheless, occupied Rome afterwards for above a century.

Upon the whole, however, this system could afford the republic but little internal security. The impossibility of calling an army like this together in a short time, must have made

[1] How light the Carthaginians made of these troops is shown by two striking examples. A band of them, which had begun to mutiny, was left upon one of the Liparian islands to famish. Diodorus, i. p. 339. And Himilco left a whole army of them to shift for themselves; when he merely bought the retreat of the Carthaginians. Diodorus, i. p. 700.

[2] Appian, i. p. 370. [3] Appian, i. p. 452; Strabo, p. 1190.

every sudden attack dreadful. Their enemies soon found this out; and repeated examples have shown that their fleets were not always sufficient to repel invasion. As often as this happened, a struggle for life or death must have ensued; and although they might easily make good the loss of a foreign defeat, yet, in every war upon their own ground, their ALL rested upon the cast of a die.

CHAP. VIII. *Decline and Fall.*

To portray the causes of the decline and fall of mighty states, necessarily requires long and profound meditation. Where does history instruct us, if not here? These inquiries, however, certainly possess a much higher interest when applied to the history of free states, than when applied to monarchies: for though in the latter the talents and characters of the rulers are more accurately determined, both the prosperity and decline of the former must be traced to the operation of more deeply-seated causes. But among all the republics of the ancient world, there is, perhaps, no one which unites in itself so much to make a detail of the causes of its fall interesting to every age, as that of Carthage. It does not, however, seem that any one has yet thrown that light upon it, which, from the foregoing accounts, might reasonably be expected. The decay of Carthage has been supposed sufficiently accounted for by the increasing preponderance of Rome; and if any one has cast a glance into the interior of the republic, it is only to speak of a faction headed by Hanno, which endeavoured to oppose the family of Barca from the hereditary hate they bore it, in consequence of its having formerly prevented supplies from being sent to Hannibal in Italy. Every reader[1] must feel how unsatisfactory such remarks are; let me, then, venture to hope that the following discussion will lead to a more intelligible and accurate, though somewhat different view.

We have already pointed out, in the inquiry on the govern-

[1] The cause of all these incorrect views may doubtless be attributed to Livy's having been considered the chief authority. I think, however, that I have shown how careless he was of every thing respecting the internal state of Carthage; and I am not the least afraid that any reader, who has a proper sense of criticism, will contradict me upon this head. Polybius, in this respect, certainly ranks far above him; but in the period which is here decisive, namely, from the end of the mercenary to the beginning of the second Roman war, he is so unpardonably short, (his narrative, i. p. 222, does not fill a single octavo page,) that he can scarcely be quoted as an authority. The basis of my opinion, on the contrary, are the statements in the fragments of Diodorus, especially the twenty-fifth book, *Op.* ii. p. 510, 511, and 567; and Appian, i. 105—110.

ment of Carthage, the epoch from which we must date its internal decay: namely, the first peace with Rome.[1] The seeds of the evils, however, must have been sown much earlier, as two abuses in particular had already taken deep root; namely, the sale of the highest places, which also presupposes bribery at elections, and the accumulation of several high offices in the same person.[2] Nevertheless, the history of Rome, as well as that of some modern states, teaches us, that the sale of the higher offices is not quite so quick, and so necessarily an absolute evil, as might at the first glance be supposed.[3] It is commonly known how the parliamentary votes are managed in England; and formerly in France the sale of almost every place was lawful. How far such arrangements are likely to become pernicious, will depend in general upon the morals and patriotic feeling of the nation. In an aristocratic free government, like Carthage, it is perhaps the least hurtful; because the rich, who outbid their competitors for places of honour, must, from their having the greatest stake in the country, have the most interest in maintaining the constitution and internal tranquillity: experience has at least sufficiently confirmed this with regard to Carthage. Enough of the history of that republic is known to make it certain, that, up to the time of the war with Rome, the spirit of the constitution, taken altogether, had not degenerated. This is sufficiently proved by the evidence of Aristotle[4] down to the time he flourished. The two attempts, which had been made by two very powerful men, to subvert the government, had both been frustrated, without further consequences.[5] The dominion of the senate continued undisturbed; and, what of itself is a decisive proof, we hear nothing, down to this time, of factions in the republic.

During, however, the first war with Rome, the seeds of corruption were sown; and the man who sowed them was Hamilcar Barca. Thus it was the fate of the republic, that the very house which became the support of the tottering fabric of the state, should be the same which first undermined its foundation.

It is generally known how gloriously this wonderful man opened his career, when only a youth, in the first war with Rome. Even at that time he appeared, by maintaining himself during six years in Sicily, as one of those superior geniuses,

[1] See above, p. 66. B. C. 241. [2] Aristot. ii. p. 280.
[3] I need scarcely mention that this is no unconditional defence of such abuses. On the contrary, I am perfectly convinced that they must necessarily become dangerous in the end, if not so at first. [4] Aristot. *Op.* ii. p. 251. [5] See above, p. 50.

who, leaving the footsteps of their predecessors, form new systems of their own. Unconquered, and indignant, he at last signed that treaty which for ever deprived the republic of its bulwark, Sicily.[1]

Immediately after this peace, Africa itself became unexpectedly the theatre of a contention of a still more formidable nature, in which Hamilcar acted a principal part. Immediately after the close of the war the republic wished to disband the mercenaries, whom they could now do without; and they had the imprudence to admit an army of thirty thousand men into Africa, at a time when the treasury was so exhausted that it was altogether unable to satisfy their demands. A mutiny was the consequence, which gave rise to a contest that soon assumed all the horrors of a formal civil war, as the rebels were soon joined by many or most of the Carthaginian subjects, among whom they found a couple of the most daring and enterprising leaders. It was not till after a struggle for life and death, and which lasted for four years, that the republic was able to gain the upper hand.[2] Notwithstanding the fortunate termination of this war, it must always be regarded as having laid the foundation for the future calamities of Carthage. During its continuance it gave rise to a private feud between two great men, which was followed by greater consequences than perhaps either of them expected; Hanno, surnamed the Great,[3] and Hamilcar Barca. Hanno, before this war, had been governor of one of the African provinces, and had there lately had an opportunity of extending the dominions of the republic by the conquest of the great city of Hecatompylus and its territory.[4] Upon the breaking out of the African war, he was at first appointed general, but so greatly did he disappoint the expectations which had been formed of him, that he brought the republic to the brink of ruin.[5] The blame of this war had been hitherto thrown by the magistrates upon Hamilcar Barca, from his having made such large promises to the mercenaries in Sicily; notwithstanding this, they now saw it necessary to have recourse to him, and accordingly appointed him commander with Hanno.

[1] Polyb. i. p. 406. [2] Polybius gives the particulars of it in his first book.
[3] Appian, i. p. 106. He is the same whose party afterwards appears as the party in opposition to that of Hannibal. It seems from Appian, i. 348, that he was still alive at the close of the second Roman war, and therefore must have reached a great age. This also accounts for his party having attained so much strength.
[4] Polyb. i. p. 180, 181. Diodorus, ii. p. 565. He is here called a man fond of fame and extravagant enterprises. [5] Polyb. i. p. 182, 184, 204.

His glorious deeds, however, excited, in a short time, so much the jealousy of his colleague, that the senate soon became sensible, that the command must be left with one alone; and that it might give no offence, it left the choice to the army, who decided in favour of Hamilcar. In consequence of this, Hanno, for the present, was dismissed; but when Fortune again turned her back upon the Carthaginians—when Utica and Hippo had declared for the rebels, and one of the Carthaginian generals had been defeated and taken prisoner—they found it impossible to do without him. A particular deputation, therefore, consisting of thirty of its members, was sent by the senate to promote a reconciliation between those two powerful men,[1] and this being for the moment effected, a successful termination of the war was the happy consequence.

But the spirit of faction, once raised, did not again die. The enemies of Hamilcar, who not only threw upon him the blame of the war, but also the loss of Sardinia, occasioned by it, attacked him formally, by commencing an impeachment. In this danger Hamilcar sought the support of the people. He gained one of the firmest and most popular among them—his future son-in-law, Asdrubal; he flattered the lower orders, and assembled round him a band of depraved and seditious men.[2] While he was in this manner forming for himself a party among the people, it happened that he was not only acquitted, but obtained moreover a command in Africa, (where about this time some commotions had broken out among the Numidians,) at first conjointly with Hanno, but afterwards, on the restoration of tranquillity and recall of Hanno, he remained sole general.[3]

The appearance of the first general of the republic on the stage as a leader of the people, must necessarily have given a violent shock to the whole fabric of government. The authority of the senate, hitherto unimpaired, and through it the whole existing aristocracy, received a blow which made it totter, and from which it never completely recovered. Hamilcar was, or threatened to become, the Marius of Carthage.

In this manner there became formed an aristocratic and a democratic party in the republic: the former that of the sen-

[1] Polyb. p. 215. [2] Diodorus, ii. p. 567. An important passage.

[3] Appian, i. p. 105. The passage of Appian leaves it still undetermined whether Hamilcar's impeachment during the war of the mercenaries happened before he obtained the command, B. C. 216, or two years later, at its close. By comparing the passages of Diodorus, the latter seems to me most probable, though I am uncertain. With regard to the fact itself, the difference is of little consequence.

ate and *optimates*, or higher families, the latter that of the people. It was by the latter that the house of Barca[1] was at first raised. Perhaps, however, this schism might not have been without remedy, or at least might not have produced the effects it did, if it had not given birth to a new project, the final consequences of which to the republic it was impossible to foresee.

This project was the conquest of Spain; and if history had not named Hamilcar as the first mover of it, his situation, at the time it originated, would have pointed the finger of conjecture towards him. There is, however, no contemporary circumstance where so little uncertainty prevails. Indeed, according to the clearest evidence, he undertook the expedition into Spain without the permission of the senate, and was only exculpated by its fortunate results.[2] From this time the conquest of Spain became the hereditary project of his family, and was the true foundation of its greatness.

It is easy to trace how the situation of Hamilcar's affairs, at that time, might have directed his attention to this enterprise. He had the twofold character of general and demagogue to support at the same time; and he must have soon discovered that great treasures, as well as glorious deeds, would be required to maintain his place at the head of his party. To the republic itself this important aggrandization must at the first glance have appeared highly desirable—perhaps even necessary. With its previous political state it could not be satisfied. A new maritime power, not having trade but conquest for its object, had established itself in the Mediterranean, and displaced theirs. Their dominion over the islands was overthrown; Sicily and Sardinia, their best provinces, were lost. Where could they hope to find a better compensation for all these than in Spain, a country in which they had already formed many connexions by their trade and their levies? If it be, moreover, true,—and as we have the express testimony of se-

[1] I use this name because Roman writers have used it before me, although it is improper. The name of Barca (*fulmen*) was the personal surname of Hamilcar, and not that of a family, which were not at all in use in Carthage; but surnames, derived from particular attributes, or even from the resemblance to certain animals, were there very common. This also shows that there was no proper family nobility at Carthage, which without family names cannot easily take root.

[2] The greatest proof of this is a passage in Appian, i. p. 229. "Hamilcar," he says, "being accused by his enemies for his bad management of the first war with Rome, contrived to procure a command against the nomades in Africa, before answering for his former conduct. In this war, by his good fortune, by booty, and gifts, he so won over the army, that he led it by way of Gades into Spain, without leave of the Carthaginians, whence he sent great treasures to Carthage, in order to gain the people. Thus he drew the Carthaginians on by his conquests and glory to desire the possession of all Spain."

veral writers, it scarcely admits of a doubt,—that Hamilcar already believed he here saw the means of triumphantly renewing the struggle with Rome, then we see how his private interest coincided with that of the republic.

Notwithstanding all this, it is evident that the prosecution of this project shook the entire fabric of the republic to its foundation. Spain was the richest country of the then known world. How great must the power of that house have become which made this ancient Peru in a manner its province! What interest might it not obtain whenever it chose to cause its treasures to flow to Carthage! Could there be much difficulty for it even to mount above the rabble and form itself a party in the senate itself, and in this manner to rule the republic, while it undermined the constitution without formally overthrowing it? And what would have been able to hinder these generals from effectually overthrowing it, as soon as they had formed for themselves there,—as Cæsar did in Gaul,—an army entirely dependent upon them.

That these apprehensions were by no means groundless, history proves by the clearest evidence. As long as the Barcas ruled in Spain, so long did they rule the distant Carthage. During the nine years that Hamilcar had the command there, he found means, either by negociations or force, to subjugate nearly the whole country. By its treasures he supported his influence; partly by enriching the state-treasury; but mostly by purchasing the affections of the army, and keeping alive the spirit of his faction.[1] While thus the silver of Spain continued to flow towards Carthage, nothing less could be expected than that the possession of this country would be of the highest consequence in the eyes of the people. Hamilcar did not live to see the execution of his final project; but when he died, and his son-in-law Asdrubal succeeded him,[2] the formidable power of the Barcine faction began to exhibit itself in an alarming manner. Asdrubal continued the faithful follower of his father-in-law's system in letting the wealth of Spain flow towards Carthage;[3] but his plans in Spain were much more extensive. He built a new capital with regal splendour,[4] which received the name of New Carthage; the richest silver mines were opened in its neighbourhood.

He subdued the Spaniards rather by kindness than by force;

[1] Appian, i. p. 106. [2] B. C. 228; ten years from the commencement of the second war with Rome. [3] Appian, i. p. 106. [4] Diodorus, ii. p. 511; cf. Polyb. iii. p. 206. Strabo, p. 220. The present Carthagena.

he married the daughter of one of their kings. And being by all the Spaniards acknowledged as their general-in-chief, he endeavoured, according to the account of a contemporary writer,[1] to lay the foundation of an independent dominion in Spain, having previously made an unsuccessful attempt to cause a revolution in Carthage itself. After having governed Spain for eight years, he fell under the stroke of an assassin; and Hannibal, whom he had himself formed, was named as his successor, first by the army and afterwards by the senate. The opposite faction in Carthage, however, having found means to gain over the people, were desirous of bringing those persons to an account whom the bribes of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had so much enriched;[2] upon which Hannibal, in order to maintain himself and his party, commenced with more haste the war against Rome, upon which he had already resolved.

It is only from a due consideration of all these circumstances that we can judge of the rise and progress of the Barcine faction, and of the changes which it produced. At its origin it espoused the cause of the people; but the wealth of Spain was sufficient to corrupt even many of the great, and with them a strong party in the senate, where, at the commencement of the second war with Rome, the Barcas evidently had a decided preponderance. The more, however, the partisans of that house were enriched, the more easy it was for envy to stir up the people for a time against it, till the heroic valour of Hannibal again put them to silence.

This flexible disposition of the party is precisely the most striking proof of the truth of the narrative; for it is one of the grossest mistakes into which history can fall, to consider political parties, especially in republics, as constant and unchanging bodies; though there is no more difficult task for the historian than to trace out their variations.

From all this the truth and meaning of Polybius's remark, that the Carthaginian government had degenerated before the commencement of the second war with Rome, by an increase of the power of the people, will be set in a just light.[3] The senate at that time appears indeed as the ruling body; but the

[1] Namely, of Fabius, in Polyb. i. p. 403. Fabius, as Polybius states it, says Asdrubal went to Carthage after he had obtained the command in Spain, in order to effect a revolution which should place him at the head of the state. The leading men, however, saw his intention, and united together to prevent it; whereupon he returned to Spain, and there, without troubling himself about the senate, made himself sole master. The account of Fabius is perhaps exaggerated, though there can be little doubt but it contains much that is true, notwithstanding the severe, but to me very unsatisfactory, criticism of Polybius, which in fact does not refer to this point but to another. We at least see by it what confidence was placed in Asdrubal. [2] Appian, i. p. 109. [3] Polyb. ii. p. 563, 564.

senate itself was ruled by a faction, which relied upon its great favour with the people, though another party was always opposed to it, of which Hannibal the Great, till the end of the second war, seems to have been the leader.

But the views and transactions of these two parties require a further development as often as we change the point of view in which we consider them, since no other motive was given to the opponents of the Barcas, but mere envy at their greatness.

According to the statements of all writers, the renewing of the struggle with Rome was the sole act and favourite project of the Barcas; and was connected in the closest manner with their other enterprise—the conquest of Spain, which they prosecuted with so much good fortune. Hence it was that the expedition came to be undertaken from this country, whence they drew their chief supplies, and led by a general who had been trained to arms in this same country. Its great results are generally known. The glorious days of Thrasymene and Cannæ seem to have surpassed the boldest hopes that could have been formed at Carthage.

The natural fruits of these victories would have been a peace with Rome upon fair and moderate terms, which would have restored to the republic its lost possessions in Sicily and Sardinia. And in the eyes of such patriots of Carthage as did not desire a war of extermination, this wish appeared the more excusable, as the republic, with all its efforts, could expect to obtain no immediate advantage beyond it. Every victory, however, instead of leading to peace, seems to have driven it to a greater distance. The more the fame of the Barcas was exalted by the war, the less did they wish for its conclusion; and this is fully proved by the fact, that in the whole course of the war, previous to Scipio's invasion of Africa, there is not a single word said about any negotiations whatever.[1]

How far this line of policy might be true or false, whether it was possible for Carthage and Rome to exist together or not, it is now unnecessary to discuss. But to those who would not regard the aggrandizement of the Barcas as the object of the war, the reflection will spontaneously arise, that the opposite party, from the manner in which they viewed affairs, might also be right, and might not act altogether from dishonourable motives, although they desired peace.[2]

[1] Polyb. iii. p. 502.

[2] There will be found no closer resemblance to the struggle of these two parties in Carthage, than that of the Whigs and Tories during the war of the Spanish succession in

That it is in this way that the contest between these two parties must be viewed, namely, one as clamorous for peace, the other desirous above all things to continue the war, is clear from what is said by Livy.[1] A detailed history of this party-contention cannot be given for want of information. Nevertheless we see that towards the end of the war, the party at that time for peace, and which indeed Hannibal joined on his return to Africa, gained the upper hand in the senate; while a democratic party made use of, on the contrary, all the influence it possessed, to frustrate the pending negotiations.[2]

But whatever change might have taken place in the character of these parties within themselves, it is at least certain that the Barcine faction maintained a preponderance in the senate during the last years of the war; the usual opinion, therefore, that the opposition of Hanno crippled the progress of Hannibal by his having sufficient influence to prevent his being supported in Italy, requires at least a good deal of confirmation to make it consistent.

Reinforcements and supplies directly from Africa did not at all enter into the immediate plan of the Carthaginian general. It was more particularly one of his great ideas, from the commencement of the war to the time he left Italy, that these should be supplied from another quarter, namely from Spain; and the whole history of the war is taken in a wrong point of view if this be not duly considered.

The reasons why he expected to draw what assistance he should require from thence, may be detailed in a few words. Spain was the principal seat of the power and the resources of his house;[3] but, above all, it was the field in which his troops were trained to arms. As the war with Rome had

England. Were not the latter justified in wishing for peace, although Marlborough, at the head of the Whigs, was against it? This comparison might be carried still further, and could not fail to be instructive if it were in place here. Perhaps there is not in history a finer parallel than might be drawn between Hannibal and Marlborough, if a Plutarch could be found to do it justice. Their both contending for ten years upon a foreign soil without being subdued would alone be sufficient to justify the comparison. But much more striking similarities are found in their general circumstances; in their bold enterprises; in the formation of their heterogeneous armies; in their murderous battles, planned for annihilation; in their comprehensive political activity; in their dominion over the men by whom they were surrounded; in their unfortunate fates; and, indeed, even in their perhaps unique weakness, for both were unable to withstand the influence of gold. The proper and authentic key to Hannibal's character is found in Polybius, iii. p. 144, as the writer obtained it from the mouth of Massinissa, at one time the friend and fellow-warrior of the great Carthaginian.

[1] See the discourse of Hanno, Liv. xxiii. 12.

[2] Appian. i. p. 345.

[3] Some estimate may be formed of the immense income which the Barca family drew from Spain, from what Pliny relates of the produce of the mine Bebulo, (so named from its discoverer,) situate near New Carthage, and belonging to Hannibal. Plin. xxxiii. 6. "Ex quibus Bebulo puteus appellatur hodieque, qui cc pondo Hannibali subministravit in dies." That is, three hundred Roman pounds of silver, making about one hundred thousand pounds a year.

never relaxed here, armies were here formed that were already accustomed to stand before the legions; consequently they must have been infinitely superior to the raw, newly-raised levies from Africa.

Hence, therefore, the great design of the Carthaginian general, (to effect which he unceasingly laboured from the commencement of the war,) that his brother Asdrubal should reinforce him with a second army from Spain, whose place should be supplied by a body of troops from Africa, in order still to maintain a preponderance there against Rome.[1]

The truth of this remark appears evident, as well from the history of the war, as from the continual preponderance of the Barcas in the Carthaginian senate. The order to march towards Italy was sent to Asdrubal from Carthage, immediately after the account had been received of the great victory of Cannæ, and a new army to act in Spain was sent there under the command of Hamilco.[2] The Romans, however, were aware of this design, and it was therefore the task of the two Scipios in Spain to hinder its execution. They did this at first by the victory near the Ebro,[3] whereupon Mago, the other brother of Hannibal, was sent into Spain by the Carthaginians even in the very same year, B. C. 215, with a strong reinforcement.[4] But the double victory of the Scipios near Illiturgi, purchased them a continuance of the superiority.[5] The Carthaginians, nevertheless, sent over a third army, under the command of Asdrubal the son of Gisco;[6] while, just about the same time, another must have been sent, together with a fleet, to the assistance of the besieged Syracuse.[7] The treble victory of Munda, however, B. C. 214, enabled Scipio to maintain his ground.[8] After these bold and active operations, the struggle rather slumbered here for two years,[9] when the Romans fell into the trap the Carthaginians had set for them, and the two Scipios were slain[10] (212). The victory gained by Marcius over the Carthaginians, and the still more important entrance

[1] Doctor Becker, of Razeburg, to whom we are indebted for a learned treatise, introductory to a history of the second Punic war, differs from me in this and some other points. I confess that his arguments do not convince me. I think it, however, best to leave the matter to the reader's judgment, as the question here is not of the events themselves, but of the opinion formed respecting them; and here, perhaps, difference of opinion may be the most instructive. Concerning the main object in the eyes of the Carthaginians, the importance of the Spanish war, (although perhaps originally begun without their consent,) and the preservation of that country, which I believe to have been first brought to light in this work, there is no difference of opinion between us. [2] Liv. xxiii. 27, 28. In the year 216. They feared the execution of this plan from the first victory of Hannibal. Polyb. i. p. 608.
[3] Liv. xxiii. 29. [4] Ibid. xxiii. 32. [5] Ibid. xxiii. 49. [6] Ibid. xxiv. 41.
[7] Ibid. xxiv. 35. [8] Ibid. xxiv. 42. [9] Ibid. xxv. 32. [10] Ibid. xxv. 35, 36.

of the younger Scipio into Spain in the next year, still delayed the execution of the plan; but as the Carthaginians founded their only hopes of success upon its completion, they prosecuted it with the more zeal for these hinderances,[1] and made the greatest preparations to reinforce the army of Spain. The victory of Scipio, and all his efforts, could not prevent its accomplishment;[2] Asdrubal crossed the Pyrenees and Alps with a numerous army; and had he not lost his life in Umbria, the fame of the deified Scipio might have been placed in a critical situation.

Probably, from the course of this war, we may in some degree account for that decline of the maritime forces of the republic during it, which even ancient writers have considered as one of the main causes of its fall,[3] and which no where appears more evident than in Scipio's crossing over to Africa without a fleet being sent out to oppose him. In the prosecution of their design the Barcas had but little occasion for a navy, it had held therefore only a secondary place; and the powerful exertions which the land service cost, perhaps rendered it impossible to maintain the other upon an equal footing.

However this may have been, what we have above said will sufficiently answer the question how this party-spirit first arose. And it is, properly, upon *this* question that the fall of every republic usually depends. A nation united in itself is un-

[1] Liv. xxvii. 5. [2] An obscurity hovers over this point of history, both in Polybius and Livy, which cannot but surprise every attentive reader. It must be allowed that Scipio committed one of the greatest military faults in permitting this expedition of Asdrubal if it were in his power to prevent it. Although he gained, according to Polybius, iii. p. 280, a victory over Asdrubal, he did not consider it prudent to follow him to the Pyrenees, whither he had fled with the remains of his army, and Asdrubal appears a few months later, and after a rapid harassing march, with fifty-six thousand men in Italy. Is not this enough to awaken some suspicion respecting this victory? Can we help suspecting that the writer desired to touch upon this subject as lightly as possible, which he knew would not be agreeable to the family of Scipio? He certainly states, as a reason for Scipio's not following him, that he feared the two other Carthaginian generals; but does this free him from the reproach of having suffered himself to be outreached by Asdrubal? But even in the account of Livy, the fact bears a somewhat different appearance. He mentions, it is true, the victory of Scipio near Bæcula (xxvii. 18, 19); but he states at the same time, that Asdrubal had made preparations before the battle to march towards the Pyrenees; and that Scipio, although he was advised to follow him, thought it sufficient to occupy the mountain passes with a body of troops (xxvii. 20). Appian, however, (i. p. 135,) places these events in a much clearer light. According to his account, Scipio, before the said battle, was in a very perilous situation. The battle, the issue of which long remained doubtful, but finally decided for Scipio, helped him out of this (Polybius, therefore, certainly might, without being false to history, ascribe the victory to Scipio). But Asdrubal had, before this, caused numerous levies to be raised on the northern coasts; and, deceiving Scipio, he suddenly turned thitherward, and, with the troops there assembled, crossed the Pyrenees. To none of the generals of that period has less justice been done than to Asdrubal. A fair character of him may be found in Diodorus, ii. p. 569; where he is said to be, without dispute, the first general after his brother Hannibal. He is ranked, moreover, next to him as well as Mago, Hannibal's younger brother, by Polybius, iii. p. 138. History rarely exhibits a similar race of heroes! They are mighty men. They rank too high to be obscured by centuries. [3] Appian, i. p. 310.

conquerable; but the most mighty people become an easy prey to their enemies when the spirit of faction prevails over patriotism.

How violent this spirit must have been, during the second struggle with Rome, is plainly shown by the deep degeneration of the government at its close. The relation of Livy, notwithstanding the Roman colouring he has given to it, leaves no doubt on this head.[1] According to him, a powerful body of the republic, which he calls the order of knights, had usurped a tyrannical authority, and exercised a despotic power over the goods and persons of the citizens.[2] Its members held their places for life, and as they appointed the ministers of the treasury, they had that in their interest. From what we know of the Carthaginian constitution, this order of knights was most probably the council of the hundred, which in this stormy period found the best opportunity of founding a reign of terrors,—the fruit usually brought forth by the riot of faction. When Hannibal became head of the commonwealth, he annihilated these abuses by a twofold reform; as he made the offices of the centumvirate annual instead of for life, and regulated the management of the treasury. But even these reforms nourished the spirit of faction, as Hannibal thereby made all those his enemies who had fed upon the public; and

[1] Liv. xxxiii. 46.

[2] *Ordo judicum.* In explaining this passage of Livy, much, in consequence of his making use of Roman appellations, must be left to conjecture. I therefore beg that my view of it may be taken in this light. Two things are certain. First: the *ordo judicum* was a high state and police tribunal. Secondly: Hannibal was at the head of it (prætor *eorum* scil. judicum factus). I take it, therefore, to be the *centumvirate*, or *gerusia*, (see above, p. 55,) which arose out of the anarchy, and usurped a tyrannical power. In the *gerusia* the suffetes enjoyed the presidency. The expression *prætor*, therefore, stands here either for suffes, or we must suppose it to mean an extraordinary magistrate, a sort of dictator, yet not of the warrior kind, which, under the extraordinary circumstances of the period, would not be surprising. At all events, Hannibal stood as chief magistrate at the head of the republic. As such he cited the *quæstor* before him, who could be no other than the first minister of finance. He did not, however, obey him, as he was certain, after his quæstorship, to be brought into the *ordo judicum*, the *centumvirate*. According to Aristotle, (see above, p. 58,) when they left the *pentarchies*, they became members of the centumvirate. It seems, therefore, highly probable that the quæstor was chief of the pentarchy, which directed the affairs of the treasury. This agrees with what we learn from Aristotle, (see above, p. 58,) that when persons left the pentarchies they entered into the gerusia. Hannibal's reform consisted of two objects. First, in making the duration of the office of the members of the centumvirate yearly instead of for life, which broke the oligarchic power of this assembly; and secondly, by reforming the abuses of the treasury; partly by rigidly enforcing the payment of the arrears, and partly by restoring to the state that which belonged to it. This interpretation seems to me to agree best, not only with the words of Livy, but also with all we know of the Carthaginian government in the better days of the republic. The identity of the gerusia and centumvirate as a high state tribunal, is also, according to my judgment, confirmed by a passage in Livy, xxxiv. 61. "When," says he, "the suffetes were seated, in order to administer justice, (*ad jus dicendum,*) the note of Aristo (the private agent, who had fled, of Hannibal) was found posted up in their seats, stating that his commission was not to private persons, but *ad seniores*, (*ita senatum vocant,*)" therefore, to the gerusia, of which the suffetes, in order to administer justice, were the presidents. For where, except in that assembly, could the note mentioned be more properly fixed up?

the stipulations of the last peace with Rome were not suffered to die away.

In the decline of free states every misfortune becomes doubled, as it scarcely ever fails to re-animate the fury of parties. Mortified pride seeks for revenge; and the guilt of unsuccessful war, and humiliating peace, is hurled from one party to the other. Their mutual hate is thus not only increased, but becomes greater than their hate to the most haughty foe; and thus becomes explained the melancholy, though in history constantly recurring phenomenon, that it becomes easy to the latter, in such states, to form itself a party, which enables it to accomplish its designs.

This melancholy phenomenon showed itself at Carthage, in its fullest extent, after the second peace with Rome. A Roman party, first formed by the opponents of Hannibal, performed the office of continual spies for that republic.[1] The expulsion of that great man, who in the afflictions of his country showed himself above all party-spirit, was their work, and is the best proof of their strength and their blindness. Who was to fill up the void caused by his absence?

But the last peace with Rome contained, by the relation in which it placed Massinissa with Carthage, a condition, which seems not less to have contributed to the internal disorder. In him the republic clearly saw a neighbour and overseer, who, by the help of the Romans, sought to aggrandize himself at its expense, and who at last snatched away the best portion of its territory, the rich district of Emporia.[2] He also found means to buy himself a party in Carthage, which at last became so daring, that they were driven from the city,[3] and thereby gave occasion to that unfortunate war which led to the fall of Carthage.

There certainly stood opposed to these factions, as might be expected, a party of patriots,[4] who, by bringing to remembrance the happy days of the time gone by, strove to recall them. It seems never, however, to have found a leader worthy of that rank;[5] and plain traces show, that it suffered itself to be provoked by its opponents into a precipitate and incautious

[1] Liv. xxxiii. 47. [2] Polyb. iv. p. 547.

[3] Appian, i. p. 394. No other writer has so accurately described the outrages which Carthage had to endure from Massinissa.

[4] These three factions are distinguished and described by Appian, i. p. 390. The immense population of the city, which, even in its latest periods, is estimated at seven hundred thousand, must have made the contention of these factions dreadful.

[5] Compare Polybius's portraiture of the last Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, iv. p. 701.

line of conduct, which was rather hurtful than conducive to the good cause.[1]

This violence of factions, the accurate detail of which must be left to a proper history of Carthage, continued with little interruption from Hannibal's exile to the overthrow of the republic. The life of Massinissa seemed as if it would never close; and his pretensions increased with his years. In the Roman senate a party was formed, principally by the offended purity and hateful passions of the elder Cato, whose watch-word was the annihilation of Carthage, which led to the speedy renewal of hostilities.

The last struggle of the unfortunate republic requires no commentary. It was the struggle of a giant in despair, who, certain of destruction, would not fall ingloriously. How many and what causes had long been working together to render this fall at last unavoidable, it has been the object of the foregoing work to develop; and the close of this great tragedy confirms the observation, that Rome trusted to itself and its sword—Carthage to its gold and its mercenaries. The greatness of Rome was founded upon a rock; that of Carthage upon sand and gold-dust.

ETHIOPIANS.

CHAP. I. *Geographical Survey of the Ethiopian Nations.*

ETHIOPIA, THE MOST DISTANT REGION OF THE EARTH, WHOSE INHABITANTS ARE THE TALLEST, MOST BEAUTIFUL, AND LONG-LIVED OF THE HUMAN RACE. HEROD. III. 114.

UNTIL we can obtain fuller and better information respecting the nations of inner Africa, there must necessarily remain several wide gaps in the history of our race, whose number and greatness it will perhaps be impossible to estimate correctly until these shall have been filled up. This observation may be applied indifferently to the moral and physical state of man. Africa, from its situation, naturally contains the greatest variety of the human race, in a physical point of view; and it may be fair to conjecture, from that very circumstance, that the moral differences are equally numerous.

[1] Compare what Livy says of Gisco, the son of Hamilcar. *Epitom.* 1. xlviii.

He who wishes to examine the influences of climate on nature, and particularly on the outward figure and colour of man, will find Africa the only quarter of the world which offers him an unbroken chain from almost the highest to the lowest grade of physical organization. Neither Europe nor Asia contain continents which reach to the equator; in America various causes concur to weaken the influence of climate;[1] besides which European policy has taken so much pains since its discovery, to exterminate and corrupt the aboriginal tribes, particularly the better and more cultivated, that the philosopher is deprived of the materials most worthy of, and which would best repay, his attention. Australasia, and the newly-discovered islands of the South Sea, are only so many links of a chain every where torn asunder. Africa, on the contrary, forms of itself one immense whole; one continent, which, arising under the temperate zone, stretches, without losing much of its width, across the line, and finally tapers off almost to a point, in the temperate zone of the southern hemisphere. This vast tract is every where sown with nations, which, like the various kinds of corn before the introduction of husbandry, have sprung up in various shapes, under the fostering hand of nature alone, and are ripening towards civilization.

The inhabitants of the northern coast differ but little in colour and form from the Europeans; but the difference gradually becomes more striking; as we approach the equator, the colour darkens, the hair becomes more woolly, the profile undergoes a remarkable change, and man at last becomes altogether a negro. Beyond the equator, the figure and swarthy colour of this unhappy race are again lost in successive gradations. The Caffres and Hottentots seem to have, from what we know of them, much of the negro nature, without however being completely negroes.[2]

All the innumerable varieties of form therefore found in the human species, and every shade of colour from the white to the negro, are exhibited before us on the vast scene of Africa, and certainly there only in an uninterrupted series. How different then will this important branch of natural history appear, when the labours of capable travellers shall have given us, by their drawings, descriptions, and researches, such an accurate and scientific detail of these variations, as shall enable

[1] Zimmermann, *Geographical History of Mankind*, i. p. 78.
[2] Blumenbach's *Natural History*, i. p. 56.

us to form a true idea of these successive and gradual changes, of which, up to the present time, taking into our account even the latest discoveries, we know scarcely anything more, than that they justify us in drawing the above general inferences.

The additions likely to be made from these sources to our knowledge of the great families of mankind, both in a moral and psychological point of view, are perhaps yet more considerable. But we still require better information of what man *is*, and may become, in those regions. For which shall we take as our standard? Not, I hope, those unfortunate beings who, torn from their country, their friends, and from all those associations which affect the heart of a negro, groan beyond the ocean under the tyranny of the European, whose lash would soon suppress every development of mind, which, in spite of his cruelty, might show itself.—Or shall we take it from the report of travellers? Our circle of information has certainly been enlarged by them during the last ten years, and adventurers have pressed forward from the north, from the west, and from the south, yet the most persevering of them have been unable to reach Tombuctoo, or any other large inland town where the civilization of these nations has reached a higher point; or if they have reached it, we still lack anything like accurate information respecting it.[1] What, however, we have learned from Leo Africanus, and from Mungo Park and his successors, justly excites our admiration, though it is far from satisfying our curiosity. What a picture of rising cultivation did Park catch a glance of in the neighbourhood of Seego, on the banks of the Joliba! The great question respecting the rise and first formation of states, which hitherto has been little more than an object of speculation, seems here likely to become historically answered. Religion, legislation, national law, all appear here in their infancy, but still in a great variety of changing shapes, and show in as many ways

[1] The latest known travellers, Denham and Clapperton, starting from the north coast, have penetrated as far as 10° N. lat.; from the Cape on the south the missionaries have pushed into the neighbourhood of the southern tropic, into the country of the Bitschuances; where the advance of a mighty nomad people, the Mantatis, from the heart of Africa in the year 1823, will probably prevent the farther progress of discovery for a long period. The particulars of this may be seen in the *South African Journal*, No. I., for January 1824, published at the Cape. The war with the Ashantees has also interrupted the progress from the west. No European has yet seen the sources of the Joliba.

[Since the publication of the original German of this work, our unfortunate countryman, Major Laing, and the French adventurer, Caillié, have penetrated to Tombuctoo; but the cruel murder and robbery of the former, and the limited talents of the latter, render the additions made to our stock of information much less interesting than might have been expected. They, with the recent discovery of the flux of the Joliba into the sea, are noticed in Appendix, ix. *Translator.*]

their influence upon these still uncultivated people.[1] The great machinery, such as general emigrations, vast conquests, either by rude or civilized nations, suddenly-arising and far-spreading systems of religion, which have at one time accelerated, and at others abruptly retarded, the progress of civilization in other quarters of the globe, seem to have had much less effect in the interior of Africa. The propagation of the Mahometan religion, which has penetrated as far as the countries on the Niger, is perhaps the only external shock that these nations have received, and this, though it certainly has had some effect, has produced no rapid or remarkable consequences. All here is left to itself, and moves along in the slow, but certain course of nature.

Except the Egyptians, there is no aboriginal people of Africa with so many claims upon our attention as the Ethiopians; from the remotest times to the present, one of the most celebrated and yet most mysterious of nations. In the earliest traditions of nearly all the more civilized nations of antiquity, the name of this distant people is found. The annals of the Egyptian priests were full of them; the nations of inner Asia, on the Euphrates and Tigris, have interwoven the fictions of the Ethiopian with their own traditions of the conquests and wars of their heroes; and, at a period equally remote, they glimmer in Greek mythology. When the Greeks scarcely knew Italy and Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated in the verses of their poets; "they are the remotest nation, the most just of men; the favourites of the gods. The lofty inhabitants of Olympus journey to them, and take part in their feasts; their sacrifices are the most agreeable of all that mortals can offer them."[2] And when the faint gleam of tradition and fable gives way to the clear light of history, the lustre of the Ethiopians is not diminished. They still continue the object of curiosity and admiration; and the pen of cautious, clear-sighted historians often places them in the highest rank of knowledge and civilization.

To what shall we attribute this early renown of one of the most distant nations of the earth? How did the fame of its name penetrate the terrible desert which surrounds it, and,

[1] Those, for example, who would learn the origin of republics, or would wish to see the growth of *mysteries* and *secret tribunals*, may consult Golberry's account of the institution of the Purrah among the Foulahs. [The author here alludes to the *Fehmgerichte*, an institution peculiar to Westphalia, and made use of by Sir Walter Scott in Anne of Geierstein.]

[2] See all the passages where Homer speaks of the Ethiopians, for example, *Odyss.* i. v. 23, etc.

even still, forms an almost insuperable bar to all who would approach it? To suppose all the above particulars the mere offspring of the poet's imagination, will scarcely be allowed by any at all acquainted with the nature of early traditions. But if they were more than this, if the reports respecting this people were founded in truth, then the above questions become of the greatest importance to ancient history, and have the stronger claim to our attention; as no one yet, within the circle of my knowledge, has at all satisfactorily answered them.

A great many nations, different and distant from one another, are comprised under the name of Ethiopian. It would be taking a distorted view of the subject to consider them as one nation, or even as one race. The study of the natural history of man was but little cultivated in antiquity; nations were distinguished according to the most remarkable difference in their appearance, namely, their colour; and thus all those who were strikingly distinguished from Europeans by a very dark, or completely black skin, received the general appellation of Ethiopians.

After these remarks it will not seem strange that we find Ethiopian nations scattered over a great part of the ancient world. Africa certainly contained the greatest number of them, yet they were not the only inhabitants of this part of the world, nor were they confined to it alone. A considerable tract of Asia was occupied by an Ethiopian race; and as India was often made to comprise southern Africa, so, in like manner, Ethiopia is frequently made to include southern India. It is of great importance to the general scope of this inquiry, that we should show somewhat more accurately the extent and variety of the seats of these nations. It is, however, scarcely necessary to notice, that, of the ancient writers, only the more eminent historians and geographers can find a place here; as what we attempt will be rather a general geographical outline, and a detail of particulars.

They agree, for the most part, in dividing the native tribes of Africa into two distinct classes, the Libyans and the Ethiopians.

"Thus much I know," says Herodotus,[1] "four nations occupy Africa, and no more; two of these nations are aboriginal, and two not. The Libyans and Ethiopians are aboriginal; the former lying northward, and the latter southward, in Libya;

[1] Herod. iv. 197.

the foreign settlers are Phœnicians and Greeks." This division will be found exactly followed by succeeding writers; although they are not very accurate in the use of names. And, notwithstanding we should grant that no essential distinction of races is here pointed at, yet it is at least evident, that the inhabitants of the north and the southern parts of northern Africa, are so distinguished from one another, and particularly by the colour of their skin, that they considered them as entirely different races.

The father of history, therefore, as well as the other Greek writers, comprised under the name of Libyans[1] all the nations which they knew in northern Africa without the territory of the Carthaginians and Greeks, as well as the separate tribes, which, as far as the Lesser Syrtis, Herodotus has so carefully enumerated;[2] and the nomad tribes of western north Africa, which later writers have rescued from obscurity, equally belong to them.[3] The first important question, therefore, that presents itself, is, who were these nations, and are any of their descendants now to be found?

Since the migratory invasions of the Arabs north Africa has been so much changed, with regard to its inhabitants, that this question cannot be answered without great difficulty. These conquerors have, by partly living in towns, and by the pastoral life of the far greater number, spread themselves over every part of northern Africa, where they are now comprised under the name of Moors.[4] Their tribes wander over the vast tracts between the Mediterranean Sea and the Senegal and Joliba; and are notorious as a nation for their savage barbarity and religious fanaticism. It has, however, for a long time been ascertained that they certainly are not the only inhabitants of these extensive regions. Even early travellers[5] distinguished from them a race known by the name of Berbers, who dwell in the southern provinces of Barbary and Morocco, and especially in the Atlas mountains, whither they have been pressed back by the progress of the conquering Arabs, as they had previously been by the Vandals.[6] But the recent discoveries

[1] The Egyptians, of course, are not included in this remark, as their country was not usually considered as forming part of Libya. This also applies to the Arab tribes, who, as will hereafter be shown, migrated to the east coast of Africa and Ethiopia at a very early period. [2] See above, p. 7, 10. [3] See above, p. 127.

[4] This name is often improperly applied to all the inhabitants of northern Africa, to distinguish them from the negroes; but it can only correctly be used to distinguish the Arab tribes in Africa, from the north coast to Sahara, who are likewise known by their language.

[5] See the narratives of Hoest, Shaw, etc.

[6] We learn from Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, that they attempted, in the time of the

in Africa have thrown a new light upon this circumstance, or at least changed the thick darkness in which it was enveloped into a glimmering twilight. Without, then, attempting to prove their common descent, or relationship, I shall comprise under the name of Berbers all the aboriginal tribes of northern Africa beyond Egypt, from the Atlantic Sea to the Arabian Gulf, in opposition to the Moors and negroes. This survey will be facilitated by our separating the western half from the eastern.

The narratives of Hornemann[1] and Lyon have now made us acquainted with two nations in the western countries altogether different from the Arabs and negroes: we mean the Tibboos and Tuaricks, both of whom, from their widely-extended places of abode, and especially the latter, demand our consideration. They dwell, says Hornemann, to the south and west of Fezzan; their territory being bounded on the south-east by Bornou, on the south by the negro countries, and on the west by Fez and Morocco. Settlements of them, however, are to be met with in Fezzan itself, in Augila and Siwah, in which places the language of the Tuaricks is the proper language of the inhabitants. They are, indeed, divided into many tribes, but all speak the same language, which is entirely different from the Arabic. The proofs of this which have been sent to England have led to a very important consequence, as it has been found by comparison to be exactly the same as that spoken by the above-mentioned Berbers in the Atlas mountains;[2] so that no doubt can remain but that these and the Tuaricks are one and the same people. With regard to their colour, though it certainly is not exactly the same in some of the tribes, yet the difference seems in a great measure to depend upon their place of abode and their manner of living; and, properly speaking, they are but mere variations of the tint, which, owing to these causes, is sometimes lighter and sometimes darker. The western branch of this race are white, so far as the climate and their habits will allow it. Others are of a yellow cast, like the Arabs; others again swarthy; and in the neighbourhood of Soudan there is said to be a tribe

Vandals, to regain possession of their lost territories. To seek for a Carthaginian or Vandal race now, however, in the interior of Africa, would be as fruitless an undertaking as it would be rash to deny that Phœnician or German blood has not mixed with the native tribes, which, perhaps, has even had some influence upon their colour. The account we shall presently give of the Tuaricks may probably confirm this conjecture.

1 Hornemann, p. 129—132.

2 See the comparison made by Marsden. Hornemann, p. 235.

completely black. Their lineaments, nevertheless, have nothing in them of the negro kind. The Mahometan religion has been introduced among them, but has not been very generally adopted: paganism mostly prevails. They usually lead a nomad life, though some have fixed abodes; they are slimly made, and rather above than under the common height. Their moral character is favourably spoken of, and they would probably become, if their natural talents were better cultivated and enlightened, one of the first nations of the world. Commerce is their principal occupation; their caravans ply between the negro countries and Fezzan; and the principal city of the latter country, otherwise desolate and lonely, becomes enlivened at their arrival.

These particulars are confirmed and extended by Captain Lyon, who observed the Tuaricks[1] at Fezzan. He says they are the finest race of men he ever saw; tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing. They are generally white; the dark brown of their complexions only being occasioned by the heat of the climate. Their arms and bodies are as fair as many Europeans. They certainly are whites, though somewhat tanned. Their costume is composed of cotton; and they are very partial to blue and striking colours, especially the merchants, who generally dress very gaudily while in the towns. They all wear a whip, hanging from a belt passed over the left shoulder. Their weapons are a long sword and a dagger, without which no Tuarick is ever seen, and a long elegant spear, highly ornamented, and sometimes made entirely of iron. Their language is the Breber, or original African tongue, still spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, in some parts of Morocco, and at Sockna, where it is called Ertāna. They are very proud of its antiquity. They are Moslems; but their knowledge of religion very often consists in a mere form of prayer. They inhabit that immense tract found in our maps under the name of Sahara, or the great desert, and are of numerous tribes, some of whom wander like the Arabs, and subsist by plunder. They travel on the maherri, or dromedary, with which they perform incredibly swift journeys. Many of their tribes are in perpetual war with the Soudan states, from whom they carry off an immense number of slaves, the principal article

[1] *Narrative*, p. 108—112. Compare his plates, ten and eleven, where they are represented in their costume and finery. The custom of covering the lower part of the countenance, from the nose downwards, serves as a protection from the sand and hot wind.

of their trade. The nearest place of the Tuaricks is ten days' journey to the south of Morzouk.

It is therefore evident that even still an extensive people, quite distinct from the Arabs and the negroes, is scattered over the greater part of northern Africa, and that the chief part of the commerce of inner Africa is in their hands. History is silent respecting the migration of any such nation into Africa; and everything tends to prove them aboriginal. Their habits and their business bear a striking resemblance to that of the Libyans of old: and their seat would still have been the same, if powerful conquerors had not driven them from the sea-coasts, and compelled them to purchase their liberty and independence by a retreat into the innermost parts of the desert. Can any one doubt after this that these Tuaricks are the descendants of the ancient Libyans? Perhaps it only requires a more accurate knowledge of them than it has yet been possible to obtain, to confirm many of the little traits which Herodotus relates concerning them, and, among others, the reason of his regarding them as more healthy than the rest of the world.[1]

The Tibboos, frequently mentioned, are, in every respect, a different people from the Tuaricks, in their appearance, their manner of living, and their language. Their colour is of the brightest black; but their profile has nothing of the negro character:[2] they have aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of Europeans. In the matter of civilization they are below the Tuaricks, living partly in caves, and partly in villages upon barren rocks or hills, in order to escape being plundered by the Tuaricks and Fezzanese, who carry them off as slaves. They follow the slave trade, however, themselves, but do not trade to Soudan. The female sex are well made, and, like the negroes, love dancing.—By thus comparing the Tuaricks and Tibboos I am almost led to conjecture that the population of the former has spread from north to south, and the latter from south to north. To draw an accurate line between the ancient Libyans and Ethiopians would be as difficult a task as it would be between the present negro tribes and the Moors and Tuaricks. It is certainly very probable that the southern boundaries of the great desert may in general be taken as the limits of the negro countries; yet it is equally certain, that separate black tribes, either completely negro or

[1] Herod. iv. 187. [2] Lyon, *Narrative*, p. 225, etc.

not, have penetrated, both in ancient and modern times, a considerable way into the great desert. According to the statement upon Lyon's map, the black population begins under the 28° N. Lat. The fact mentioned by Herodotus, of the Ethiopians being hunted by the Garamantes in four-horse chariots,[1] and the separate tribes of them, dwelling along the Atlantic coast, almost as far as Cerne,[2] prove it to have been the same in early times; and it has already been remarked, from the narratives of modern travellers, that in the Tibesti mountains, the very same territory where the Garamantes hunted the Ethiopians, black people were, or even still are, to be found.[3] If the numerous interminglings of the various tribes, which here must necessarily have taken place, be taken into consideration, the impossibility of placing an accurate boundary line between the Libyans and Ethiopians will easily be perceived.

I shall now turn from the western nations of north Africa, to the eastern; to the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile above Egypt, and the adjacent countries, as far as the Arabian Gulf; in order to throw some light upon what the ancients have said concerning them. As their country in general is comprised under the name of Ethiopia, the name has been transferred to its inhabitants; and they are called Ethiopians, because their colour happens to be dark, without respect to their descent. But all writers have not expressed themselves with equal accuracy.

Herodotus is the first who fairly claims our attention. His accounts here, as well as every where else, show the deep inquirer and the keen observer. He distinguishes the Ethiopians according to the growth of their hair, and particularly the proper negroes[4] from the other swarthy tribes. "The eastern Ethiopians in Asia," he says, "have straight hair; while the African Ethiopians have the most curly hair of all men."[5] The father of history, however, is mistaken in speaking thus of all the black tribes of Africa. All these are not negroes; a considerable number is found there, who, like those of Asia, have straight hair, notwithstanding the black hue of their skins. We have already had some proofs of this assertion, and shall see more as we proceed; but Herodotus decided according to what he saw of them in Upper Egypt, the most southern point of his travels.

[1] Herod. iv. 183. [2] Scylax, p. 54. [3] Hornemann, p. 126, and Lyon, l. c.
[4] By *proper* negroes I understand the black people with woolly hair and the well-known negro profile. [5] Herod. vii. 70.

Herodotus has not distinguished the separate tribes of these nations, according to their geographical situation, with so much accuracy as later geographers; he describes them in a general way as the inhabitants of southern Africa. He only distinguishes the Macrobians, and the inhabitants of Meroë, to whom we shall by and by return. We are left without more minute information till we come to the writers who flourished during the period of the Ptolemies, when we have some fragments of Eratosthenes and Agatharchides, which Diodorus, Strabo, and others have preserved to us.

We are indebted, however, to Herodotus for one important piece of information, which, notwithstanding the many changes that have taken place, suits as well in the present day as in his time.

The eastern districts of North Africa, above Egypt, from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar, were even then occupied by two different races; one aboriginal, which he includes under the general appellation of Ethiopians, and the other an immigratory Arabian race, leading for the most part a wandering, roving life. That such was the case in the Persian period, and certainly as far back as the Pharaohs, is evident from what we are told of the army of Xerxes, whom they were compelled to attend in his expedition into Greece. Here we find the Ethiopians and Arabians above Egypt associated under the same commander.[1] But to what extent this spreading of the Arabians went on in later times we learn from a passage which Pliny has preserved us, of the Description of Africa by Juba, the Numidian king, and contemporary of Augustus. According to his account, the banks of the Nile, from Philæ to Meroë, were occupied by Arab tribes, differing from the Ethiopians.[2] We shall soon see how exactly this statement tallies with that of the latest travellers.

It would, however, be equally difficult to draw a precise line between the Arabian and aboriginal nations here, as it would be between the negroes and Berbers in western Africa. The Arabian tribes have not only dwelt in the country above two thousand years, and therefore long before the introduction of Mahometanism, (although Islamism, if propagated by force, might probably have given them the preponderancy,)[3] but

[1] Herod. vii. 69. [2] Pliny, vi. 34.
[3] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur Egypte*, ii. p. 146.

many of them have intermingled with the older stock.[1] The latter likewise lay claim to an Arabian descent, (especially when they would show that they are different from the negroes,[2]) although we have well-grounded reasons for believing the contrary. The *language*, however, on this point seems quite decisive; though caution must still be used even in this respect; for, as Arabian descent is considered the more honourable, there are tribes who lay claim to it, and yet speak a completely different language; travellers, therefore, may easily be deceived, when they hear individuals of such tribes speaking Arabic, and from that judge respecting the whole tribe. But, after all, the character of the language still remains in my opinion the most certain test. It does not appear likely that Arabians, who pride themselves upon their language,[3] should have relinquished it in order to adopt that of a barbarous or conquered people; unless they had become lost among them from being so few in number. I therefore consider myself justified in ranking all those nations as aboriginal who do not speak Arabic, whether they in their traditions give themselves an Arabian descent or not; and I shall venture to include them all under the general appellation of Berbers (*Barabras*,) the rather because this name in the same sense is still given them in Egypt.[4]

Among these nations we must first mention the Nubians. This name does not occur till the period of the Ptolemies, and is I believe first mentioned by Eratosthenes;[5] but it soon came into use, sometimes as the general name for all the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile,[6] from Egypt to Sennaar and the ancient Meroë, and sometimes, in a more limited sense, for the present Dongola. Their chief mark of distinction is that their dwellings are in the valley of the Nile. Within these last few years we have obtained from the graphic pencil of Burkhardt, a description of this nation, the first accurate accounts we have had, but which have already been confirmed, honourably for him, by his successors.[7]

They live in a land of monuments, perhaps erected by their forefathers; and on that account have the greater claim to our attention. Their language, of which Burkhardt has given us

[1] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur Egypte*, ii. p. 144. [2] Burkhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 216. [3] Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, p. 55. [4] Legh, p. 56. [5] Strabo, p. 1135. [6] The tribes on the west bank of the Nile are expressly reckoned among them by Strabo, l. c., and distinguished from the Ethiopians. [7] Especially by the Travels of Waddington and Hanbury.

specimens,[1] is entirely different from the Arabian; and neither that nor their exterior appearance will allow us to give them an Arabian origin. They are of a dark brown colour, with hair either naturally curly, or artificially arranged by the women, but not at all woolly. It often forms an elevated ornament, like those on the monuments. Their visage has nothing at all of the negro physiognomy. The men are well formed, strong, and muscular, with delicate features. They are something shorter than the Egyptians. They have only a little beard growing under the chin, as upon the Egyptian statues. They are very thinly clad, almost naked; but are all armed with a spear, five feet long, a dagger, and a large shield, formed of the skin of the hippopotamus. The women are well made, with pleasing features. The men buy them of their parents; but frequently also intermarry with the Arabs.[2] The Nubian, says another eye-witness, is thin and slender, but beautifully formed; and his beauty is as unchangeable as that of a statue. He has more courage and daring than the Arabian. When he demands a present he poises his spear upon his breast. All go armed with spear, sword, and shield. Forty of them sitting in a circle had each their spear stuck in the ground near them.[3] According to the express testimony of the latest travellers, the Nubian language is spoken at Dongola, where the Arabian is spoken but badly.[4] To the south of Dongola is the country of the Scheygias, a very remarkable race. They are of a very dark brown, or rather black colour, but by no means negroes.[5] Till lately they were completely independent, and defended their liberty against the army of the pasha of Egypt with an heroic courage worthy a better fate, for they were almost extirpated. They speak Arabic, but whether they are of Arabian or mixed origin I cannot venture to determine. They are divided, almost in the manner of castes, into three classes: the learned, who have books and schools, the warrior, and the merchant class. The warriors are horsemen; each is armed with a double-pointed spear, a sword, and a large shield. In their country the pyramid monuments which adorned the ancient Meroë are first met with; and even its name has been preserved in that of their chief place, *Merawe*, though the ancient capital of this name must be sought for farther south.

[1] Burkhardt, p. 153, and indeed of the two dialects into which it is divided.
[2] Burkhardt, p. 144. [3] Hennicke's Notes during a visit to Egypt and Nubia, p. 164.
[4] Waddington and Hanbury, p. 59, note.
[5] See Burkhardt, p. 68, etc., and Waddington and Hanbury, p. 77, etc.

Its territory borders on the country of the Berbers. The inhabitants, in the strictest sense Berbers, call themselves Arabians, that they may not be confounded with the negroes; but from Burkhardt's description, I have no doubt of their belonging to the Nubian race, although the Arabic has been introduced among them. "The people of Berber," says Burkhardt,[1] "are a very handsome race. The native colour seems to be a dark red-brown. Their features are not at all those of the negro; the face being oval, the nose often perfectly Grecian, the upper lip however is generally somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations, though it is still far from the negro lip. They are tall and thin, even more so than the Egyptians, very healthy, sick persons being scarcely ever found among them."

Above these regions, beyond the Astaboras or Tacazze, especially in Shendy, and from thence to Sennaar, along the Nile, the Arabic entirely prevails; and the great mass of the inhabitants, though sometimes with a mixture of other blood, may be regarded as of Arabian descent. It is not difficult to account for this. These parts always have been, and still are, great places of trade; and the trade has always been principally in the hands of the Arabians. Can we therefore wonder that in their marts their language should prevail? It extends, therefore, above Sennaar as far as the confines of Abyssinia; where, as we learn from Bruce and others, the Abyssinian languages, the Amhara and other dialects, first begin to be spoken.

The Arabic, however, is much less general among the scattered races wandering between the valley of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. The ancient writers notice here the Blemmies, and *Megabari*, a savage warlike race, who lived in the forests or groves upon what they could procure by hunting; and those in the mountains and on the coast, who from their habitation and food bore the name of *Troglodytæ*, or cave-dwellers, and *Icthyophagi*, or fish-eaters. Among the modern travellers we are particularly indebted to Bruce for some valuable information respecting them; he did not himself, however, visit their country. Burkhardt was the first who ventured upon this; and he passed right across it as he journeyed from Shendy to Suakin on the Arabian Gulf. We shall compare the account they give with that of the ancients, and particular-

[1] Burkhardt, p. 216, 233.

ly with that of Agatharchides, of whose work upon the Red, that is, the Southern Sea, unfortunately only a few fragments remain.[1]

Agatharchides again divides the tribes in these parts according to their mode of life: there were some who knew a little of agriculture, as they sowed millet, or *dhourra;* the greater part however were herdsmen; and others savages, who subsisted by hunting. It is just the same in the present day. The principal race is that to which Bruce and Niebuhr have given the name of Bischaries; the same which more early writers call Bejas, or Bedjas; except that the latter name rather applied to the inhabitants of the plain. A learned Frenchman has already demonstrated, in a very satisfactory manner, that this tribe is the same as the ancient Blemmies.[2] They live in the same territory; their habits are in no respect changed; they have nothing of the Arab about them, but are an aboriginal people; and they therefore belong to the class of nations which we comprise under the general name of Berbers.

The seat of the Bischaries begins in the north, where that of the Ababdés ends; and this latter extends from Cosseir in Egypt to some where about 23° N. Lat. The Ababdés speak Arabic, and are a commercial people; the breeding of camels has at all times been their principal employment, and the caravan life their principal business.[3] From their language they are called Arabs, but some take them to be merely a branch of the Bischaries. The seat of the Bischaries, from where it joins the Ababdés southwards to the neighbourhood of Suakin, is principally a mountain ridge, which here rises and runs along the eastern coast of Africa. This mountain chain, from the earliest times downward, has been the abode of tribes who dwell in holes and caves formed by nature, and fashioned and improved by the inhabitants themselves, whence they have been comprised under the name of Troglodytes.[4] It is a difficult matter in a northern climate to form a just notion of the manners and habits of these nations. He who would wish to see a picture of it in Europe, must visit the Catacombs of Naples,[5] which, from their appearance and history, seem once to

[1] Agatharchides, *de Rubro Mari*, in *Geographis Min.* Hudson, i. p. 37. Diodorus, i. p. 191, has borrowed from him word for word. [2] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 127, etc. The accounts given of the Blemmies by the ancients are here all brought together and compared with the Makrizie and other Arabic manuscripts.
[3] Quatremere, p. 158, etc. Burkhardt, p. 149, 344, etc. [4] Agatharchides, l. c. p. 45, and Diodorus, i. p. 197. [5] Not those of Rome, which were evidently intended for another purpose.

have been made use of for a similar purpose. In these majestic vaults, which resemble a row of Gothic churches, hewn out by the labour of Polyphemi, some conception may be formed of the mode of life of a people who found here, in the wet season, a secure shelter for themselves and their herds from the rain, and in summer a protection from the scorching rays of the sun.[1]

The Troglodytes of Ethiopia, according to the accounts of Agatharchides, were herdsmen, with their separate chiefs, or princes of tribes. A community of women existed among them, probably the result of their manner of life, which would scarcely allow of domestic relations. In the wet season, when incessant rains deluged the country, they retired with their herds into the caves, and lived upon clotted milk and blood; but immediately the weather became favourable, they hastened with their cattle into the valleys which afforded them pasturage, often a subject of contention among them.

"The Bischaries, who rarely descend from their mountains," says Burkhardt, "are a very savage people. Their only cattle are camels and sheep, and they live entirely upon flesh and milk, eating the former raw. According to the relation of several Nubians, they are very fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep; but their great luxury is said to be the raw marrow of camels. Their language is different from the Arabic, and approaches the Abyssinian. They are divided into four tribes, which are often at war with one another for the possession of the pasturages. Their colour is a dark brown. Their women are handsomely formed, with very fine eyes and teeth, and are very familiar in their manners and address. They are a genuine aboriginal people of Africa." Burkhardt and Bruce have mentioned some of their tribes by name, the Shiho, and their neighbours the Hazorta, who, according to the latter, are said to be of a copper colour, still live in their caves, still clothe themselves in goat skins, and still rove with their herds from one part of the mountain to another.[2] Some of these tribes spread themselves over the plains of Atbara,[3]

[1] There are so many traces of this in the south of Italy and Sicily, in the interior of which a whole city is found hewn out of the rocks, (see Bartel's *Letters on Calabria and Sicily*, iii. p. 441,) that this, coupled with the ancient traditions respecting the inhabitants of these countries, the Cyclops and Cimmerians, makes me feel no hesitation in expressing my opinion, that Troglodytic pastoral tribes formerly inhabited these places.

[2] Bruce, iii. p. 69, 72.

[3] Thus is named the district bordering on the lower Astaboras, or Atbara. According to Burkhardt, the place called Atbara is properly only an encampment. The name of Taka, in Bruce and Burkhardt, is evidently given to this province from the other name of the same river, Tacazze.

between the Lower Tacazze and the mountains; those nearest the river, where the soil is very fertile, sow a little dhourra, but without any artificial cultivation of their lands. They are likewise herdsmen, and possess a very fine breed of cattle.[1] The peculiarities of the climate compel these tribes to a yearly migration. The Astaboras, swelled out, overflows the neighbouring plains, and drives the inhabitants to seek fresh pasturage. According to the narrative of Bruce,[2] another cause of their wanderings is that dreadful insect which he has described under the name of gadfly, and which abounds from the beginning of the rainy season on the rich lands adjoining the Astaboras, and kill the cattle if they are not immediately driven off to the higher, sandy regions, where they do not follow them. This circumstance was not unknown to Agatharchides, and his accounts agree very well with that of the British traveller. "An extensive country," says he,[3] "borders on that of the water-locusts, with excellent pastures; it is nevertheless forsaken, and uninhabitable. It was formerly inhabited, but is now swarming with scorpions and gadflies, which are reported to have four teeth. The inhabitants, finding themselves without remedy, took to flight, and left the country waste." The Greek was only ignorant that this plague came yearly, and began and ended with the wet season. "These gadflies," says Bruce, "are only found in those places where the soil is fat; as soon as the cattle hear their buzzing they run wildly about till they at last fall down exhausted. The herdsmen, in this case, have no other resource but to leave the rich soil and flee to the sandy regions of Atbara, and remain there during the rainy season, where the cruel enemy never ventures to follow them. A later traveller,[4] though he did not visit this country himself, has raised some doubt respecting the statement of Bruce, because, upon questioning a native of it, he found him unacquainted with this insect. This, however, is by no means sufficient to establish a charge against Bruce of having himself invented this story; this could only be substantiated by the results of actual observation, which the traveller in question had no opportunity of furnishing. As for the silence of Burkhardt,

[1] Burkhardt, p. 334, etc.
[2] Bruce, iv. 443, etc.
[3] Agatharchides, l. c. p. 43. To the same district must also be referred the account, p. 37, of the gnats, or gadflies, that expelled the lions from the banks of the Astaboras, these lords of the forest being unable to bear their noisy buzz. Bruce says that even elephants and rhinoceroses can scarcely protect themselves from the attacks of these insects.
[4] Lord Valentia, *Travels*, ii. p. 394.

it proves nothing against Bruce; it might have arisen from his mere forgetfulness to make inquiries respecting it.

The southern part of the territory of Taka, or Atbara, on the upper Tacazze, is the seat of the hunting tribes. The luxurious soil is here covered with thick forests, overrun with savage beasts, lions, as well as panthers, elephants, and rhinoceroses. Agatharchides has also given us a description of the tribes who inhabit this region. "On the banks of the Astaboras, which flows on one side of the island of Meroë, dwells," he tells us,[1] "a people who live upon the roots of reeds, or canes, which grow in a neighbouring pool. After shredding it with stones, they reduce it to a glutinous pulp, and dry it in the sun in pieces about the breadth of one's hand. Near to this is the tribe of the Hylophagæ, whose nourishment is the fruit that drop from the trees, herbs that grow in the valleys, and even the soft ends of twigs. They consequently possess an extraordinary facility for climbing trees. To these follow, in a westerly direction, the hunting tribes, who live upon the wild beasts, which they kill with their arrows. There is also another race, whose food is the flesh of elephants and ostriches; besides these there is still another less numerous tribe, who feed upon the locusts, which come in numerous swarms from the unknown regions to the south."

The seats of these tribes are too accurately laid down by Agatharchides for any mistake to occur respecting them. They dwell on the banks of the Astaboras, which river separates them from Meroë. We thus find ourselves in the country of the Shangallas. No modern traveller has yet visited the interior of this district. Bruce journeyed along its southern, and Burkhardt, in his route to Suakin through Taka, along its northern boundaries; its forests and wild beasts seem to render it inaccessible. "Every night," says Burkhardt, "I heard their howlings, during which no one dares stir out of the intrenchment.[2] The fiercest animals, however," he adds, "that inhabit these woods, are the Bedjawy, or inhabitants of Bedja, themselves." He does not mention the name of Shangalla, though it is inserted in his map; perhaps it may be his *Segollo*,[3] whose seat is in this region, together with their neighbours, the Hallenga and Hadendoa, alike infamous for their complete want of hospitality.[4] The accounts collected by

[1] Agatharchides, ed. Hudson, p. 37, and from him Diodorus, i. p. 191.
[2] Burkhardt, p. 391. [3] Burkhardt, p. 387.
[4] Burkhardt, p. 395. The Hadendoas, says the same traveller, p. 392, are beyond a doubt

Bruce[1] completely confirm that of Agatharchides. The habits of these tribes have remained the same for two thousand years; they are still the same rude savages they then were. They are still distinguished, as they then were, by their food, though, as will naturally be supposed, this must not be considered their only difference. The Hylophagæ still dwell under the branches of their trees, which they fix in the earth to make themselves tents. The accounts of the dough or paste made from roots is probably a mistake. It is composed of the dhourra, ground with stones, and is dressed with a broth of roots and vegetables.[2] The Dobenatis, the most powerful race among the Shangallas, still live upon elephants and rhinoceroses, whose flesh they preserve by drying it in the sun, and cutting it into strips as they do the camels'. The Baasa subsist upon the flesh of lions, and even snakes, which are found of an enormous size. Farther to the west still dwell a tribe who feed on locusts during the summer, which they preserve by first roasting and then drying them in baskets. "This country," says Burkhardt,[3] is the true breeding-place of locusts. He himself saw how greedily the slaves with the caravan devoured them.[4] In the extreme east dwelt the *Struthiophagi*, or ostrich-eaters. They must inhabit plains where alone ostriches are to be found.

We have here therefore a new proof of the great influence which the natural circumstances of country and climate have upon the destiny of the human race. The tribes of Shangallas, which we have above described, still remain hunters and completely savage, because their soil is unfit either for agriculture or pasturage; the Bischaries and others follow a pastoral life, because their mountains afford food for their cattle. But a higher degree of cultivation can never be obtained in their country, because its nature compels them to a nomad life.

Before quitting Ethiopia above Egypt, there still remains an Ethiopian nation to be noticed, highly celebrated in antiquity, and which Herodotus has copiously described, the Macrobians.[5] The expedition of Cambyses was directed against them, by which circumstance they have obtained a place in history.

A rumour of the vast quantity of gold which they possessed determined Cambyses to this expedition; he sent, however,

a branch of the Bischaries, as are all the eastern Nubians, having the same shape, language, and customs.

[1] Bruce, ii. p. 539, etc. [2] Burkhardt, p. 417.

[3] Burkhardt, p. 391. [4] Burkhardt, p. 424. They take out the entrails and roast them over the fire. These slaves probably belonged to the race of *Æridophages*.

[5] Herod. iii. 17—25.

before-hand some spies into their country; and these were Ichthyophagi, whom he sent for from the city of Elephantis, as they understood their language. Cambyses furnished them with presents for the king of the Macrobians, a purple robe, golden necklace, bracelets, perfumes, and a cask of palm wine. These Macrobians, according to the statement of the Ichthyophagi, were a tall and beautiful race, had their own laws and institutions, and elected the tallest among them to the dignity of king. This monarch soon discovered that these ambassadors were spies. He looked at their presents, with the use of which he was unacquainted. The robe, the perfumes, and the necklace, which he took for fetters, he returned; the wine was the only thing which he found agreeable. He demanded how long the Persians lived, and what their king was accustomed to eat. They informed him, bread, describing at the same time the nature of corn, and that the greatest age to which the Persians attained was eighty years. He answered, that he did not wonder at their living no longer, who fed upon such rubbish; and that probably they would not live even so long if it were not for their drink, namely, their wine, in which the Macrobians alone excelled them. Upon being then asked by the ambassadors how long the Macrobians lived, and upon what they subsisted; he replied, an hundred and twenty years, and sometimes longer; that their food was boiled flesh and milk. He sent to the Persian king, in return for his present, a great bow, and told the ambassadors to inform him, that when he could bend this bow as easily as a Persian one, he might undertake an expedition against the Macrobians.

The ambassadors were shown, as most remarkable, what was called the table of the sun; this was a meadow in the skirts of the city, in which much boiled flesh was laid, placed there by the magistrates every night, upon which all who chose might eat in the day. The inhabitants report that the earth brings it forth.—The ambassadors were next led to the prison, where the captives were bound in golden fetters; brass among the Ethiopians being one of the greatest rarities. Finally, they were shown the sepulchres, which were made of glass (ὕαλος), in the following manner. The corpse, after being emboweled, as in Egypt, is covered over with plaster. Upon this is painted the portrait of the deceased, as like as possible. It is then placed in a case of glass, (probably crystal,) which they dig up in great abundance. The dead body remains in

this case without any disgusting appearance or smell for a whole year; the nearest relation keeps it in his house, offering it sacrifices, after which it is taken into the city and placed with the others.

I have purposely been somewhat copious in describing this nation; the account being in more than one respect instructive. The Macrobians must have been a nation already living in a city that possessed laws and a prison; that understood working in metals; and among whom considerable traces were found of a progress in the cultivation of one of the fine arts. Yet they were ignorant of agriculture, as they knew nothing of bread but by report; a great proof that our rule for judging of civilization will not at all apply to the African nations, who, proceeding from other points, and advancing in other directions, must necessarily arrive at a different end from that attained by Europeans.

Further, it is evident that this nation must have inhabited the richest gold country of Africa: gold was the metal in commonest use among them, even for the fetters of their prisoners.

Bruce[1] takes the Macrobians for a tribe of the Shangallas, dwelling in the lower parts of the gold countries, Cuba and Nuba, on both sides of the Nile to the north of Fazukla. He appeals particularly to the bow which the king of the Macrobians sent to Cambyses, with a challenge for him to bend it. He says that it is the custom of this race to bind round their bows ferrules of the hides of the wild beast they slay, whereby they are continually becoming stiffer, and at last become altogether inflexible. They then hang them on a tree as trophies of their prowess; such a bow he describes it to have been which the Ethiopian king sent the Persian.

But, however probable this proof may appear, I cannot adopt the opinion started by this traveller; I feel rather inclined to believe, that the Macrobians must be sought for farther south, in another region. None of the Shangallas, that we know of, dwell in cities, or have reached that degree of civilization imputed to the Macrobians.

Herodotus mentions three particulars which may help us to discover the seat of this nation: they dwell, he says, on the Southern Sea,[2] at the farthest corner of the earth; and Cam-

[1] Vol. ii. 554, etc.

[2] ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ, that is, beyond the entrance of the Arabian Gulf on the Indian Sea. Therefore, not in the interior, where the Shangallas dwell.

byses, when he turned back, had not reached the fifth part of the way to their abode.

If we should take these statements, especially the latter, according to the letter, then the Macrobians must be sought for not only on the Indian Sea, but very far to the south.[1] But the way in which the story is related by Herodotus plainly shows that it partakes of the marvellous; and we shall be at no loss to account for this, if we consider that he derived his information from the Egyptian priests, from whom we derive nearly the whole history of Cambyses, of which this story forms a part. Now, besides the usual causes which lead to the bedizening and distorting of all narratives of this kind, another may be mentioned, which probably had a considerable influence in this case: namely, its relating to a rich gold country, whose true situation perhaps the priests felt no desire to reveal to a prying, curious foreigner: and therefore they merely gave him the common report. To extract the pure truth from this must therefore be a puzzling and difficult task; and although I may give the truth for no more than probability, I shall thereby at least screen myself from the reproach of wishing to pass my conjectures for facts.

The very story that there was in that hot, and by no means healthy climate, a people whose age exceeded the usual term allotted to man, which the appellation Macrobians implies, will scarcely obtain belief; though there must have been some foundation for this opinion. We learn from Bruce, that a custom prevails among many of the pastoral tribes in these regions, of putting to death their old people when they are no longer capable of being removed from place to place;[2] let it be granted, therefore, that the Macrobians were not guilty of this cruelty (and that may easily be supposed of a nation so far refined); would not that circumstance, and the old persons that would be found among them, be sufficient to have given rise to this popular tradition?

With regard to their abode, it seems to me, that that can only be determined from the two statements of Herodotus, that it lay on the Indian Sea,—and that they dwelt in a country abounding in gold, which it either produced, or was the great

[1] How far south Cambyses reached in his expedition cannot be determined from Herodotus. From what is said by others he must have gone as far as Meroë, perhaps to its boundaries. Diodorus, i. p. 38. [2] Vol. ii. 556. Herodotus mentions besides a wonderful spring, by bathing in which they prolonged their lives. If they dwelt in a mountainous district, mineral springs would be nothing extraordinary.

mart for. In either case we are carried to some sea-port beyond the Arabian Gulf, although we may never be able to say with certainty which. It is only known that a district is spoken of where agriculture was not in use, as its inhabitants did not live upon bread, but flesh.[1]

The account of what is called the table of the sun, is in itself so marvellous, that every reader will acknowledge it cannot be taken literally. It seems to be a figurative description, and was no where more likely to be the case than among Egyptian priests; a key to it may probably be found in a later writer.[2]

Cosmas,[3] who bore the surname of the Indian, and though perhaps never in India, was at least in Ethiopia, has preserved us the following account of a remarkable trade, which was carried on with the rich gold country on the confines of the land of Frankincense.

"The land of Frankincense," he says, "lies at the farthest end of Ethiopia,[4] fifty days' journey beyond Axum, at no great distance from the ocean, though it does not touch it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring Barbaria,[5] or the country of *Sasu*, fetch from thence frankincense and other costly spices, which they transport by water to Arabia Felix, and India. This country of Sasu is very rich in gold mines. Every other year the king of Axum[6] sends some of his people to this place for gold. These are joined by many other merchants, so that altogether they form a caravan of about five hundred persons. They take with them oxen, salt, and iron.[7] When they arrive upon the frontiers of the country, they take up their quarters and make a large barrier of thorns.[8] In the

[1] The contempt of bread must have been applied to that made of dhourra, and baked, which becomes spoiled and unfit to be eaten in a very short time. Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, ii. p. 33.

[2] See for what follows the Essay of H. Bothe upon the Macrobians, *Deutsch. Monatschrift*, July, 1799, to which the first edition of my work gave rise. The author seems to me, only to have erred, in placing the Macrobians in the proper country of Frankincense, which was a midland district, instead of at Sasu, which bounds it on the sea-coast, and where gold is plentiful. It is clear however from the words of Cosmas, that the trade of which he speaks was carried on at Sasu; and only thus will there be a perfect agreement with Herodotus, who makes the Macrobians dwell on the sea-coast. But, at all events, these districts lie close to one another, and the land of Frankincense is not far from the coast.

[3] He wrote about the year 535. The best edition of his *Topographia Christiana*, is in Montfauçon, *Coll. Nova Patrum*, tom. ii. p. 113, etc., to which I now refer.

[4] Cosmas, p. 138, 139.

[5] Barbaria is the general name of the east of Africa beyond the Arabian Gulf; Sasu, on the contrary, is the name of a certain country or district. But we shall presently see that Barbaria here signifies some particular place in the territory of Sasu.

[6] That is, of Abyssinia, of which Axum was the capital.

[7] The Agows still reckon their tribute for the most part in oxen; Bruce, iii. p. 773. In this region the camel is no longer found, and oxen are the usual beasts of burden.

[8] Every thing agrees with the place. Thorn hedges, especially of the shrub *kantuffa*, are here the impenetrable boundaries. Bruce, ii. p. 443.

mean time, having slain and cut up their oxen, they lay the pieces of flesh, as well as the iron and salt, upon the thorns. Then come the inhabitants, and place one or more parcels of gold upon the wares, and wait without the enclosure. The owners of the flesh and other wares then examine whether this is equal to the price or not. If the former be the case, they take the gold, and the others the wares; if not, the others still add more gold, or take what they have put down back again. The trade is carried on in this manner because the languages are different, and they have no interpreter; it takes about five days to dispose of the goods which they bring with them."

The truth of this statement is so much confirmed by internal evidence, that no one will hesitate to believe it. But in order to apply it to the account of Herodotus, two questions remain to be determined; where does the land of Sasu lie? and how far are we authorized to apply what Cosmas relates of it, in the times in which he lived, to those of Herodotus?

With regard to the situation of Sasu, it is sufficiently pointed out by the description given of it. The African land of Frankincense, according to Bruce,[1] begins at Babelmandel, and stretches eastward almost to Cape Guardefui, taking a part of Adel or Zeyla. The fifty days' journey given by Cosmas, as the distance from Axum, agree very well with this.[2] Now as the land of Frankincense joined Sasu, and Sasu lay near the sea, it is evident that the latter formed part of the coast, and also comprised one or even several sea-ports, from which the sea trade was carried on.

But it not only *was* carried on from thence, but *is* even at the present time. Lord Valentia, who entered this country from Mocha,[3] has given us some interesting information on this head, upon which we may rely, and which besides has the merit of being as new and accurate as it is authentic. The coast from Babelmandel to Guardefui is inhabited by the Somaulies, a very dark race, with woolly hair, neither completely negroes nor Arabians. They are not savages, as Bruce has pictured them, but a friendly, well-disposed race. Their country is the natural staple for the commerce between Africa and Arabia, in it the greatest marts are found. Gums, myrrh

[1] Vol. i. p. 356. See his map.

[2] If we take with Cosmas, l. c., the distance from Alexandria to Axum at sixty days' journey, we shall find, even at this rate, that from Axum to Guardefui will be some where about fifty.

[3] Valentia's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 370—378. The author saw many of the Somaulies at Mocha. According to his opinion, it would be the easiest to penetrate into the interior of Africa from the eastern part of their country.

and frankincense, cattle and slaves, are the commodities exported, in exchange for which, and for gold and ivory, they receive the productions of Arabia and India,[1] more particularly the latter. The princes of the interior, and especially the ruler of Hanim, twenty days' journey to the west, send numerous caravans to this place to purchase these wares. The great fair for them is Berbora,[2] which lasts from October till April. The frankincense grows chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cape Guardefui, and the principal port for exportation is Bunder Kassin, near Cape Felix. The Somaulies send in their own vessels (for they have a sort of navigation act to carry for themselves, and to lade no Arabian vessels) to Aden. The situation of Aden, on the other side of the straits, which enables them to take advantage of both monsoons, renders this very easy. The profits of this trade, although the merchants only state it at fifty per cent., is accordingly very great. The commerce is only restricted by the customs, and other obstacles which the rulers throw in its way; without this it would be immense; and may there not have been a time when it really was so?

This trade, therefore, has continued full a thousand years, notwithstanding all the religious and political changes which have taken place, simply because the nature of the country itself points it out as the most proper staple for the productions of the two quarters of the world. But what is it that justifies our applying the narration of Cosmas to the period of Herodotus? Nothing decidedly but the conjecture, that as this trade in the time of Cosmas was already very old, it was very likely to have existed a thousand years before. This conjecture, besides, will not seem at all improbable to those who are acquainted with the unchanging nature of the commercial routes of Africa. The probability, however, becomes strengthened, because, in the first place, the trade in frankincense and spices is, as we may conclude from the vicinity of Arabia Felix, one of the oldest branches of commerce; and secondly, because only two hundred years after Herodotus, the name of the country of Sasu appears as a well-known and remarkable name, for in the celebrated inscription of Adule, which this same Cosmas has copied and preserved, Sasu is mentioned as the

[1] Lord Valentia has even added tables of prices, and its yearly exports and imports.
[2] Borbora on Rennel's *Map*; upon that of Sossman it is improperly made an island.

most easterly point of Ethiopia to which the king had extended his conquests.[1]

If we may venture then to consider it as probable that the Macrobians of Herodotus should be sought for in this region, on the coast, or in one of the ports of Adel, in the vicinity of Cape Guardefui, this would place them in the country of the Somaulies, perhaps their descendants. If we may also venture to apply this description of Cosmas to the same people, then almost every obscurity in the account of them may be cleared up, and every thing appears in a natural light.

The altar of the sun is the market-place in which the trade with the strangers was transacted. When we consider that even now, almost all the commerce of Africa is carried on under the protection of sanctuaries and temples, we can scarcely wonder that religious notions should be connected with this seat of the trade, upon which perhaps the subsistence of the inhabitants depended.

This kind of dumb trade will not appear strange: we have already seen its counterpart on the western coast of Africa.[2] The same causes produce here the same effect. When it is said "that the chiefs of the people laid the flesh down at night, and that in the day any might eat of it who would; but that the inhabitants reported that it sprung from the earth;" the fact explains itself. This important trade was carried on under the care and inspection of the public magistrates; every one took what he chose, without doubt for payment; and as the merchants came from a very distant country, and were not themselves seen in the transaction, a vulgar error, like the one mentioned, might very naturally arise.

By the *boiled* flesh of Herodotus, must probably be understood dried flesh, as this is the usual way in which it is preserved in these regions.[3]

The vast quantity of gold is easily accounted for; it was either a natural production of the country, or the inhabitants had accumulated it by commerce.[4] The presents of the Per-

[1] The inscription is well known as a monument placed by Ptolemey III. at Adule, as a memorial of his conquests in Ethiopia. In this inscription Ptolemey is stated to have advanced ἀπὸ δύσεως μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Σάσου τόπων. Instead of μέχρι τῶν, I read, μέχρι ἐσχάτων, "to the farthermost regions of Ethiopia and Sasu." The opinion of Salt, *Valentia's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 192, that only half the inscription belongs to Ptolemey, still requires a separate inquiry. [2] See above, p. 85.

[3] We learn from Bruce and other travellers, that dried camel's flesh is one of the dainties of a caravan journey.

[4] Cosmas mentions this expressly in explaining the Adule inscription. The gold of that place, he adds, is called Tamcharus

sian king, therefore, composed of golden ornaments and myrrh, and consequently of exactly those very commodities which they had in the greatest abundance, seemed to them a mockery, which the king of the Macrobians was fully justified in taking as an insult, and, therefore, returned it by another. The custom of hanging up the bows, mentioned by Bruce, can scarcely be altogether peculiar to the Shangallas, but has probably spread itself among their neighbours.

The story of the golden fetters is likely enough to be a fable; but the rarity of iron and brass in these countries is a fact very well known. It is confirmed by Cosmas, who states that iron was one of the commodities carried there by the caravans and exchanged for gold.

Should my attempts to explain these difficulties still be considered as little more than conjecture, they will at least give us an example of the instruction which history may afford, even when tinctured with fable; and how the mist in which it is enveloped disperses of itself, when considered in the spirit of the country and people from which it proceeds.[1] It is however a very remarkable circumstance, and demands our particular attention, that Cambyses should have taken his spies from the Egyptian Ichthyophagi, because they could speak the language of these Ethiopians.

The Ichthyophagi derive their name from their food, which consists of fish, and therefore we cannot wonder at finding that, besides the tribes in Africa, some also on the coasts of Persia and Arabia receive the same appellation. Of the African Ichthyophagi, scattered along the coasts of the Arabian Gulf, Diodorus has preserved a few particulars. They belong properly to the Troglodytæ, or cave-dwellers, and are only distinguished from the others by their food and manner of life, which has many peculiarities, that may be regarded as true additions to our knowledge of physiology.[2] Taken altogether, however, they strengthen the remark, which applies to the whole history of the human race, that the nations subsist-

[1] Let me be allowed to add one conjecture upon another circumstance: the Macrobians, as well as other Ethiopian people, seem to be highly esteemed on account of their size and beauty. Might not this tradition have proceeded from slave dealers, who are wont to prize this or that particular tribe?

[2] Diodorus says that they only drink every fourth day; when they go in hordes to the springs, and drink to such an excess that at first they lie down unable to move. The fear of enemies perhaps occasioned this custom. He relates of others that they are quite insensible to all threats or entreaties, Diodorus, i. p. 184—186; Bruce saw the same among his savages, iii. 73. Still more surprising facts are recorded by Azara of the tribes on the river de la Plata.

ing on fish are the very lowest in the scale of civilization. They appear to be complete savages, destitute of all domestic ties; with no dwellings except clefts and holes; and without even any fishing implements, as they only feed on those fish which are left behind by the retiring floods, which they prepare by pounding, and mixing them with certain seeds, by which they make them into a kind of broth. Although we have no late accounts of their manners and customs, yet, what Bruce says shows, that the inhabitants of these districts still remain wretched, miserable, and naked savages.

If this is a fair description of what these people were in antiquity, then indeed it becomes difficult to conceive how Cambyses came to choose them for spies; there is, however, in the narrative of Herodotus itself, a circumstance mentioned, which leads us to take a different view of the subject. Cambyses, he says, caused the Ichthyophagi to come from Elephantis in Upper Egypt. There must have lived, consequently, a party of them in Upper Egypt; the whole business, too, to which Cambyses appointed them, and their acquaintance with the country and language of the Ethiopians, make it more than probable that they belonged to the roving tribes, who carried on the trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, and formed the caravans which travelled from one country to the other.[1] There is certainly no other way of passing from Egypt to the Macrobians but by a caravan, and these people must have been there once or more, as they understood their language. The name, besides, might have been continued to them, though they had adopted a new mode of life, of which many other instances are to be met with. It is not very likely that they belonged to the Ababdés, whose country stretches to the neighbourhood of these regions, and who have been, as is shown above, from the most remote periods, carriers of merchandise? I shall abstain from making any further remark upon this circumstance; though it affords, at least, a passing proof, not only that a report of the rich gold countries had penetrated into Egypt, but that a rather active commercial intercourse really existed between the two countries at a very early period.

I cannot close these remarks without comparing the narrative of Herodotus with the prophecy of the most sublime of the Hebrew poets. They mutually explain each other. When

[1] Herodotus does not say how great the number of the Ichthyophagi was who were sent on this embassy; they may therefore very well have formed a small caravan.

Isaiah promises his people the trade of Egypt and Ethiopia, he adds, *and of the Sabeans, men of stature.*[1] I cannot hold these latter to be any other than the Macrobians of Herodotus —the nation who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. Herodotus also mentions their high stature. He not only says they are the longest lived, but also the tallest people; and upon the latter they place so high a value, that they elect the tallest among them for king. Saba lies on the African coast, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf;[2] consequently, in the very spot that we consider to have been the seat of the Macrobians. The prophet expressly mentions trading nations; the Ethiopians, the inhabitants of Meroë, and the African Sabeans, who enjoyed the trade in frankincense. The proofs and illustrations which these inquiries have already so often lent to the sacred writings, will give them, as I hope, a more extended interest than they might perhaps otherwise have hoped to enjoy.

CHAP. II. *The State of Meroë and its Monuments.*

LET THE MIGHTY MEN COME FORTH; THE ETHIOPIANS THAT HANDLE THE SHIELD! JER. XLVI. 9.

THE Ethiopian nations, with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing chapter, must altogether be ranked in the lowest grade of civilization. There still, however, exists an evident difference of improvement among them. We have already seen all the various gradations, from the complete savage, as described by Hanno, whose rank might have been disputed by the ourang-outang, to the hunting and fishing tribes; and again, from the latter to the nomad herdsman; yet we do not any where discover a single nation, that, united in a settled abode, formed itself into a great and well-organized state. Nevertheless there certainly did exist a better cultivated, and, to a certain degree, a civilized Ethiopian people, who dwelt in cities; who erected temples and other edifices; who, though without letters, had hieroglyphics; who had government and laws; and the fame of whose progress in knowledge and the social arts, spread in the earliest ages over a considerable part of the earth;—that state was *Meroë*.

Meroë has been celebrated for upwards of two thousand

[1] Isaiah xlv. 14. [2] The Azab of Bruce. Compare Gesenius's Commentary in Isaiah, "The opulence of the Sabeans, high of stature," are the words of his translation.

years, but its distant situation has always involved it in mystery and obscurity. It is only within this last ten years that the dark cloud, under which it has so long been hid, has been dispersed by the hardy enterprises of Burkhardt and Caillaud, more particularly the latter. Meroë, however, did not appear alone; a new world of antiquities, whose existence had not even been imagined, were laid open to the view of the astonished spectator. The southern boundary of Egypt, and the last cataract of the Nile, had hitherto been considered as the utmost verge of ancient civilization and science. More distant regions, however, were now explored. The more early travellers, Bruce and his forerunners, first led the way by crossing the Nubian desert; others soon followed who penetrated up the Nile, keeping near its banks, where they discovered that succession of monuments, which has excited so much astonishment among all lovers of antiquity, as well by their number as their magnitude. Temple after temple appeared, sometimes erected upon, at others excavated in the rocks and the earth; scarcely had the travellers left one than another arose to their view. Colossal figures, buried up to their shoulders in sand, still towered above all these, and indicated the gigantic structures which lay concealed behind them. As the travellers continued their journey, an immense number of pyramids appeared, with temples and ruins of cities close by, or intermingled with them; and at last the distant Meroë itself; and, what realized the earlier hopes of the author, the ancient temple of Jupiter Ammon was discovered, still erect, and majestic in its ruins.

I shall now endeavour to give the reader a clear and concise account of these monuments. I do not indeed intend to go through them one by one, but shall take a survey of the most important, and particularly of those which are found in the works of Gau and Caillaud. Fortunately in these we have not to examine sketches hastily made, the drawings are free from all attempts at embellishment, and the ground plans and delineations are executed with critical accuracy. It will be necessary, however, to premise a few geographical remarks.

All the monuments that I shall describe in this section are found within the valley of the Nile; either close to the river, or at a moderate distance from it. The course of the Nile above Egypt, before its conflux with the Astaboras, lies through a valley enclosed on both sides by a chain of moun-

tains, or rather hills, which sometimes retire, and sometimes advance till they almost approach the banks of the river. These, therefore, render impossible any great variation in the direction of the stream, though they offer no obstruction to the lesser windings within the valley. It can scarcely be doubted, but that the soil of the valley was as fertile at one time in these regions as it is in Egypt itself; for where it could remain in that state it is still found so.[1] Thus it becomes evident that this valley may once have been a highly cultivated country, with a numerous population, dwelling in a long series of cities. But these mountain chains being succeeded on both sides of the river by sandy deserts, (on the east the Nubian, and on the west the great sandy waste, which stretches right across Africa,) the sand has proved a still more formidable foe here than in Egypt. The lower mountain chain affording but a slight defence, this deadly enemy of all civilization not only penetrated into the valley, but has frequently, in part or altogether, buried the monuments. It cannot, therefore, seem at all surprising that the same cause should have occasioned some alterations in the river itself, many arms of which may, perhaps, have been forced into one, and small islands joined to the mainland. The valley of the Nile, at all events, was certainly very different from what it is now; traces are every where visible of old canals, formed for extending its periodical overflow; and these changes alone would have been sufficient to cause the inhabitants to sink and degenerate, if other untoward events had not happened. The river, deviating from its usually straight course, forms a bow from 19° to 23° by running to the west, deeper into Libya; and the inner part of this bow is occupied by the Nubian desert; soon, however, it winds again to the east, and reassumes a northern direction, which it preserves through Nubia and Egypt.

We are again indebted to Herodotus for the first accounts of the course of the Nile above Egypt.[2] He collected them in Egypt, probably in Thebes, or Elephantis, beyond which he never travelled. We are not to consider him here, therefore, as an eye-witness, but, as he himself informs us, as reporting what he heard from others. And here, again, we have to admire the keen and accurate inquirer, although some slight deviations from the present state of the stream seem to confirm the remarks we have just made upon its variations. "Beyond

[1] Burkhardt, *Travels*, p. 14. [2] Herod. ii. 29.

Elephantis, the boundary of Egypt," says Herodotus, " the country becomes higher; and in that part they drag on the boat, fastening a cord on either side, as you would to an ox. Should the hawser break, the boat is forced back by the violence of the current. This navigation continues four days; the Nile winding like the Meander; and it is a space of twelve schœni, seventy-two geographical miles, over which you must navigate in this manner. Next you come to a smooth plain, where the Nile flows round an island named Tachompso. The parts above Elephantis are inhabited by Ethiopians, as well as one half of the island; the other half of which is held by the Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake, on the shores of which dwell Ethiopian nomades. Crossing this lake, you fall again into the stream of the Nile, which runs through it. Then, disembarking, you will perform a journey of forty days on the bank of the river; for in this part of the Nile sharp rocks rise above the water, and many shoals are met with, among which it is impossible to navigate. Having passed through this country, you will again embark in another boat, and navigate for twelve days, after which you will come to an extensive city, the name of which is Meroë."

Let us compare this statement of Herodotus with those of the latest travellers, and we shall find that what in their nature are not liable to change, such as the cliffs and rocks, still answer to his description; while, on the contrary, in other matters, (supposing Herodotus rightly informed,) some changes seem to have taken place. Among the moderns, Norden, a Dane, was the first who attempted to navigate the Nile above Egypt; and to draw maps of its course, which, after all that has since been done, are still the fullest in particulars, though they only reach to Derri, Derar, or Deir, the end of his journey.[1] Within the lapse of ten years, Burkhardt, in his first journey, in which he kept near the banks of the river, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Dongola; in his second journey he traversed the Nubian desert.[2] The journey and map of Legh extend no farther than the second cataract;[3] and the magnificent work of Gau only reaches to the same place.[4] The statements of the Pole, Senkowsky, up to the same point, are

[1] *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, par Fr. L. Norden; nouvelle ed. par. Langles. Paris, 1795. The first edition appeared in 1752.

[2] *Travels in Nubia*, by Fr. L. Burkhardt. London, 1819.

[3] *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Countries beyond the Cataracts*, by Th. Legh, Esq. London, 1816.

[4] *Antiquités de la Nubie*, par F. C. Gau. Paris, 1824, en xii. livraisons.

very accurate.[1] Above the second cataract, from Wady Halfa to the boundaries of Sennaar, or the ancient Meroë, two British travellers, Waddington and Hanbury, have given a map of the course of the Nile;[2] for the more distant regions, the authorities are Bruce, Burkhardt, and, above all, Caillaud.[3]

The winding of the stream above Syene is shown in Norden's twenty-fourth chart. It here holds a serpentine course, without, however, any considerable curves. Its current is so strong, that Norden was often obliged to quit his bark;[4] Legh mentions the same fact;[5] and the stream becomes so violent in the territory of Kalabshé, where the width of the stream is compressed to about thirty paces, as to render navigation very difficult. The voyage to the island Tachompso is stated by Herodotus to be twelve schœni, or seventy-two geographical miles, which were made in four days: navigation against the current of course admitting but of a short distance each day. The island Tachompso might therefore be the island Kalabshé, or another about twenty miles farther, opposite Ghyrshe.

The river contains many islands, of which a more accurate statement is wanting, but the lake through which it is said to flow is the great difficulty. The river, it is true, sometimes spreads out to a greater or lesser breadth, but a lake is no where to be found. Was Herodotus then falsely informed? Or has the features of this region changed, and what was once a lake been choked up by sand? It is difficult here to decide. At the time, however, of the yearly floods, it is certain that the Nile in many parts, where the mountain chains run back and suffer its waters to cover the whole valley, presents the appearance of a lake. The navigation up the stream continues, then, unobstructed as far as the second cataracts, which all agree in placing near Wady Halfa, 21° 50′. They are not higher than those near Es-Souan; Gau gives views of both of them;[6] and Hanbury a description.[7] Above this cataract the bed of the river is often interrupted by rocky shoals, which cause rapids. Senkowsky enumerates five of these;[8] a third near Wady Attyr; a fourth near Wady Ambigo; a fifth under 21°, near Wady Lamulé, beyond which Burkhardt met with two others,

[1] Fragments from the Diary, not yet printed, of a Journey through Nubia and Northern Ethiopia, in the year 1819, by Joh. von Senkowsky, given in *Neue Allg. Geogr. Ephemeriden*, B. xi. 1822.

[2] *Travels in various Countries of Ethiopia*, by S. Waddington, Esq., and B. Hanbury.

[3] Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë, au Fleuve Blanc*, etc.

[4] Norden, tom. iii. p. 47. [5] Legh, p. 61.

[6] Gau, plate 1. [7] Hanbury, etc. p. 6. [8] Senkowsky, l. c.

the farthest on the north boundary of the kingdom of Dongola, 19° 30′. Thus far he states the navigation of the river to be obstructed; while Caillaud continues the interruption to Merawe, forty-five leagues farther, where the great falls begin.[1] The Arabian geographers[2] place the first cataract in Nubia, near Bakin, ten days' journey above Es-Souan, which is the same as that of Wady Halfa; the second near the island Sai, 20½°; and the last near the fortress of Astenum. Exact uniformity cannot be expected in these enumerations, as the bed of the river is generally rocky, and two cataracts may easily be reckoned for one. Above the north boundary of Dongola the features of the country become much changed; the mountain chains retire farther back; the Nile, hitherto frequently pressed into a narrow channel, here spreads out into many branches, which enclose a number of fruitful isles, adorned with palm groves, vineyards, and meadows covered with numerous herds, especially of camels.[3] Similar accounts are given by the latest travellers. Every thing might here, says one, be found in abundance.[4] The hopes this gave rise to were certainly disappointed; but the devastation of contemporary warfare, by the army of Ismael, pasha from Egypt, seems alone to have been the cause.

The foregoing researches bring us into the immediate vicinity of the junction of the Astaboras, or Tacazze, and the Nile; that is, as will be presently shown, to the beginning of the ancient island of Meroë. It is time here to make a stand, and, before entering Meroë, to form an acquaintance with the monuments of the Nile valley thus far, to which I shall give the name of Nubian. The nature of the monuments, moreover, requires this division: for the region of the Pyramids begins in Meroë, as there has not yet been discovered any trace of them in Nubia.

The valley of the Nile was once covered on both sides of the river with towns or villages, of which Pliny has left us the names, and only the names, of twenty on each side; in his time they no longer existed,[5] and he informs us that they were not destroyed by Roman wars, but by the earlier contentions between Ethiopia and Egypt. These places must then neces-

[1] See his map.

[2] Quatremere, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii. p. 7, etc., in the *Mémoire sur la Nubie*, from Arabic manuscripts. The Arabian writers seem to reckon as one all the cataracts enumerated by Senkowsky.

[3] These are the numerous islands spoken of by Diodorus, i. p. 38.

[4] Hanbury, p. 4.

[5] Plin. H. N. vi. 35.

sarily have been very ancient; and the great population of the upper valley of the Nile favours our carrying them back to the time of the Pharaohs. We have no right to suppose that any of these places were flourishing cities. The great works in architecture here, as well as in Egypt, were confined to public edifices; the Nubian, during the day, lived almost entirely in the open air; his dwelling was little more than a resting-place for the night. No wonder therefore that these slight-built places, consisting merely of huts, should be swept from the earth, or become mere villages. Notwithstanding this, the ancient Parembole is still found in the present Debut, or Debod; the name of Taphis is preserved in Tafa; Kalabshé is the ancient Talmis; Pselcis is the present Dakke; Metacompso the modern Kobban; farther south is Primis, now Abrim; all these are on this side of the first Nubian cataract.

But though the dwellings of man have vanished, those of the gods remain. The series of temples begin again on both sides of the Nile, almost immediately above the Egyptian cataracts. The first is that of Debod, twelve miles beyond Philæ, on the left bank of the Nile. At nearly the same distance, that of Kardassy; and at only five miles farther that of Tafa. Again, at nearly the same distance, the two temples of Kalabshé, one built from the ground, the other hewn in the rocks. At about ten miles more the temple of Dandour; and again, at a like distance, the temple of Ghyrshe, partly above ground, partly hewn out of a rock. In ten miles the temple of Dakke; at the same distance that of Maharraka, and sixteen miles from thence that of Seboa, half built above, and half cut into the earth. Thirty miles farther stands the temple of Derar on the right side; and sixty miles farther the temple in the rocks of Ipsambul, with its colossi, forty-eight miles below the second or first Nubian cataracts of Wady Halfa, near to which stands another temple. Beyond this the chain is broken, and does not recommence till about one hundred and fifty miles farther, below the isle of Sai, where we meet with a larger temple; and then, thirty miles onward, is discovered the temple of Soleb, which Burkhardt takes for the most southern Egyptian temple. The first chain certainly ends here, but a new one begins on the frontiers of the ancient Meroë; for, about two hundred miles farther, near Merawé, and the mountain Berkal lying close by, the temples appear accompanied with groups of pyramids. About two hundred and forty miles

beyond we come to the junction of the Nile and Astaboras, immediately across which we enter the island Meroë, and proceeding about ninety miles, arrive at the temples and pyramidic ruins of the ancient city of Meroë, whose situation will presently be more accurately determined.

Though I now intend to enter more fully into particulars, and to make some observations upon the most important of these monuments, as they are represented to us by engravings, yet the reader must not expect that I shall go into any minute detail, which, indeed, without the plates before him, would rarely be understood. My principal object is, by a glance at some of them, to collect materials for a few general observations, which I shall afterwards bring forward. In prosecuting this plan a geographical arrangement will be most convenient, and I shall accordingly proceed up the banks of the Nile, from the boundaries of Egypt.

The monument at the village of Debod, on the left bank of the Nile, and the first above the cataracts, is a temple, built and ornamented entirely in the Egyptian style.[1] It is not one of the largest, nor most ancient, and apparently was never finished. In the sanctuary stand two granite *monolithi*, with niches cut in them, probably as recesses for the reception of the sacred animals. The sculptures on the walls leave no doubt of the temple's having been dedicated to Ammon. They contain libations and presents offered to him and the kindred deities.

Of the temples of Kardassy[2] and Tafa,[3] too little is left for much to be said respecting them. They also are completely in the Egyptian style, and must be ranked with the smaller. When that of Kardassy was perfect it must have afforded one of the richest views; Gau has attempted to restore it from the yet existing remains.

The monuments at Kalabshé rank among the most precious remains of antiquity.[4] There are two of them, one an edifice cut out of the rock, the other beneath it. The first is a temple on the left bank of the Nile belonging to the middle size, and is wholly in the Egyptian style of architecture. The entrance is through a high portico into a colonnade, where many columns are still standing, of which Gau has given plates;[5] this leads into a covered hall of columns, then through two smaller

[1] Gau, plate i.—v. [2] Ibid. plate vii. viii. ix. [3] Ibid. plate x. xi.
[4] Ibid. plate xii.—xxi. [5] Ibid. plate xix.

saloons into the sanctuary. This monument is highly interesting from the bas-reliefs which ornament its walls. They are painted, and a copy of one of them is given in colours.[1] They are offerings probably presented by the kings (as his head-dress is adorned with the *ureus*, the little projecting serpent, the symbol of sovereignty) to Ammon and his subordinate gods. The colouring is very remarkable. Those who present the offerings are always painted red, as they are elsewhere; but the deities are green, blue, grey, violet, and yellow. Upon all the monuments in the Egyptian style with which I am acquainted, the colour of the men is red; that of the women yellow. We are therefore justified by our present knowledge, in considering the other various colours as appropriated solely to the gods. The second relief, however, is still more important. Like the other, it represents offerings to the gods; but then there follow in addition, the purification and consecration of the person who makes the offering, the whole in four compartments,[2] which I consider a series of pictures relating to one subject. In the first compartment is offered a gift in a vessel, probably dates, to Ammon, (without the ram's head, but with the horns on the head-dress,) behind him Isis and the deity with the sparrow-hawk's head. The second gift, offered to the goddess alone, seems to consist of ostrich-feathers. The third, of frankincense in a vessel, again to Ammon; the fourth is very singular, it is a vessel upon which lies a utensil bearing the form of an eye. To these offerings follows, in the fifth compartment, the purification. Two priests sprinkle the candidate for consecration with water; in the sixth he stands with the priestly head-dress on, between two priestesses, who rest one hand upon his shoulder and with the other seem to consecrate him. Finally, he stands in the last between two priests, (one with the sparrow-hawk's mask,) who, laying hold of him, surrender to him the key, the emblem of consecration.

The second monument of Kalabshé, though smaller, and of quite a different kind, is still more remarkable. It is not raised from the ground, but cut below its surface, being entirely hewn out of the rock. Its walls contain a series of bas reliefs.[3] It is very simple, and ninety feet long by nearly sixty wide. Through a corridor of sixty feet is an entrance to an antechamber, and again, out of this, into an inner chamber. I do not consider it to be a temple, but take it for a sepulchre.

[1] Gau, plate xxi. [2] Ibid. plate xxii. [3] Ibid. plate xii. xiii. xiv.

On the back wall of the inner apartment are two groups, each of three persons, sitting on benches.[1] The middle one is the figure of a man, with a female sitting at his side embracing him. The figure on the other side is much mutilated; it seems to have had the sparrow-hawk's head. The man in the centre has the *lituus;* the woman on the side has the *modius* on her head; everything about them seems to prove that they are priests and priestesses. In stating my opinion that the whole is a sepulchre, or rather a family vault, I must observe that I do not come to this conclusion so much from the appearance of the building itself, as because there are family vaults very similar at Eleuthias in Egypt. But the most important part of this monument are the reliefs, of which I must premise that they seem to have nothing in common with the groups just mentioned. The latter are wrought in a ruder style, the figures being short and crowded, whereas the reliefs bear altogether the character of the perfected Egyptian art. The reliefs on one of the walls of the rock represent warlike transactions in four compartments, again forming a single series. In the first the king or chief is standing in his war-chariot, driving among his flying enemies, who are the eastern pastoral tribes so often exhibited in similar circumstances. In the second, the king takes the hostile leader captive, as he gripes him by his hair. He is known as leader by his great size. In the third the king is seated, and the captives pass before him. They are three in number; the first two almost naked, the third in a long garment, all with their hands bound. In a lower compartment is represented the expedition of the victorious army by a group of Egyptian warriors. In the fourth the king sacrifices the captive leader, who is cringing imploringly at his feet: he is represented as about to kill him with a crooked sword or dagger. Cycles of representations of this kind frequently occur in the Egyptian reliefs.

The relief on the other wall of the rock is still more remarkable; not only because there is no other of the same kind at present known, but because its meaning is so obvious. It fills two long compartments, one over the other; both, as is at once seen, forming but one subject.[2] It is neither a procession of priests, nor an offering of tribute as at Persepolis. It represents a king, after a victorious expedition, reviewing the booty. The king, known by his tall figure, is seated on a

[1] Gau, plate xiii. [2] Ibid. plate xiv.

throne in full regal costume. He seems, though out of battle, as priest-king. In his right hand he holds the sceptre and the key of consecration, the left is raised; he appears to be speaking; on his head is the sacerdotal bonnet, with the emblem of sovereignty, and the globe. An herald presents a woman to him; she is without ornament, and imploring him with upraised hands. Two grown-up boys are clinging to her. Can we here see a captive queen and her two sons, perhaps doomed as sacrifices? She cannot be a common prisoner, as she is placed before all the rest, as the most important of the booty. We have here, however, more than mere conjecture. History, as well as the monuments, confirm this view; as we soon shall see near Meroë. Behind the queen follows the booty; weapons, utensils, as chairs, fruits, clothes, skins, flagons, bread, etc., set out upon tables. Then follow wild beasts, with their leaders; a lion and a goat; then cattle, a pair of steers with horns artificially bent; next drivers, and men bearing skins and ebony. This is in the first piece. The second begins with some Egyptian warriors; a parcel of flowers and fruits; captives, the first with a halter round his neck, the other bound, both led by Egyptians, (always known by their head-dress,) the prisoners are girded with skins; again come the beasts, a hound, a man, with apes and ebony: after these come a giraffe, led by a halter, a gazelle, another pair of steers with artificially bent horns, and their leaders. Women with their children next follow; one is leading an ape; two others are borne in a basket; a gazelle, an ostrich, a hound, with a leader to each, who sometimes are likewise laden with ebony.—If there is no doubt respecting the nature of this procession, neither is there respecting the countries represented. Every thing shows them to be of Ethiopia, Meroë, and of central Africa. First the captive queen. History informs us that Meroë was often governed by queens; and we moreover find them portrayed as heroines and victors upon the monuments. That the captives, especially princes, were frequently sacrificed is shown by many of the sculptures. It is not, therefore, without reason that she implores for the lives of herself and terrified sons. The costly furniture, tables, stools, clothes, weapons, etc., show that a rich and civilized people had been conquered. Kine, with their horns artificially bent, are still found on the east coast of Africa, among the Kaffers. The prisoners being girded with skins is explained by Herodotus,

"The Ethiopians in Xerxes' army," he tells us, "were girded about with skins of panthers and lions."[1] But the wild beasts are particularly remarkable; the apes, the ostriches, and the giraffe, could only be found at a great distance from Meroë, in the deserts of central Africa. Yet we find neither the powerful rhinoceros, nor the mighty elephant; a certain proof of its not yet being tamed. And before whom was this procession exhibited? Before an Egyptian ruler; but who, his deciphered name may perhaps some time explain. If we question history, its answer will be Sesostris (also called Ramesses) the Ethiopian conqueror; who so often appears on the monuments; and certainly upon those which, like the present, belong to the flourishing period of Egyptian art. What this monument represents can no longer be doubtful,—*the conquest of Ethiopia and Meroë by the Pharaohs.*

That this monument was hewn out beyond the boundaries of Egypt, in Nubia, the conquered country, is not at all strange: and that the side of a rock should be chosen for the purpose is quite conformable to the custom of the primitive ages. Whether it stood in any particular relation with the sepulchre or not, I cannot decide. It will scarcely be taken for the tomb of the Egyptian chief, whose glory the relief perpetuates. In its interior is represented the consecration or purification and sprinkling of the Egyptian ruler, just the same as it is in the sculpture of the temple above ground.[2] Some religious motives seem therefore to have determined the choice of this particular spot. Four heads on the relief portrayed in a larger size, and two portraits of Nubians placed opposite, induced Mr. Gau to call our attention to the similarity between the present features of many of the African nations and those almost always found represented upon the monuments.[3]

The temple of Dandour, however important in itself, only offers us a repetition of the scenes which we have already noticed.[4] This is not the case with that at Ghyrshe, which next follows in ascending the stream. We here, for the first time, find the grotto and temple architecture combined in the erection of a monument. The original foundation is a grotto hewn out of the solid rock, before which, at a later period, a portico has been erected.

The plan of the grotto is very simple.[5] Through a porch

[1] Herod. vii. 69. [2] Gau, table xiii. [3] Ibid. table xvi.
[4] Ibid. table xxiii.—xxvi. [5] Ibid. table xxvii.

we enter a saloon; and beyond this is an inner apartment. It was evidently intended originally as a sepulchre for several families, as is proved by the five groups found in the background.[1] The upper or principal group consists of four figures, sitting on a bench; the four lower groups, each of three figures standing. In each is a man, and a woman embracing him, and a subordinate figure. They bear emblems of the priesthood; I therefore doubt not but they are families of priests. The vestibule consists of an open colonnade, in which, as well as in the hall of columns, stand gigantic figures of priests of Osiris as *caryatides*, on the pilasters.[2] "On these," says Belzoni, "may be distinguished the very ancient from the later sculptures. The artist was merely able to show that he intended them for human figures, which figures are so bad that they could only have been formed after an Ethiopian model."[3]

The temple at Dakka is one of the best preserved.[4] The entrance, separated from the temple, still remains, as well as the temple itself with its *propyla*. It is very remarkable that over the entrance is a Greek inscription, certainly of one of the Ptolemies;[5] either the first or second Evergetes. By comparing it, however, with the Rosetta inscription, it appears to be the first of this name, or the third in the succession of Ptolemies; and it therefore affords us a proof, that he extended his conquests and dominion into these regions, whether the monument of Adule be in part or altogether ascribed to him. The sculpture on the walls represent gifts offered to Ammon and his temple companions. They are remarkable as picturing not only the king but his consort presenting offerings.[6] They are, moreover, in the purest and most perfect style of Egyptian art.

The following temple at Maharraka still shows traces of Grecian art.[7] Over the entrance is a half-reclining female figure, partly Egyptian and partly Greek; near this a Greek inscription, attesting the adoration of a whole family, of which a boy

[1] Gau, table xxx. [2] Ibid. plate xxix.
[3] Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations in Egypt and Nubia*, p. 71.
[4] Gau, plate xxxiv.—xxxvii.
[5] Ibid. plate xxxv. Ἐνέρ βασιλ———θεω———εις—— leave no doubt of the fact, notwithstanding the mutilated state of the inscription.
[6] See in particular the large lower relief in plate xxxviii. Both the king and queen (distinguished by the *ureus*) are offering gifts; he a large dish, with vessels, and she a wreath of flowers. Behind them are two of their followers, also husband and wife, (without the emblem of dominion,) with cattle and poultry. The same relief is twice repeated on each side, in every particular. Can we forbear, then, to consider it as Ptolemy III. and his consort Berenice?
[7] Gau, vignette, livr. viii.

is represented as offering the gift. "No where," says Belzoni, "did I see Egyptian and Grecian rites more evidently united."[1]

The monument of Asseboa, or Sebu, which next follows, is still far more important.[2] It is not one of the largest, but one of the most finished temples. First, a magnificent portico, followed by an alley of sphinxes; leading to the first pylon, before which sit two colossal figures. Through this we pass into an open colonnade, and out of this into a covered hall of columns, with priests of Osiris instead of caryatides on the pillars. Next follows the sanctuary with the representation of the holy ark. All this is above ground; but there are several rooms joining thereto hewn in the rock. Thus we find the case here to be the reverse of what it is in the temple at Ghyrshe. For there the temple is hewn in the rock, and only the vestibule stands free; while here we have the temple free, and only the subordinate building hewn in the rock. The greatest part of the temple, however, is covered with sand. The sphinxes are of one peculiar shape; they bear the high priest's bonnet, which I do not remember to be the case any where else. The reliefs in the interior, with their colours, are in fine preservation; representing gifts offered to Ammon and his kindred gods. They must be ranked, according to the plates of Gau, among those of the perfected Egyptian art; although, according to Legh, they are, at least the hieroglyphics, of a ruder character. "Probably," says he, "this monument is more ancient than the Egyptian."[3]

The temple of Amada, half buried in sand, bears a cupola, a proof of its having been adapted to the Christian worship.[4] Champollion, nevertheless, has demonstrated its high antiquity, by discovering upon it the name of Pharaoh Thutmosis, the expeller of the Hyksos.[5]

The monument of Derar, notwithstanding its small size, is still remarkable.[6] It is altogether cut in the rock, without any building before it. The plan is exceedingly simple. It was a temple of Ammon. The procession of the holy ark is represented in the sanctuary.[7] The king comes forward kneeling, and presents an offering; but upon another wall he kills a captive, evidently intended as a sacrifice. The god with the falcon's head advances, and brings to the king the sword or

[1] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 73. [2] Gau, table xlii.—xlvii. [3] Legh, p. 66.
[4] Gau, table xlviii. [5] Champollion, *Système Hieroglyphique*, p. 241.
[6] Gau, table l. li. lii. [7] Ibid. table li.

dagger. A similar subject is portrayed in the temples of Thebes.

We now approach those stupendous monuments which, principally by the exertions of Belzoni, have been rescued from the sand and restored to day, and are celebrated under the probably corrupted name of Ipsambul throughout Europe.[1] They are two rock monuments, a smaller and a larger. The first, nearest the Nile, shows itself to the passing vessels, by six gigantic figures, which seem, as it were, to keep watch before it. Burkhardt and other travellers had already mentioned this: but behind it, and still almost entirely covered with sand, out of which only the heads of two vast colossal figures project, is the great temple itself; these two figures standing like sentinels before its entrance. Belzoni not only discovered it, but with astonishing perseverance cleared away the sand, and laid it open to view. And what sensations he must have experienced as the light broke in and gradually revealed, by its solemn glimmer, these gigantic forms! Before the entrance four colossal figures sit as guards, the largest yet known, being sixty-five feet high:—in the interior, first the colonnade, with gigantic figures of Osiris on the pilasters, nearly thirty feet high: the walls full of sculptures representing battles and triumphs. Out of this we step into a hall of columns, with similar gigantic figures; next to this an ante-chamber, which is followed by the sanctuary, with many side chambers. In the back-ground is a colossal figure sitting upon a bench; and similar ones are in the side chambers. In the midst of the sanctuary stands a pedestal.[2] This monument is usually called a temple, yet I will venture to maintain that it was no temple, but intended for a sepulchre. The object in the sanctuary proves the truth of my opinion. An object like this is never seen so situated in any Egyptian temple, though it is common enough in the sepulchres. We have already seen proofs of this at Kalabshe. But still it was a family tomb, perhaps of priests; but here it seems highly probable that we have the sepulchre of a king. If the monument had been originally a temple, a *monolithus* would have stood in the sanctuary. Instead of that we have here a pedestal, upon which probably a sarcophagus once stood. What ruler it was who has here taken up his last abode I dare not venture to decide. If it

[1] In Gau, Abusambul, table lv.
[2] In Belzoni the two last plates but one; in Gau, the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth.

were an Ethiopian king, then have we here again the archetype of the kings' tombs at Thebes, but the latter, although certainly not larger, were far superior in magnificence.

What is here said of the larger monument applies also to the smaller; and is still further confirmed by Gau's having given a plate of the inner sanctuary, as well as a view of the façade. Six colossal, though smaller figures, stand here as sentinels; three on each side, each middle figure being that of a female. They are priests and priestesses, as is shown not only by the head-dress, but also by the key, the emblem of consecration, which even the females retain: in the men the upper part seems to be broken off. The subjects on the walls of the colonnade are of the same kind as in the large monument; scenes of war and triumphs. But the most important are the painted reliefs in the sanctuary.[1] Four figures are portrayed, all sitting on a bench. They are not however of one family. The red, principal figure I take to be the king, placed between two deities, which they appear to be, the one on the right from his bluish colour, the one on the left from his falcon-head. The fourth figure on the side, of a yellow colour, I cannot explain.

The monuments hitherto spoken of lie altogether on this side the second cataract, which is about forty-five miles distant from Ipsambul. But as beyond this the monuments become rarer, the temple of Soleb, 20° 20′, which Waddington has described and Caillaud delineated, must not be passed by.[2] According to the first it is among the lightest built temples; but nevertheless interesting to us from the sculptures, of which Caillaud has given engravings. Among them are prisoners with their arms bound behind them, one a negro, with a complete negro profile.[3] Everything about this temple however is entirely in the Egyptian style; Burkhardt therefore is perfectly right in marking it on his map as the most southern monument of this kind, wishing to keep it distinct from those of Meroë, at which we shall presently arrive.

Let us now consider the observations to which this acquaintance with the monuments gives rise; and inquire what certain and what probable results may be deduced therefrom. And first it is certain that the religion, rites, and arts of Egypt were not confined to its proper territory, but extended to the upper

[1] Gau, table liv.

[2] Waddington, p. 178. Caillaud, plate xii. xiv.

[3] Caillaud, plate xiv.

valley of the Nile. We see the same deities worshipped here as in Egypt; though the number is somewhat less. The rites of Ammon every where predominate; and after his, those of his temple companions and kindred. He himself occasionally appears with the ram's head, and sometimes in a human shape; but still with the attributes which distinguish him as Ammon. Next to him comes his son Osiris, known by the scourge and sceptre. A female form always accompanies both these where the space will allow it: Ammon, with the ram's head, by his wife Satis. He, however, as well as Osiris, is often accompanied by Isis, known by the cow's horns in her head-dress, between which is placed a globe of the world or sun. The other deities bear the heads of animals, especially those of the falcon and dog. I leave the further particulars respecting them to mythologists; all that is required here is to determine in a general way the prevailing religion.

In speaking of the monuments it is necessary to distinguish between the architecture itself, and the ornaments which they have received from the hand of the sculptor.[1]

The character of the architecture is upon the whole decidedly the same; but still there is a progress in it, which, in my opinion, is not to be mistaken. In the monuments of Egypt we find this art in its greatest perfection, and perhaps, at times, even in its decline; but here we see it in its rise and progress. The small grottos, especially those of Derar, appear to me to exhibit the earliest attempts of the art; these were afterwards improved; but how many shades of improvement must the art have undergone before it attained that sublime magnitude in which it exists at Ipsambul! I think, however, that I have proved that these grottos, at least originally, were not temples, but sepulchres. That this was the case with all I cannot venture to determine; as I am now only speaking of those in which the above-mentioned objects are depicted in the sanctuary, and that these, viz. Kalabshé, Ghyrshe, and Ipsambul, were such, I hesitate not to affirm. Respecting the monument at Derar I have some doubts, from there being no accurate delineation of the sanctuary.

The science of architecture therefore commenced with grottos and the tombs within them, and became perfected by degrees. And is not this a proof that this architecture was indigenous and not of foreign origin? Do we not see that its first

[1] Champollion, *Syst. des Hieroglyphes*, p. 99.

attempt was the construction of tombs, and is not that a striking proof that it was not of Indian origin? For though we are acquainted with mighty grotto-works in India, yet have we no where the least trace of their having been sepulchres. The disciples of Brama, in fact, do not bury their dead; they burn them.

The rock-monuments determined very naturally the principal character of the Nubian-Egyptian architecture to the colossal form which it assumed. In those caverns, already partly prepared by nature, the eye was accustomed to dwell on huge shapes and masses; so that when art came here to the assistance of nature, it could not move on a small scale without degrading itself. What would statues of the usual size, or neat porches and wings, have been, associated with those gigantic halls, before which only colossi could sit as watchmen, or lean on the pillars of the interior?

From the grottos this architecture trod forth into the open air. And is it not sufficiently evident how the monuments of Nubia underwent this change? We have seen them, like that of Ghyrshe, half in the rock and half in the open air. This union is still important on another account, it proves as clearly as possible, that the grotto monuments are the most ancient. For no rational being will believe that the porticos are older than the grottos.

But, notwithstanding I maintain that these grotto buildings, in their origin, were sepulchres, I do not deny but that they might afterwards have become temples. Religious ideas easily associate themselves with repositories of the dead: and if a certain veneration was shown to the deceased kings,—which we now know, from the Rosetta inscription, to have been the case with regard to the Ptolemies, who indeed were but the successors of the Pharaohs,—then, indeed, their sepulchres must likewise have been temples, where they were not made expressly inaccessible.

Architecture, however, quitted its junction with the grottos, and mounted a third step; by erecting monuments unconnected with these excavations.

All these edifices, without exception, so far as they are yet known, are temples; we find none beyond, which we can hold ourselves justified in calling sepulchres, or, as in Thebes, palaces. I have already remarked, and their appearance testifies to its truth, that they bear throughout the character of

Egyptian architecture. How far the earlier or later Egyptian style can be distinguished in them, I must leave to the judgment of architects. One difference I cannot pass over in silence. Notwithstanding the Nubian temples, like the Egyptian, exhibit pylones, colossi, colonnades, column-halls, and sanctuaries, yet there is no where to be found among them an obelisk, or the least trace of one. The magnificence which these proud monuments imparted was confined to Egypt;[1] and this alone is a proof that they were first erected in that country, where the architecture of the valley of the Nile was improved and carried to its highest perfection.

From the architecture let us turn to the sculpture or reliefs, with which the walls and columns of these monuments, as well below as above ground, are so profusely ornamented. And here at once a question presses itself upon our attention, namely, in what relation did these stand to the monuments? Did they form a part of them originally, or were they added at a later period? Are they by the same artists, or by others? Who would not at once decide in favour of the first, and consider the monuments and decorations as forming one whole, if a great difficulty did not, at the first glance, present itself. In the architecture, and even in the colossal statues, we have traced a progress, from the first attempts almost to their perfection; while in the reliefs nothing of the kind is discernible: they all belong to the perfected Egyptian art. How then can we account for sculpture having already attained this perfection, while architecture was gradually progressive in its improvement? I can only explain this extraordinary circumstance, connected with the rock-monuments, by supposing that their walls were not ornamented with reliefs till a later period; and that the sculpture has no connexion with their original destination as sepulchres. Whoever will compare the sitting figures, which represent family groups of the deceased, with those on the wall, will find no resemblance whatever between them either in countenance or shape. In the reliefs these are invariably long and slender; but in the sitting figures, short and thick. These observations apply particularly to the monuments of Kalabshé and Ipsambul; in those built from the ground there is no such disproportion between architecture and sculpture. Until the deciphering of the hieroglyphic writing, therefore, shall give us better information, I shall con-

[1] That of Axum, which will be hereafter spoken of, does not belong to Nubia.

sider it probable that the Egyptian rulers, who invaded Nubia, made use of the ancient rock-monuments, which they found already existing, and endeavoured to perpetuate their fame as victors and conquerors, by pictorial representations on the walls, of their pious and heroic deeds. The latest discoveries of Champollion confirm this view of the subject.[1] Ramasses the Great, otherwise called Sesostris, was the hero thus honoured; every part of the great monuments of Ipsambul, Kalabshé, Derar, Ghyrshe, and Seboa, bear records of his fame.

The subjects portrayed on these monuments may be mostly comprised under three classes; adorations, processions, and military triumphs. It is necessary, however, before entering upon them in detail, to premise a few general observations.

All accounts agree in attributing these temple buildings to the kings.—But for what purpose were they erected? They are described to us as memorials, by which the remembrance of the kings was preserved by the priesthood; for the Egyptian priests confessed to Herodotus, that of those kings who had left no monuments they could relate nothing more than a catalogue of names.[2] But in what sense were these buildings memorials of their founders? Were they merely such that at the most they did but preserve the remembrance of a ruler; or rather might not the representations on the walls,—those numerous reliefs with which they are covered,—have had a further object; namely, that of exhibiting the history of the king's reign? The nature of things seems to require our assent to this view of the subject, which is further confirmed by the historical pictures, those military triumphs, which we find portrayed upon them. This matter, however, will appear in a clearer light, if we fairly consider what the history of the reigns of these kings would comprise.

They are *priest-kings;* that is, kings who, if they did not by law belong to the priest-caste, were yet held in great dependence by that body; a dependence not consisting in mere words, but in an active expression of their reverence by sacrifices and offerings, which, nevertheless, were not without recompence; but, on the part of the priesthood, were returned in favours to the rulers, to them of importance; among which reception into the caste, and promotion, were perhaps deemed —as among the Indians—the highest.

The history of such kings was therefore necessarily twofold.

[1] Champollion, *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique*, 220. [2] Herod. ii. 101.

One ecclesiastical, which comprised the homages offered to the priests, and the recompences received for them; the other political, which contained the enterprises of the kings, and, above all, their military exploits.

I scarcely need state which of these two the priests would consider most deserving their attention. Though the political ranks highest with us, the other certainly had the highest claims to their regard.

Now if the temples of the kings were erected for the preservation of their memory, would they not have desired, above all things, to perpetuate their history by them in the way just explained? The contrary is almost inconceivable; but a more accurate view of the monuments, and the information lately obtained, leads to the result we should have anticipated.

We have another proof that political or military history ranked below the ecclesiastical; not only the disproportion in the numbers of the two show this, (that of the historical reliefs being very insignificant compared with the others,) but also the places assigned them; the representation of political affairs being confined to the outside of the pylones, and perhaps the partition-walls of the open hall of pillars, and even not exclusively to these. The battle-pieces extend no further. The triumphal processions, which, from their offerings to the gods, pertain to the ecclesiastical character, obtain at best only a place in the covered column-hall; consequently in the place where the people assembled and worshipped, but never in the inner sanctuary. This is sacred to religious affairs; although these previously occupy almost the whole of the walls and columns of the vestibule and halls; indeed even the façade of the pylones. Every thing, in short, proves that religion was here predominant, and that what we should regard as most important was thrown here into the back-ground.

These ecclesiastical pictures, then, claim our first attention; and who indeed could help asking, even at a cursory glance, for what they were intended? Were they merely decorations of the walls? or, if their general object was the promotion of religion, had they not particular and special objects as well? What can we make of them, and especially of the numerous repetitions of the same circumstance, unless we adopt some such notion as this?

It appears to me, that the late discoveries, especially the Greek inscriptions, for copies of which we are indebted to Gau

and Caillaud, lead to a further solution, by being compared with what we find exhibited upon the most ancient monuments. These Greek inscriptions give us important information respecting the solemn adoration[1] of the Egyptian deities, upon the ceremonial with which they were performed, and their relation to the temple, and the views with which they were made and received.

These adorations were solemn acts which a man performed, with the approbation of the priests, for himself, or even for his family. They were not, however, celebrated empty-handed, but accompanied with gifts and offerings; and for these the donor obtained that the remembrance thereof, and the honours conferred on account of them, should be preserved by an inscription on the walls of the temple. To this class belong the numerous Greek, and, in part, the Egyptian inscriptions, which the travellers I have so often mentioned copied.[2] "This is the adoration of such a one," sometimes with the addition of the sum which he had paid to the temple. A kind of tax, indeed, became formed, which a man paid once or more, according as he desired honours or grants from the temple. These consisted of priestly titles, and of privileges connected with them; perhaps something like those which a pilgrimage to the holy cities now gives to the disciples of Islam. The persons who came to worship were often pilgrims from distant lands; (the reader may bear in mind the customs of the East, and the example from holy writ of the chamberlain of queen Candace, who came to worship at Jerusalem;) though it was not religion and piety alone which induced many to undertake the distant journey.

It appears from the inscriptions, that it was mostly persons of the higher ranks, such as statesmen, commanders, governors, and the like, that procured these titles for their adorations; as might indeed be expected from the expense with which they were attended; though it is not likely that the gifts of the inferior classes were disdained. But, what is of particular

[1] The Greek expression is *προσκυνήματα*.

[2] See in particular the inscription of Cartasche given by Gau. The title of priest was the honour obtained; and this dignity was many times repeated, and raised the rank of the persons on whom it was conferred, till they obtained the title of chief-priest (*ἀρχιερεὺς*), and father of the priests (*πατὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν*). It is certain that it was procured for money; there are examples of fifteen, twenty, and even thirty pieces of gold being paid for it. A certain Makrinus paid one hundred and ten for two titles; another gave a talent and upwards. In the inscription, number xxiv., the price of the title of under-priest is estimated at thirty pieces of gold, and that of chief-priest at sixty. Compare the observations of Niebuhr, in *Dissertation*, p. 13.

consequence to us, even the kings of the house of Ptolemy were followers of this custom. The temples of Philæ contain many inscriptions of kings who had celebrated such adorations, and perpetuated the remembrance thereof by inscriptions.[1] And if the explanation I have above given concerning Ptolemy Evergetes and his consort be correct, whether it be the first or second of that name, it becomes clear that it was done not merely by inscriptions, but also by pictorial representations on the walls, which, probably, in the latter period of these monarchs, fell into disuse, as the Greek language became usual for inscriptions; which was not so well adapted as hieroglyphics to accompany pictorial representations: other causes which occurred under the latter Ptolemies may also have operated.

Let us apply these observations to the period of the Pharaohs, and its monuments, and with what increased interest shall we then regard the work of the sculptor, whose appearance testifies that they for the most part relate to such adorations. Whether these were only offered by kings, or by others as well, I will not venture to determine; but that the greatest proportion of them are royal oblations is shown by the ensigns of dominion with which the offerings are so frequently adorned. To explain the whole, it would be necessary to have the ritual of the priests, which, unfortunately, we are without. From that we might learn how this or that oblation was connected with its attendant ceremony; how it gave the right to wear this or that ornament on the head, or this or that ensign of the priesthood; how they led to washings and purifications, and at last even to admission into the priestly order; as this is many times represented in a manner not to be mistaken. Add to this, that Ammon was the deity of an oracle, and that many of these adorations could have no other object than that of obtaining favourable oracles from him, which none could require more than kings in their enterprises. The difference, therefore, between the earlier and later usage consisted in this, in the later period the matter was merely recorded by an inscription, while in the more ancient it was perpetuated by a pictorial representation of the act itself, accompanied, however, with hieroglyphic writing, a further key for the solution of which may perhaps be soon afforded us. What, however, was represented could naturally be no more

[1] See the proofs in the *Dissertation* already quoted, p. 21. The kings were some of the last of the house of Ptolemy.

than the prescribed ceremony; the more trifling offerings must certainly have been very different from the sums paid for admission into the priesthood.

I cannot, therefore, consider these pictorial representations as mere ornaments, or the fanciful creations of art; I regard them as historical. They set forth the ecclesiastical life of these priest-kings. And if it be remembered, that the completion of one of these stupendous monuments required centuries, and this is a fact beyond all doubt, it may then be conceived how one of them might contain the church annals of an empire.

And do not these ideas completely harmonize with what Champollion, the most acute inquirer into these subjects,[1] has said upon the origin of these monuments? "The study of them shows," he says, "that the Egyptians in general first erected the great masses of these edifices; covered them with large plain surfaces, and only completed at first the ornamental part of the architecture, when they polished and prepared all the smooth surfaces of the monument. After these labours the reliefs were set about, and ornamented with innumerable hieroglyphic characters, which covered the pillars and walls. This was the decoration of the monument, and proved the longest operation, and required the most care. Many reigns might pass by, many dynasties might succeed each other, ere the decoration of one of these stupendous monuments was completed." In all this I agree with the learned writer; the works left unfinished prove its truth. I cannot, however, believe that these were mere decorations. The foregoing remarks place these phenomena not only in a clearer, but in a more natural light.

In addition, however, to the ecclesiastical history of these priest-kings, their political is also portrayed upon the walls of their monuments; their military expeditions, their battles, their triumphs. These representations, however, are evidently copies of those in Thebes; they display the deeds of Egyptian conquerors, who wished to perpetuate their remembrance in the conquered countries, on the monuments they found there, of which I have already given proofs. In my researches upon Egypt I shall examine this subject more particularly, and shall, therefore, confine myself here to one remark respecting Nubia.

It is an important circumstance, that Egyptian art should

[1] *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xiii. p. 416.

always have been so careful to distinguish the conquered nations in these pictures by their colour, features, clothing, and arms. Their variety, however, is not so great upon the Nubian monuments as upon those of Thebes.[1] Negroes, known by their profile, only occur once or twice as captives.[2] The remainder, throughout, have the same colour, physiognomy, beard, and clothing: the colour is yellow, the clothing long, the beard short but projecting, the hair black, and on the females hanging down in ties.[3] Though it may appear strange that we here see the same nations warred upon by the Egyptian rulers, who indeed often governed Nubia, that we so often see in Egypt itself, yet is this not to be wondered at, because the inhabitants of both countries had the same enemies. Nubia, like Egypt, was surrounded by pastoral nations, of whom the most formidable were those towards the Arabian Gulf. The conquering of herdsmen, which is so common a circumstance in the history of Egypt, is not less so in that of Nubia. The greatest and longest wars were carried on against them, and are, therefore, represented upon the monuments. There can be no doubt of their being pastoral nations; for they are not only accompanied by women and children, as nomades usually are, but even the flying herds are portrayed.[4] Whether Arabian or Libyan nomades I will not venture to decide; it is easier shown that both had their seat in these regions: the yellow colour, the clothing and hair, seem to argue for their being Arabs. The fruitful valley of the Nile, with its treasures and temples, could not but often allure them to plunder and inroads.

The most interesting of the processions belonging to this part of my subject have now been explained;[5] at another opportunity I shall discuss the sacerdotal. We have thus far become acquainted with the monuments of Nubia. There are others besides these to which I shall now proceed,—those upon the island of Meroë.

But where is Meroë to be found? This is the first and most important question that demands our attention. The whole of the following inquiry can only become creditable and determinate by an accurate settlement of the locality.

If we first question Herodotus, we shall find that he has

[1] See especially the reliefs upon the tombs of the kings in Belzoni, plate vii. viii., where the people of white, red, and black colour are distinguished likewise by their clothing and physiognomy. [2] See above, p. 186.
[3] See Gau, table xiv. and lxi. [4] Gau, l. c. [5] See above, p. 178, sqq.

given us some important hints in what he has told us of the course of the Nile above Egypt. He recommends us to leave the vessel near the island Tachompso, in order to avoid the cataracts, and to make a forty days' journey by land near the banks of the river, after which a new voyage of twelve days will bring us to the city of Meroë. The fixing the journey *near* the banks of the river is here of great consequence; as by this course the Nubian desert is avoided, and by following the various bendings of the stream the way is much lengthened. There is still, however, much vagueness in these statements, as the windings of the river are not accurately pointed out. According to Waddington's map, the distance from the cataract of Wady Halfa to the influx of the Tacazze is six hundred geographical miles, to which must be added one hundred and twenty miles from Kalabshé, where we suppose the island Tachompso to be, to Wady Halfa. However uncertain, therefore, the reckoning may remain, the forty days' journey will, nevertheless, carry us into the territory of Atbara, between the Nile and the Astaboras, to the northern part of the empire of Sennaar. It remains to be seen whether what other writers have said will fix its situation more accurately.

Herodotus only mentions the city of Meroë. All other writers describe Meroë as an island, with a city of the same name.[1] They therefore do not contradict Herodotus; the following will tend to show that the situation of the city, as laid down by Herodotus, agrees with their statements.

"The Astaboras," says Agatharchides, "which flows through Ethiopia, unites its stream with the greater Nile, and thereby forms the island of Meroë, by flowing round it."[2] Strabo is still more precise.[3] "The Nile," says he, "receives two great rivers which run from the east out of some lakes, and encompass the great island of Meroë. One is called the Astaboras, which flows on the eastern side; the other the Astapus. Some mention instead the Astosabas, and distinguish therefrom the Astapus, which runs in a course very nearly parallel with the Nile. Seven hundred stadia above the junction of the Nile and the Astaboras is the *city* of Meroë, bearing the same name as the island."—To these statements, which are quite sufficient to settle the situation of Meroë, I must add, even at the risk of being tedious, the testimony of Pliny. "In the midst of

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 38. Strabo, p. 1134. Plin. vi. 29.
[2] In Huds. *Geogr. Min.* i. p. 37. [3] Strabo, p. 1134.

Ethiopia," he says, "the Nile bears the name of Astapus.[1] It here forms great islands, which it scarcely flows round in five days, especially the island of Meroë, where its left branch is called the Astaboras, and the right Astaspes. It first takes the name of the Nile where all these branches unite."

A glance at the map will immediately show where the ancient Meroë may be found. The Astaboras, which flows round it on the eastern side, is the present Atbar, or Tacazze; the Astapus, which bounds it on the left, and runs parallel with the Nile, is the *Bahar el Abiad*, or *white river*, which, perhaps, should properly be called the Nile. I do not stop to determine other small streams, which have nothing to do with my subject.[2]

The accounts of the Arabian geographers throw a still clearer light upon this matter.[3] The Nile they say divides itself into seven streams, three of which are large, and the others smaller. One of the former runs from the east, and, therefore, without doubt is the Astaboras, or Tacazze, called also the blue stream. The second of the larger streams is the white Nile, which runs from the west, therefore the Astapus, whose water is as white as milk. The third is the green Nile, running from the south-east, therefore the proper Nile of the moderns; its water is so clear that the fish are visible at the bottom of it. The four smaller streams likewise come from the south-east, and run into the green Nile. They may be seen in Bruce's map. The country between these streams is the empire of Alua, which begins where the first of them, the Tacazze, joins the Nile. The capital of the empire, called Sujah, a handsome, well-built town, is situated at the junction of the white and green Nile.[4] Between these rivers is an island whose extent is unknown. It is therefore evident that this island, or the empire of Alua, is the ancient island of Meroë.

Diodorus has accurately stated the size of the island Meroë. It is three thousand stadia, he tells us, that is, three hundred and forty English miles in length, and one thousand stadia, or one hundred and fifteen miles in breadth.[5]

And finally, Pliny determines its distance in miles from Syene in Egypt. Eratosthenes, he says, computed it at six hundred and twenty-five, and Artemidorus at six hundred

[1] Pliny, v. 9. He confounds the Astaspes and Astapus.
[2] For that consult Bruce, ii. p. 253, etc., and iii. 646. *Edit.* 1790.
[3] See Quatremere, l. c. ii. p. 7—21.
[4] Bruce has placed here upon his map a town, Halfaia, whose name perhaps comes from Alua.
[5] Diodorus, l. c.

Roman miles. Shortly before his time, however, under Nero, the distance was measured, and found to be eight hundred and seventy-three Roman miles to the nearest part of the island.[1] All these measures may have been right, according to the roads taken. The Roman ambassadors chose the longest way, as they followed in the whole course the direction of the Nile; the Greek geographers reckon according to the shorter caravan route, which leaves the Nile, and strikes across the desert of Bahiuda. The celebrated British traveller went by a still shorter way from Meroë to Syene, as he ventured to pass directly across the great Nubian desert: the same route that Burkhardt took upon his return.

From the foregoing statements taken together, we may safely draw the following conclusions:

First: that the ancient island of Meroë is the present province of Atbar, between the river of the same name, or the Tacazze, on the right, and the white stream and Nile on the left. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile; in the south it is enclosed by a branch of the above-mentioned river, the Waldubba, and a branch of the Nile, the Bahad, whose sources are nearly in the same district, although they flow in different directions.[2] It lies between 13° and 18° N. Lat. In recent times it has formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennaar, and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.

Secondly: Meroë was therefore an extensive district, surrounded by rivers, whose superficial contents exceeded those of Sicily rather more than one half. It cannot be called an island in the strict sense of the word, because, although it is very nearly, it is not completely enclosed by rivers; but it was taken for an island of the Nile, because, as Pliny expressly observes, the various rivers which flow round it were all considered as branches of that stream.[3] It becomes, moreover, as we are told by Bruce, a complete island in the rainy season, in consequence of the overflowing of the rivers.

Thirdly: upon this island stood the city of the same name. It is impossible from the statements of Herodotus to determine precisely its site. Fortunately other writers give us more assistance. According to Eratosthenes[4] it lay seven hundred

[1] Pliny, vi. 29. [2] See the large map of Bruce; where will be found all the small streams and their branches, whose names are not given in our maps.

[3] Pliny, v. 9. Herodotus is here again the only ancient writer who speaks determinately. He mentions only the city of Meroë, without calling the country in which it lay an island.

[4] Strabo, p. 1134.

stadia (about eighty English miles) above the junction of the Tacazze or Astaboras, and the Nile. Pliny, following the statements of those whom Nero had sent to explore it, reckons seventy *milliaria* (sixty-three English miles); and adds the important fact, that near it, in the river on the right side, going up stream, is the small island Tadu, which serves the city as a port.[1] From this it may be concluded with certainty, that the city of Meroë was not on the Tacazze, as might otherwise be conjectured from the names of those rivers being so unsettled, but on the proper Nile; and its situation, notwithstanding the little difference between Pliny and Eratosthenes, may be determined with the nicest accuracy, by the small island just mentioned, which Bruce has not omitted to note upon his map.

The ancient city of Meroë stood a little below the present Shendy, under 17° N. Lat. 52½° E. Long. Bruce saw its ruins at a distance, and only ventured to conjecture what I, from the testimony of the ancients, think I have completely proved. Every one of my readers will certainly read here with pleasure what that remarkable traveller says: I give it in his own words.[2] "On the 20th of October, in the evening," says he, "we left Shendy, and rested two miles from the town, and about a mile from the river; the next day, the 21st, we continued our journey; at nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island, in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees, and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the dog; some pieces of obelisk, likewise with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive; and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there. The statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess," he adds, "that this is the ancient city Meroë."

What Bruce and Burkhardt[3] only saw at a distance, and

[1] Pliny, vi. cap. 29. [2] Bruce, iv. p. 541.

[3] Burkhardt himself gives us a reason why he examined so few antiquities, p. 275. As he travelled under the character of a poor merchant, he could not leave the caravan any distance without exciting suspicion. "Had even the stately Thebes lain close at hand, I could not have stopped to examine it." He did not go beyond Shendy; and therefore could not have seen the monuments south of that place.

hastily, has now been carefully examined by later travellers, and placed before our eyes by their drawings. These inquiries have however shown, that the antiquities of Meroë are not confined to a single spot, but are found in many places. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gherri teems with them, and must be considered as classic ground. On the north of the island we also find a group, those of mount Berkal, which we may securely affirm to have belonged to Meroë. I will return to these by and by, and for the present direct my attention to those in the island of Meroë itself.

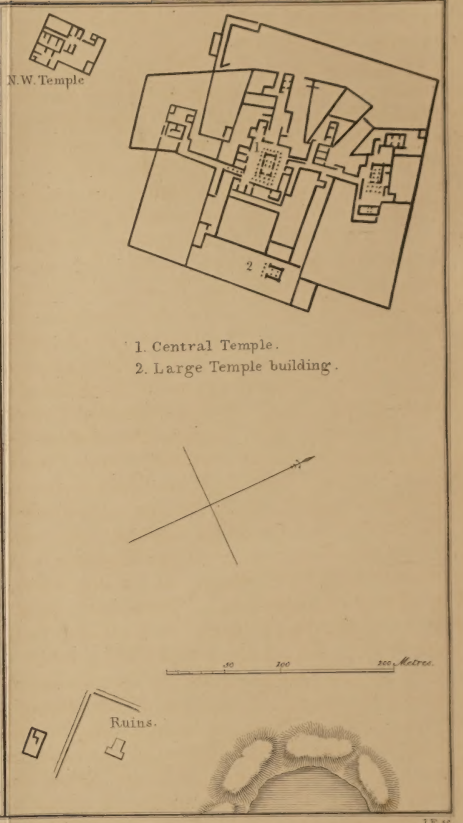
So far as our present information extends, these may be included under three principal groups; with the names of Assur, Naga, and Messura. That of Assur[1] lies a little to the north of Shendy, about two miles from the Nile; the two others run southward, more towards the desert, and are at some leagues' distance from the Nile. The monuments still found consist of temples and pyramids; all private dwellings have been long ago destroyed. According to Strabo,[2] they were only built of split palm trees and tiles; the earth, however, is, in many parts, so covered with bricks, that a city must formerly have stood here. The site of the ancient Meroë, after the above statements, can no longer be doubtful, even if there were no remains to confirm them. It stood near the present Assur, about twenty miles north of the present Shendy, exactly under 17° N. Lat. The site of the ancient city, which lay on the Nile between the present villages of Assur and Tenetbey, is still discovered by the remains of a few temples, and of many other edifices of sandstone. The whole extent amounts, according to Caillaud, to nearly four thousand feet.[3] The plain allowed sufficient room for a much larger city.

But if the habitations of the living are destroyed, those of the dead still remain. To the east of Assur is the great churchyard of pyramids—I cannot more appropriately denote them,—which likewise proves that a considerable city was in its neighbourhood. It is impossible to behold the number of these monuments without astonishment, eighty are mentioned in the plan of Caillaud;[4] but the number cannot be well ascertained, as the ruins of many are doubtful. But there is reason to suppose that their number is considerably greater

[1] The name of Assur is only found in Caillaud. In Bruce and Burkhardt this district is called Djebail, from the mountains. Assur is the name of a village on the Nile; in the neighbourhood of which are the villages of Danqueil and Tenetbey. [2] Strabo, p. 1177.

[3] One thousand three hundred metres, that is, the extent of the ruins still remaining. That the city must have been larger cannot be doubted. [4] Caillaud, plate xxxi.

A PLAN OF THE TEMPLES OF MEROE AT NAGA NEAR SHENDY.



TEMPLES AT EL-MESSOORAH.

than he states. They are divided into three groups, one due east from the city; the two others a league from the river, one north and the other south. The most northern one is the largest and best preserved. They certainly appear small in comparison with the monuments of a similar kind in middle Egypt, the height of the largest not being more than eighty feet;[1] but they are more wonderful from their number. They are built of granite like the Egyptian, but do not seem so massive in the interior. The highest of them was ascended, and, as its top was thrown off, the interior seemed nothing beyond a heap of shapeless masses. As no one, however, examined the interior, it might be premature to decide anything respecting it. Most of the largest of them have a temple-like fore-building in the Egyptian style; a pylone and a door which leads into a portico, and this again through a sanctuary into the pyramid. It does not appear therefore that they desired here, as was the case in Egypt, to conceal the entrance, unless the real entrance was some where else. Until an interior has been examined, it will not be known whether sarcophagi and mummies are to be found within; I am not aware of any having been found beyond Egypt, south of Philæ and the cataracts. According to Strabo the Ethiopians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in a different manner; in earthen vessels, near the sanctuary.[2] The corners of the pyramids are partly ornamented; and the walls of the pylones are decorated with sculpture. That on the largest pyramid, drawn by Caillaud, represents an offering for the dead.[3] In one compartment a female warrior, with the royal ensigns on her head, and richly attired, drags forward a number of captives as offerings to the gods; upon the other she is in a warlike habit, about to destroy the same group, whose heads are fastened together by the top hair, as we shall see again upon the ruins of Naga. On a third relief in the sanctuary she is making an offering of frankincense to the goddess. Upon a fourth field appears Anubis with a burning light in his hand, accompanied by the Jackal, the guardian of the lower world. This representation, together with the magnitude of the pyramid, renders it probable that it is the sepulchre of a king. That all pyramids here were not monuments of kings is evinced by their great number. Other grandees of the empire, especially priests of high rank, or such as had obtained the sacerdotal dignity,

[1] Caillaud, plate xlv. [2] Strabo, p. 1178. [3] Caillaud, plate xlvi.

might have found in them their final resting-place. In Ethiopia, and consequently in Meroë, the pyramid architecture was native from the earliest ages. But if we compare this pyramid architecture with the Egyptian, we shall see another proof of what has already been partly established; namely, that what had its rise in Ethiopia was perfected in Egypt, of which we shall still see further proofs.

The statements of Caillaud have been confirmed by the narrative of Rüppel of Frankfort,[1] who likewise visited Meroë. His account extends beyond that of the French traveller, as he informs us of the existence of similar groups of pyramids in the land of Kurgos. "After having for some time been within sight of the ruins of Kurgos, which are also mentioned by Bruce, I was at last able to go and examine them under a guard. On the other side of the Nile my way lay for fifty-seven minutes across a plain of Nile slime or mud. Traces were visible of ancient canals running parallel with the bed of the Nile, a proof that this territory was once highly cultivated. Ten minutes after I came to a great heap of hewn and burnt stones. Time, however, had destroyed everything. With difficulty were some shafts of columns discovered, whose capitals were ornamented with the heads of animals. Proofs that this was the site of ancient temples."

"Twelve minutes farther a group of pyramidic mausolea. There were thirteen, all of hewn stone, forty feet high, without an entrance. Near them was a lion's head in black granite; evidently a sitting sphinx. Thirty minutes farther, eastward, a group, far more considerable than the former, of twenty-one tombs. Some were of the pyramid form with indented borders; others had pointed angles, with borders of plainer workmanship. One of these monuments, the most southerly, differs from all the others. A prismatic steeple stands upon a socle twenty feet square. It has, like the rest, an eastern entrance, leading to the hall or gallery, as in the sepulchres of Meroë (Assur). The walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture; the reliefs like those at Meroë, but in greater perfection; they invariably represent the apotheosis of the dead. Among these pyramids there is one, as among those at Meroë, peculiar on account of its entrance. On both sides of this are two female figures, holding lances in their hands, and in the

[1] Writings by Edward Rüppel, from the camp near Kurgos, 29th Feb. 1824, in *Europæische Blætter*, Oct. 1824, p. 131—134.

act of piercing with them a band of prisoners. The drapery, grouping, and keeping of this surpasses every thing of the kind I have seen in Nubia and Egypt, not even excepting the temple of Tentyris. They are free from the stiffness which is found in the Briareus of that place. These monuments, from their preservation, seem of later date than those of Meroë."

"A third group is met with five minutes south-east of the foregoing. It consists of nine pyramids, each with its entrance towards the east, the inner walls of which are covered with sculpture. The reliefs represent *apotheoses* of *female* figures only; while in all others they represent heroes, to whom offerings are brought. These southern sepulchres are also less than the others, the highest not being above forty feet. In the group of twenty-one pyramids there are some which measure ninety feet. All these monuments are built of hewn stone without mortar." Thus much beforehand of the German traveller's information, whose more extensive and accurate narrative may be expected at his return.

The antiquities of Naga and Messura, to the south of Shendy, are of another kind; they are temples. The city of Meroë, however, was not without temples; two, a larger and smaller, are laid down in the plan of Caillaud; though neither of them seem to have been of any importance. The most recent traveller has ascertained, that the larger temples were not in the city, but at a few miles' distance.

The monuments of Naga, or Naka, lie about six leagues south-east of Shendy, and about the same distance east of the Nile.[1] They consist of numerous temples, of which a larger one lies in the centre, and various smaller ones are scattered around in every direction. The ruins show that a considerable city at one time stood here.—The remains of the principal temple clearly prove to what god it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, rams couchant, on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a second similar gallery, we arrive at the pylone. Adjoining this is a colonnade consisting of eight columns; then a hall, and through a third door is the sanctuary. The door, the pillars, and the walls of the sanctuary are of hewn stone; the rest of bricks, with a coating, upon which traces of painting are visible. The pylones and pillars are ornamented with sculpture, very highly finished. Those on the first pylone, on each side

[1] Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë*, plate xi.—xxi.

of the entrance, are particularly remarkable.[1] A king and queen (bearing the emblems of dominion) are kindly welcomed by the deities. The latter by Ammon with the ram's head, and the former by the same in human shape, but without any further mark of distinction. Above, in the frieze, oblations are offered by both to the same deities; below, at the bottom, are handmaids with vessels, out of which they are pouring water. The building is in the Egyptian style; and of a vast size. The whole, from the first pylone to the end, is about eighty feet long. There is also something peculiar in the entrance. The duplicate gallery of rams before and after the portico, is not common elsewhere; and the plan of the whole seems to show that architecture had not yet attained to that perfection which it afterwards exhibits in the great temples of Egypt.—The western temple is less, but more richly embellished with sculpture. On the pylones the same scenes are again represented as we have already seen in the pyramids of Assur. A male warrior on one side, and a female warrior on the other, destroy a number of captives whom they have bound together by the hair.[2] They are king and queen, as they both have the emblem of dominion, the *ureus*, on the head-dress; over each is a spread eagle, with a globe; both are magnificently dressed. The sculpture below contains a string of single captives with their hands tied behind them. The reliefs on the interior represent the sacrifice of prisoners to the gods. The upper row contains the five male deities, Ammon, with his followers; first, the god with the lion's head, and the ornament with the ram's horns; behind him Ammon himself; Re, the god of the sun; his son Phthæ; and then again Ammon with the ram's head. The under row contains the females in an equal number; first Isis, who has already seized and holds fast the group of captives offered to her. The offerings are over the king followed by men, and under the queen by women.[3] The following subject is still more remarkable. It represents the same god, with the lion's head and the ram's horns on the head-dress; but with a double head and four arms.[4] It is the only subject of this sort I am acquainted with among all the known sculptures from the sources of the Nile to its mouth. It is likewise the only one which can be considered as borrowed from the Indian theology. The king comes from one

[1] Caillaud, plate xix. xx. [2] Ibid. plate xiv. xvi. [3] Ibid. plate xvii. [4] Ibid. plate xviii.

side, and the queen from the other, both with tablets in their hands, probably containing lists of their gifts and offerings.

It is evident, then, that these representations possess many peculiarities, and that they are not pure Egyptian. Certainly not, however, in respect to religious rites. There appears nothing here in the worship of Ammon, with his kindred and associate gods, essentially differing from that of Upper Egypt. The relief already mentioned, with the male and female deities, contains this family of gods almost complete. But the most remarkable difference appears in the persons offering. The queens appear with the kings; and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors. Nothing of this kind has been yet discovered in the Egyptian reliefs, either in Egypt or Nubia. It may, therefore, with certainty be concluded, that they are subjects peculiar to Ethiopia; i. e. such as relate to the ancient rulers, male and female, of Meroë, and are devoted to the preservation of *their* deeds. If we look into history, we shall there find some little help towards a general explanation. "Among the Ethiopians," says Strabo, speaking of Meroë, "the women are also armed."[1] We also know that they sometimes mounted the throne. Herodotus mentions a Nitocris among the ancient queens of Ethiopia, who ruled over Egypt.[2] Upon the relief already described, representing the conquest of Ethiopia by Sesostris, there is a queen with her sons, who appears before him as a captive.[3] A long succession of queens under the title of Candace must have reigned here;[4] and when at last the seat of empire was removed from Meroë to Napata, near mount Berkal, there was also there a queen who ruled under the title of Candace.[5] It is not therefore strange, but quite agreeable to Ethiopian usages, to see a queen in a warlike habit near her consort; although history has preserved nothing particular on the subject.

The perfection to which sculpture had been brought here is very striking. There is nothing superior to it on the Egyptian monuments; and in boldness of outline it seems almost to surpass them. "These colossal figures," (they are ten feet high,) says Caillaud, "are remarkable for the richness of their drapery, and the character of the drawing; their feet and arms are stouter than the Egyptian: yet are they altogether in the

[1] Strabo, p. 1177. [2] Herod. ii. 100. [3] See above, p. 181.
[4] Plin. vi. 35. [5] Strabo, p. 820. *Acts* viii. 28.

Egyptian style."[1] Rüppel notices a similar perfection on the pyramids of Kurgos. Are we to suppose that Ethiopian artists became thus accomplished? Or do not these monuments rather belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë (the eighth century before our era) when the dynasty of Tarhako and Sabako ruled over Upper Egypt, and to whom it would have been easy to send Egyptian artists to Meroë, to perpetuate their fame by their workmanship? Futurity may perhaps solve these problems.[2]

The second station, now called *El Messura*, for a description and drawing of which we are indebted to Caillaud,[3] is equally interesting. "In an extensive valley in the desert," says he, "eight hours' journey from Shendy to the south-east, and six leagues from the Nile, are very considerable ruins. They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples, and galleries; surrounded by a double enclosure. From the temple in the midst, the way to the others is through galleries, or terraces, one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its particular chambers. These buildings are placed in an exact order; and consist of eight temples, thirty-nine chambers, twenty-six courts, twelve flights of steps, etc. The ruins cover a plot of land two thousand five hundred feet in circumference."

"But in this immensity of ruins every thing is upon a smaller scale, the monuments as well as the materials employed. The largest temple is only thirty-four feet long; upon the pillars are figures in the Egyptian style; others in the same portico are fluted, like the Grecian; upon the basis of one I thought I discovered the remains of a zodiac. Time and the elements, which have destroyed the ancient Saba, seem to have been willing to spare us the observatory of Meroë; but until the rubbish be cleared away, a complete plan of it cannot be expected. It excites our wonder to find so few hieroglyphics in all these ruins; the six pillars which form the portico of the middle temple are the only ones containing any, all the other walls are without sculpture."

[1] Caillaud, plate xvii. Explication.

[2] It is very remarkable, that here, in the neighbourhood of the most ancient monuments, is found a portico in the Greek style. Caillaud, plate xiii. Certainly a decided proof of the high antiquity of the others.

[3] In his letters in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. xvi. p. 128. For the engravings see plate xxii.—xxx.

"Some hundred paces from the ruins are the remains of two other small temples; and the traces of a great reservoir of water, surrounded by little hills, which protect it from the sand. There is here, however, no trace of a city; no heap of rubbish; no sepulchre. If the city of Meroë had stood here, the pyramids would not have been built two days' journey off. I believe that the public offices of Meroë were situated here; the form and the architecture prove it. The city was in the neighbourhood of the sepulchres, where the pyramids are."

So far M. Caillaud. I wish circumstances would permit me to lay the ground-plan of it in full before the reader;[1] yet I hope the accompanying small plan will give an idea of the whole.[2] It forms an outline of the whole enclosure. In the centre is the principal temple; on the different sides are the inferior temples; if they are not rather other buildings. The many corridors, chambers, and courts, cannot now be altogether completely restored. The two inferior temples, with the reservoir, lie at some distance from the enclosure.

May I be allowed to express my opinion freely and openly? IT IS THE ANCIENT ORACLE OF JUPITER AMMON. A mere glance at the ground-plan leads to this idea. It is only thus that the singularity of the foundation can be accounted for; of that labyrinth of passages and courts which must be wandered through, before arriving at the entirely secret temple in the midst. Scarcely could there be a better introduction contrived for reaching the sanctuary.

But we need not rest upon mere conjecture. A passage of Diodorus settles more accurately the site of the ancient temple, and strikingly confirms the above notion. It informs us that this temple did not stand in the city of Meroë, but at some distance from it in the desert, as it is here situated. When, in the period of the Ptolemies, (as will be shown hereafter,) the then ruler of Meroë overthrew the dominion of the priests, he went with an armed company to the retired spot, where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, surprised the priests, and killed them.[3] Can clearer proofs be required,—situation, building, and locality all agree?

[1] Caillaud, table xxii. [2] See the ground-plan. The labyrinth of Egypt comes, almost involuntarily, into the mind upon viewing it. Who can at present determine whether there are not also here subterraneous apartments?

[3] See Diodorus, i. p. 178. Ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῆλθε μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄβατον, οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν χρυσοῦν ναὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων. And in Strabo, p. 1178, ἐπιὼν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅπου ὁ χρυσοῦς νεώς ἔστι.—But what is said here: In the sanctuary

The smallness of the principal temple is not surprising, the same thing has been observed at Ammonium in the Libyan desert.[1] It was probably a place merely for the preservation of the sacred ship, which stood between the pillars of the sanctuary.

Its situation in the desert also follows the example already adduced, and will appear still less extraordinary when it is shown, that one of the great trading routes runs just by it.

As the principal temple was so small, the others, which are called temples, may merely be considered as chapels: it remains very uncertain for what use they were destined. Hence, Caillaud very properly designates them, in the explanations to his plates, "*constructions.*" The separate members were small, but the whole was great.

The rarity of sculpture and hieroglyphics is very remarkable; no trace of that Egyptian art has been discovered here. The few figures on the pillars, now scarcely legible, have nothing in common with it. One of them has evidently the hair done up in the broad Nubian fashion.[2]

In what relation the foundations of Messura stood to those of Naga we can only conjecture. If Messura was the oracle-temple, then that body of the priesthood who had the care of the oracle would naturally reside here. The number of these in proportion to the whole order could be but small, perhaps only the highest class of ministers. On the other hand, I feel inclined to consider Naga as the proper metropolis of the caste. Here stood a number of temples, not only dedicated to Ammon, but to the kindred gods;[3] here are found the remains of a city that would afford convenient dwellings to the priesthood, no traces of which are found in Messura.

Thus we stand on that remarkable spot which antiquity frequently regarded as the cradle of the arts and sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence. Who then can avoid asking, what was here formerly? what took place here?

Although it is impossible to answer these questions so completely as the reader might wish, yet there are many circum-

where the golden temple is found? If the reading be correct, a small portable temple must be meant, which belonged to the sacred vessels. I scarcely, however, have a doubt that we should read *ναυς* instead of *ναος*, as found in Diodorus; and the same in Strabo; and then translate it *the golden ship*. It will be shown hereafter that this could not fail to be in all the oracle temples of Ammon. As this corrupt reading might very easily have crept in, it very probably existed in the common source into which both these writers dipped.

[1] See above, p. 100. [2] Caillaud, plate xxx. Herodotus mentions that to Dionysos, or Osiris; Strabo, l. c. Hercules, or Pan.

A PLAN OF
AMMONIUM
OR
SIWAH.

a. *Ruins of the Temple of Ammon.*
b. *Traces of the Ancient Walls forming the enclosure.*
c. *The Fountain of the Sun.*
d. *Another Well.*
e. *Grove of Date-palms.*
f. *The Ancient Town of the King, now Shargie.*

stances which supply materials towards it. Let us select from them such as may be regarded as certain facts; and then add those that are more or less probable.

It stands as an incontrovertible fact, that besides the pastoral and hunting tribes, which led a nomad life to the west of the Nile, and still more to the east, as far as the Arabian Gulf, there existed a cultivated people near this stream, in the valley through which it flows, who had fixed abodes, built cities, temples, and sepulchres, and whose remains, even now, after the lapse of so many centuries, still excite our astonishment.

It may further be stated, as a certainty, that the civilization of this people was, in an especial manner, connected with their religion: that is, with the worship of certain deities. The remains of their foundation prove this too clearly for any doubt to be entertained on the subject.

This religion, upon the whole, is not uncertain. It was the worship of Ammon, and his kindred gods. The circle of these deities was very nearly of the same extent as that of Olympus among the Greeks; it might, possibly, be somewhat larger. It became enlarged by the appearance of the same deity, in different relations, and consequently with changed attributes, especially with different head-ornaments, and also under various forms. But the rites of Ammon so much prevailed, that his emblem, the ram's horns, are seen every where; and it seldom happens but that the kindred deities exhibit, in some part or other, something which refers to him.

Without digressing into a detailed description of particular deities, which I leave to mythologists, I think I may yet venture a step farther without fear of contradiction, and assert that this worship had its origin in natural religion connected with agriculture. The great works of nature were revered, accordingly as they promoted, or retarded and hindered this. It seems natural that the sun and moon, so far as they determined the seasons and the year, the Nile and the earth as sources of fruitfulness, the sandy deserts as the opposers of it, should be personified; one thing is remarkable, namely, that of all the representations of Nubia yet known, there is not one, which, according to our notions, is offensive to decency.

But this worship had besides, as we know with certainty, a second element: oracles. Ammon was the original oracle god of Africa: if afterwards, as was the case in Egypt, other deities delivered oracles, yet they were of his race, of his

kindred. Even beyond Egypt we hear of the oracles of Ammon. "The only gods worshipped in Meroë," says Herodotus,[1] "are Zeus and Dionysos (which he himself explains to be Ammon and Osiris). They also have an oracle of Ammon, and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands." How these oracles were delivered we learn partly from history, partly from representations on the monuments. In the sanctuary stands a ship. Upon it many holy vessels; but, above all, in the midst a portable tabernacle, surrounded with curtains, which may be drawn back. In this is an image of the god, set, according to Diodorus, in precious stones;[2] nevertheless, according to one account, it could have no human shape.[3] The ship in the great temples seems to have been very magnificent; Sesostris presented one to the temple of Ammon at Thebes, made of cedar, the inside covered with silver, and the outside with gold.[4] The same was hung about with silver pateræ.[5] When the oracle was to be consulted, it was carried around by a body of priests in procession, and from certain movements, either of the god or of the ship, both of which the priests had well under their command, the omens were gathered, according to which the high-priest then delivered the oracle.[6] This ship is often represented, both upon the Nubian and Egyptian monuments, sometimes standing still, and sometimes carried in procession; but never any where except in the innermost sanctuary, which was its resting-place. Upon the Nubian monuments hitherto made known, we discover this in two places; at Asseboa and Derar, and on each twice. Those of Asseboa are both standing. In one the tabernacle is veiled, but upon the other it is without a curtain;[7] Ammon appears in the same, sitting on a couch; before him an altar with gifts.[8] Upon one the king is kneeling before the ship at his devotions, in the other he is coming towards it with an offering of frankincense (is it in order to consult the oracle?). In the sanctuary of the rock-monument at Derar we also discover it twice. Once in procession, borne by a number of priests;[9] the tabernacle is veiled, the king meets it,

[1] Herod. ii. 29. [2] Diodorus, ii. 199.

[3] Curtius, iv. 7, *umbilico similis*. I doubt this statement, not only on account of the passage just quoted from Diodorus, but because we see on one of the common monuments a complete portrait of Ammon. [4] Diodorus, i. 67.

[5] So in Ammonium; Curtius, l. c. [6] Compare especially the account of Alexander's visit to Ammonium, in Diodorus, ii. 199, and Curtius, l. c.

[7] Gau, plate xlv. B. In this the relief is represented as coloured.

[8] Ibid. plate xlv. A. Ammon appears here with the ram's head.

[9] Ibid. plate li. C.

bringing frankincense; the other time at rest.[1] These processions are not only seen upon the great Egyptian temples at Philæ, Elephantis, and Thebes, but also upon the great Oasis.[2] *The sacred ship was therefore the oracle ship;* and wherever we discover it we may conclude that an oracle of Ammon was, or should be there.—But it is naturally asked, how came this idea of ships? The answer seems almost as naturally to present itself. For as we have already seen, and shall still further see, how the worship of Ammon spread along the Nile by the foundation of temples and colonies, can we in these ships and these processions see anything plainer than the *allegorical propagation of this worship in this* manner? Does not this explain the representation both as a whole and in detail? Does not this explain also the frequent repetition, as this propagation happened according to the prescription of the oracle, and was regarded as a sacred duty?

These oracles were certainly the main support of this religion; and, if we connect with them the local features of the country, it will at once throw a strong light upon its origin. Fertility is here, as well as in Egypt, confined to the borders of the Nile. At a very short distance from it the desert begins. How could it then be otherwise than that crowds of men should congregate on the borders of the stream where the dhourra, almost the only corn here cultivated, would grow. And if they could satisfy their first cravings with the produce of this scanty space, was not the rise of a religion having for its object the adoration of nature, referring to it, just what might be expected? Add to all this, however, another circumstance highly important. Meroë was besides, as will be proved in the following chapter, the chief mart for the trade of these regions. It was the grand emporium of the caravan trade between Ethiopia, the north of Africa, and Egypt, as well as of Arabia Felix, and even India. But before proceeding to these circumstances, let us take an accurate survey of the express and authentic information given us by the ancients respecting the history and condition of Meroë.

Meroë, according to their account, was a city which had its settled constitution and laws, its ruler and government. But the form of this state was one which we too often find among the kingdoms of these southern regions; it was a hierarchy; the government was in the hands of a race or caste of priests,

[1] Gau, plate lii [2] *Description d'Egypte*, plate xiii. xxxvii. lxix.

who chose from among themselves a king. I shall translate here Diodorus's account of them, which is the most extensive and accurate that we have.

"The laws of the Ethiopians,"[1] he says, "differ in many respects from those of other nations, but in none so much as in the election of their kings; which is thus managed. The priests select the most distinguished of their own order, and upon whichever of these the god (Jupiter Ammon) fixes, as he is carried in procession, he is acknowledged king by the people; who then fall down and adore him as a god, because he is placed over the government by the choice of the gods. The person thus selected immediately enjoys all the prerogatives, which are conceded to him by the laws, in respect to his mode of life; but he can neither reward or punish any one, beyond what the usages of their forefathers and the laws allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be legally condemned to that punishment; but they send to the malefactor one of the servants of justice, who bears the symbol of death. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his own house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of escaping punishment by flight into a neighbouring country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one who would have attempted this, strangled him with her own girdle, in order to save her family from that greater ignominy. But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of the king. The priests at Meroë, for example, who attend to the service of the gods, and hold the highest ranks, send a messenger to the king, with an order to die. They make known to him that the gods command this, and that mortals should not withdraw from their decrees; and perhaps added such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by custom, and unable to oppose anything thereto."

The government continued in this original state till the period of the second Ptolemy, and its catastrophe is not less remarkable than its formation. By its increased intercourse with Egypt, the light of Grecian philosophy penetrated into Ethiopia. Ergamenes, at that time king, tired of being priest-ridden, fell upon the priests in their sanctuary, put them to death, and became effectually a sovereign.[2] A consequence

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 177, etc. He is speaking of Meroë.

[2] Ibid. i. p. 178.

of Greek illumination—or rather of the lust of power in kings —which could hardly be expected in this distant region.

Of the history of this state previous to the revolution just mentioned, but very scanty information has been preserved; but yet enough to show its high antiquity and its early aggrandizement. Pliny[1] tells us, "that Ethiopia was ruined by its wars with Egypt, which it sometimes subdued and sometimes served; it was powerful and illustrious even as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned. At the time of his sovereignty," he continues, "Meroë is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and four hundred thousand artificers (*artifices*). They still reckon there forty-five kings." Though these accounts lose themselves in the darkness of tradition, yet we may, by tracing history upwards, discover some certain chronological data. In the Persian period Meroë was certainly free and independent, and an important state; otherwise Cambyses would hardly have made such great preparations for his unfortunate expedition.[2] During the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, under Psammetichus and his successors, the kingdom of Meroë not only resisted his yoke, although his son Psammis undertook an expedition against Ethiopia, but we have an important fact, which gives us a clew to the extent of the empire at that time towards the south; the emigration of the Egyptian warrior caste. These migrated towards Meroë, whose ruler assigned them dwellings about the sources of the Nile, in the province of Gojam, (as I shall hereafter show,) whose restless inhabitants were expelled their country.[3] The dominions of the ruler of Meroë therefore certainly reached so far at that time, though his authority on the borders fluctuated, in consequence of the pastoral hordes roving thereabout, and could only be fixed by colonies. Let us go a century farther back, between 800 and 700 B. C., and we shall mount to the flourishing period of this empire, contemporary with the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, especially with the reign of Hezekiah, and the time of Isaiah, 750, 700, where we shall consequently have a light from the Jewish annals and the oracles of the prophets, in connexion with Herodotus.[4] This is the period in which the three

[1] Plinius, vi. 35. [2] Herod. ii. 25. The statements of Strabo, 1139, etc., according to which Cambyses reached Meroë, may perhaps be brought to accord with those of Herodotus, if we understand him to mean northern Meroë, near mount Berkal.

[3] Herod. ii. 30.

[4] Gesenius, on Isaiah xix. 1, proposes to remove the difficulties which arise between the Egyptian and Jewish chronology, by making the reign of Pharaoh Neco sixteen years

mighty rulers, Sabaco, Seuechus, and Tarhaco, started up as conquerors, and directed their weapons against Egypt, which, at least Upper Egypt, became an easy prey, from the unfortunate troubles of the dodecarchy having just taken place. According to Eusebius[1] Sabaco reigned twelve, Seuechus also twelve, and Tarhaco twenty years; but by Herodotus, who only mentions Sabaco, to whom he gives a reign of fifty years, this name seems to designate the whole dynasty, which not unfrequently follows that of its founder. Herodotus expressly says that he had quitted Egypt at the command of his oracle in Ethiopia.[2] It may therefore be seen by the example of this conqueror, how great their dependence must have been in their native country upon the oracle of Ammon; when even the absent, as ruler of a conquered state, yielded obedience to it. Sabaco, however, is not represented by him as a barbarian or tyrant, but as a benefactor to the community by the construction of dams. The chronology of Seuechus and Tarhaco is determined by the Jewish history. Seuechus was the contemporary of Hoshea, king of Israel, whose reign ended in 722, and of Salmanassar.[3] Tarhaco was the contemporary of his successor, Sennacherib, and deterred him, in the year 714 B. C., from the invasion of Egypt, merely by the rumour of his advance against him.[4] His name, however, does not seem to have been unknown to the Greeks. Eratosthenes, in Strabo,[5] mentions him as a conqueror who had penetrated into Europe, and as far as the Pillars of Hercules—that is, as a great conqueror. Certainly, therefore, the kingdom of Meroë must have ranked about this time as an important state. And we shall find this to be the case if we go about two hundred years farther back, to the time of Asa, the great-grandson of Solomon, but who, nevertheless, mounted the throne of Judah within twenty years after his grandsire's death, 955. Against him, it is said in the Jewish annals, went out Zerah the Ethiopian, with a host of a thousand thousand men, and three hundred chariots.[6] Al-

instead of forty-six, by which the period of Psammetichus and the dodecarchy would be carried so much farther back. We may hope that the new deciphering of the Egyptian monuments will throw some light upon this subject; but, at all events, the flourishing period of Meroë must be placed between 800 and 700.

[1] *Chronic.* tom. ii. 181, cf. *Marsham's Chronicon*, p. 435. [2] Herod. ii. 137—139.

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 4. He is called *So* in our translation, but the name may also be read *Seven*. See Michaelis. He is also mentioned here as king of Egypt. [See Dr. Gill's *Comment.* on the verse referred to. There can be little doubt that Seuechus is the So, (the Sua,) to whom Hoshea sent an embassy, 2 Kings xix. 9. Tarhaco is without doubt the Tirhakah, the Ethiopian, who came out to fight against Sennacherib. *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 154. *Translator.*] [4] 2 Kings xix. 9. [See the note on the seventh verse of the same chapter in Mant's Bible. *Translator.*] [5] Strabo, p. 1007.

[6] 2 Chron. xiv. 9. See the remarks of Michaelis. He translates it *Cushite*, which appel-

though this number signifies nothing more than a mighty army, it yet affords a proof of the mightiness of the empire, which at that time probably comprised Arabia Felix; but the chariots of war, which never were in use in Arabia, prove that the passage refers to Ethiopia. Zerah's expedition took place in the early part of Asa's reign, consequently about nine hundred and fifty years before Christ; and as such an empire could not be quite a new one, we are led by undoubted historical statements up to the period of Solomon, about 1000, B. C.; and as this comes near to the Trojan period, Pliny's statements, though only resting on mythi, obtain historical weight. Farther back than this the annals of history are silent; but the monuments now begin to speak, and confirm that high antiquity, which general opinion and the traditions of Meroë attribute to this state. The name of Ramasses, or Sesostris, has already been found upon many of the Nubian monuments; and that he was the conqueror of Ethiopia is known from history.[1] The period in which he flourished cannot be placed later than fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. But the name of Thutmosis, belonging to the preceding dynasty, has also been found in Nubia,[2] and that assuredly upon one of the most ancient monuments of Armada. But in this sculpture, as well as in the procession representing the victory over Ethiopia in the offering of the booty, there appears a degree of civilization, which shows an acquaintance with the peaceful arts; they must consequently be attributed to a nation that had long been formed. We thus approach the Mosaic period, in which the Jewish traditions ascribe the conquest of Meroë to no less a person than Moses himself.[3] The traditions of the Egyptian priesthood also agree in this, that Meroë in Ethiopia laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. Who can expect here more critical certainty than this? History itself, however, has carried us back to those ages in which the formation of the most ancient states took place, and has thus far shown that Meroë was one of them.

lation comprises both the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia, remarking expressly, however, by comparing 2 Chron. xvi. 8, that he must have been king of Ethiopia; and probably of Arabia Felix as well. [See also Gill's Commentary on the same passage.]

[1] Herod. ii. 110; Strabo, 1140. That the Pharaohs should have carried their conquests into Ethiopia, could in no period seem less strange than in ours, in which the same scene has been acted. Scarcely was the present ruler of Egypt firmly possessed of that kingdom, than his son Ismael Pasha undertook the same conquest, and not only penetrated to Meroë, but even at one time as far as *Singue*, 10° N. Lat.

[2] See above, p. 184.

[3] See the account of his expedition against Meroë, in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* ii. 10, which has the air of a romance.

In a state whose government differed so widely from any thing that we have been accustomed to, it is reasonable to suppose that the same would happen with regard to the people or subjects. We cannot expect a picture here that will bear any similitude to the civilized nations of Europe. Meroë rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa at the present day; a number of small nations, of the most opposite habits and manners, some with, and some without, settled abodes, form there what is called an empire; although the general political band which holds them together appears loose, and is often scarcely perceptible.[1] In Meroë this band was of a twofold nature; religion, that is, a certain worship, principally resting upon oracles and commerce: unquestionably the strongest chains by which barbarians could be fettered, except forcible subjugation. The rites of that religion, connected with oracles, satisfied the curious and superstitious, as did trade the cravings of their sensual appetites. Eratosthenes has handed us down an accurate picture of the inhabitants of Meroë in his time.[2] According to his account the island comprised a variety of people, of whom some followed agriculture, some a nomad, pastoral life, and others hunting: all of them choosing that which was best adapted to the district in which they lived.

The nomad tribes dwelling to the north of Meroë in Nubia, were no longer subject to that state.[3] The dominion over roving hordes, however, can seldom have fixed boundaries, and it would be rash to apply what Eratosthenes says of his times to all the preceding centuries, while, on the other hand, we learn from the monuments, that the rulers of Meroë lived in almost continual warfare with these nomad tribes. To the west, Meroë was bounded by sandy deserts which separated it from Darfour, unknown in antiquity; and to the east, it had for neighbours in the mountains, the rude Shangallas, the Troglodytes, or the race of Bischaries, at about ten or eleven days' journey distant from the city of Meroë.[4] These do not appear to have been subjects of Meroë, as they, according to what is stated above, had their own kings or chiefs.

To the south of Meroë, on the other hand, was a province, which, by an extraordinary circumstance, came into the possession of a very numerous race of Egyptian colonists. At the time Psammetichus obtained, by the aid of foreign mercenaries,

[1] See the description of the empire of Bornou, in the *Proceedings of the African Association*, p. 189, etc. [2] Strabo, p. 1177. [3] This is expressly stated by Eratosthenes in Strabo, p. 1194. [4] Eratosthenes, ap. Strabo, l. c. p. 1134.

the sole government in Egypt, the numerous Egyptian warrior-caste rebelled against him; they had indeed already in the foregoing troubles, when the priest-caste played for the mastery, and in fact for a long time played a winning game, been deeply injured. These Egyptian warriors,—who might be called, as belonging to the highest rank in the nation, the Egyptian nobility, if false notions of a subordinate nature did not too easily attach themselves to that appellation,—these Egyptian warriors, I say, chose rather to leave the land of their birth, than comply with the new order of things, which began with Psammetichus's reign in Egypt. The king in vain attempted to restrain them, they derided his attempt, and left the country, two hundred and forty thousand men in number. This took place about six hundred and fifty years before Christ. They emigrated into Ethiopia, and obtained a new settlement from the king of Meroë. He willingly received them, and appointed them a province, whose inhabitants having been lately rebellious were expelled, in order to make way for these new comers. This land, according to the best authority, was the present Gojam, an island formed by a deep curve of the Nile, which it makes immediately after its rise, and then returns, almost in a complete circle, nearly back to its sources.

Here this numerous Egyptian colony settled, and formed a separate state dependent upon Meroë, but governed by its own subordinate kings, or rather, at least at a later period, by its queens. They introduced, according to Herodotus, civilization among the Ethiopian tribes dwelling in these regions; and built cities, the most considerable of which was Sembobytis; there was also another called Esar. This state, which lasted for many centuries, extended itself on the east as far as the mountains, and very clear traces of it are visible in the histories of these countries at later periods.[1]

The state of Meroë, therefore, comprised a number of very different races or tribes, united together by one common form of worship, which was in the hands of the priesthood, the most cultivated, and consequently the dominant caste. But a question remains unanswered, which has probably before this oc-

[1] I must beseech the reader to accept these remarks as the results of a careful historical research, which on another occasion I have laid before the public in its full extent with the proofs. *Commentat. Societ. Scient. Goetting.* tom. xii. p. 48, etc. The passages of the ancients which I have principally quoted are Herod. ii. 30; Pliny, vi. 29, 30; and Strabo, p. 1134. See † *Historical Works*, iii. p. 323.

curred to my readers: namely, to what nation belonged this ruling priest-caste? Were they natives of the country, or did they emigrate into it? The origin and descent of this race it is impossible to prove by express historical evidence. The peopling of these distant regions, and many of the early emigrations, occurred so long before the period of legitimate history, that more than conjecture cannot be here expected. We know, however, that they did not consider themselves as a race who had emigrated into the land, but as a primitive aboriginal people, and the same belief prevailed among the Egyptian priest-caste.[1] Nothing more can be determined respecting them from historic evidence. What therefore now remains to be done, is to examine whether the information we have respecting this race will warrant us to consider them as having emigrated into this region? and whether we can discover in the tribes still existing there the descendants of that race? Our knowledge of it can only be derived from the monuments it has left behind; but from these innumerable pictures we are placed in a situation of judging of its external character. In these we always discover the same formation of countenance, the same shape,[2] the same colour, and although with many variations, yet, upon the whole, the same rich costume. The countenance has nothing at all of the negro variety, it is a handsome profile, the body is tall and slender, the hair straight or curled, the colour a reddish brown. That the colour in the painted reliefs was certainly that of the people represented, no one can entertain a doubt who has seen Belzoni's plates of the royal sepulchre, which has been opened.[3] I would not, however, be understood to mean that the colour in nature was exactly the same; the artists in this respect were constrained by their materials; but I maintain with confidence that this race was neither fair nor dark, but of a brown colour between the two. I believe I recognise them in the Nubian race. Though the colour, by frequent intermixture with female negro slaves, is become something darker, yet the same shape, the same profile, and the same moral characteristics are still to be found, as far as this can possibly be expected, in their present degenerate state.[4] They were once, according to Strabo, a mighty nation, spreading on both sides of the Nile.[5] They are now pressed

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 174. [2] Only among the few figures in the rock-sepulchres are they somewhat different, but these in general betray the infancy of the art.
[3] See above, p. 185. [4] Compare what is said above, p. 155, upon the accounts imparted by Burkhardt and others [5] Strabo, p. 1134, 1135.

back into its valley, scarcely more than the ruins of a nation; but it has been impossible altogether to suppress them. Their ancient civilization was knit to their religion, and naturally declined with it; intermixture with foreigners, wars, and oppressions, did the rest: what then can be expected beyond a faint shadow of what they once were?[1] But whoever will take the trouble to compare the descriptions and representations of them given by modern travellers, with those upon the reliefs, will recognise the same shape, and the same countenance.[2] They even still carry the same weapons; the long, often two-edged spear, the great shield of hippopotamus-skin, with which they so often appear on the monuments, and by which even the prophet characterizes them;[3] and if the splendour of their dress is exchanged for lighter habiliments, yet then the nature of the climate renders them ornaments rather than necessary clothing. All these distinguishing marks, I grant, are mere probabilities, and not founded upon historical evidence. It is not difficult to bring forward arguments against them. I shall however consider my views as just, until replaced by others more probable.

[1] And yet, remarkable as it may appear, the remains of a hierarchy still exists in those regions; it seems then occasioned by something in the locality. We read in Burkhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 236, etc., of a priestly establishment at Damer, a town of five hundred houses seated on the south shore of the Tacazze or Mogrew, just before its junction with the Nile, consequently in the isle of Meroë. In this small but independent state the authority is in the hands of a high pontiff, called *El Faky el Kebir*, who is their real chief and oracle-giver. The office is hereditary in one family. The Faky el Kebir (or great Faky) leads the life of a hermit, shut up in his chamber all the morning till about three o'clock in the afternoon, after which he transacts business till long after sun-set. He occupies a small building, one part of which is a chapel, and the other a room about twelve feet square, in which he constantly resides day and night. He is a venerable looking figure, clothed in a long white robe. There are many fakys under him of various rank, who enjoy more or less a reputation for sanctity. At Damer are several schools, to which young men repair from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan, and other parts of Soudan, in order to acquire a proficiency in the law, and in the reading of the Koran. The schools are in an open place adjoining the great mosque. Imagine instead of this a temple dedicated to Ammon, and instead of the Koran and law, the books of Hermes and the priest-ritual, and there will be but little difficulty in believing it one of the ancient priestly establishments. "The affairs of this little hierarchical state," continues Burkhardt, "appear to be conducted with great prudence. All its neighbours testify much respect for the fakys; the treacherous Bischarein, even, are so completely kept in awe by them, that they have never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling from thence across the mountains to Souakin. They particularly fear the power of the fakys to deprive them of rain, and thus to cause the death of their flocks. It is also a trading state. Caravans pass occasionally from Damer to Dongola, Shendy, Souakin, and the Arabian Gulf; for many of the fakys are traders. Caravans generally make a short stay at this place, as the land is well cultivated, and common necessaries easily obtained. Two fakys accompanied the caravan as guards as far as the limits of the country of Shendy. The road is dangerous, and the inhabitants upon it robbers; but such is the fear entertained of the fakys of Damer, that the mere sight of them marching unarmed at the head of the caravan, was sufficient to inspire the country people with the greatest respect. It would require an armed force to pass here without the aid of some of these religious men." Could there be a better voucher for the truth of our picture of the ancient priest and trade state, and their rise and progress? It will now be easily understood how settlements of priests might influence the course of trade.

[2] See them in Legh and others.

[3] Jer. xlvi. 9.

This question is naturally followed by another, to which various and contradictory answers have hitherto been given; though I venture to hope that what I have already said will go a great way towards setting it at rest. This question is, whether Ethiopia, and particularly Meroë, was the parent of civilization, which descended thence into Egypt; or whether civilization ascended the Nile from Egypt into Ethiopia? I should not think this, considering our present acquaintance with the monuments, and the helps history affords, a problem difficult to solve, if a prevailing mistake attending it be first laid aside. It is a very general error to suppose—that those, who are of opinion that the original point of civilization, or what is nearly tantamount to it, the worship of Ammon with its dependencies, was at Meroë, and that it spread thence down the Nile into Egypt, and certainly first to Upper Egypt, where it attained in Thebes its full perfection—must necessarily affirm that this happened in the exact order and succession beheld in the monuments with which we are acquainted. Such an assertion would not only be in direct opposition to the monuments, as we have above explained them—but also to history. We have historical evidence that rulers of Meroë were, at certain periods, likewise rulers of Egypt, and at least of Upper Egypt; and, on the other hand, that many of the Pharaohs extended their dominion over Ethiopia. What, therefore, could be more natural than that countries should be mutually affected by being thus brought into close contact with each other; and, as the erection of monuments, temples, and their appurtenances, formed so essential a part of the rites of Ammon, that the Pharaohs, when they ruled over Ethiopia, should endeavour to perpetuate their memory there, as well as in Egypt, by the building of monuments? I think this already settled by the reliefs which decorated the walls of the Nubian temples; and that I have proved, as well by the high perfection of the art as by the objects they represent, that they must be ascribed to the flourishing period of the dominion of the Pharaohs. And who would presume to assert that some of these temples themselves were not their work?

Those, therefore, who derive the civilization of Egypt from Ethiopia, and particularly from Meroë, will not go further than to affirm that certain colonies of the priest-caste spread from Meroë into Egypt. This happened according to the oracle of Ammon. "They undertook their expeditions at the time and

to the place appointed by the god."[1] The fact is too well known that the foundation of colonies in the ancient world generally took place under the authority of the oracles, for it to be necessary to stop here to prove it. But these oracles were under the guidance of a higher power, that of the high priests, or perhaps the kings, or both; consequently we may safely conclude that these settlements were not left to blind chance, but selected and appointed for particular objects. And this is confirmed by history and the monuments.

One of these settlements, the nearest to Meroë on the north, is only lately become known to us. I speak of that near mount Berkal.[2] Here evidently stood a sort of second Meroë; indeed, even the very name obtained here, the village being still called Merawé. At this place are found the remains of two temples, dedicated to Osiris and Ammon. The larger, with an alley of sphinxes and all the sections of the great temples of Egypt, surpasses in extent and finishing those of the parent state.[3] The smaller, called by Caillaud a *Typhonium*,[4] exhibits in its sanctuary Ammon with his whole train.[5] But, besides the name, another thing indubitably proves this place to have been a colony from Meroë; I mean the pyramidic buildings for the dead, with nearly the very same number of pyramids as at Assur, though of a larger size.[6] These are the only ones which are found between the island of Meroë and Egypt. The reliefs on the temples relate to the worship of Ammon. A hero, or king, is offering to him a number of captives on the pylone.[7] In the interior decorations, richer gifts of fruit, cattle, and other articles. In the front building of the pyramids Osiris, as king of the lower world, to whom likewise gifts are presented.[8] This place, at a later period,—probably after the period of the Ptolemies,—became the capital, which bore the name of Napata; and which, as late as the time of Nero, when the Romans captured and destroyed it, was the residence of the queens who reigned here under the title of Candace.[9]

Ammonium, in the Libyan desert, was, according to the ex-

[1] Herod. ii. 29. Στρατεύονται is his expression. The foundation of such colonies, in the midst of barbarous nations, would very likely be often attended with wars. But the warlike expeditions of a priestly state would naturally have for their object the spread of its worship, because without this no conquests could be preserved.

[2] This mountain lies on the west bank of the Nile; the monument at its foot. This is now made known to us by the plates and ground-plan of Caillaud, plate xlix.—lxxiv.

[3] Caillaud, plate lxiv.—lxvi. [4] Ibid. plate lxvii. [5] Ibid. plate lxxi.

[6] Caillaud, plate lvi. lvii. Also opposite, on the western bank of the Nile, near Nuri, is a group of pyramids. Caillaud, plate xlvii. [7] Caillaud, plate lxi.

[8] Ibid. plate liii.—lv. [9] Plin. vi. 35. Compare Mannert, x. p. 220.

press testimony of Herodotus,[1] another of these colonies, which, as we have already shown, did not consist merely of a temple and oracle, but rather formed a small state where the priest-caste was, as at Meroë, the ruling body, and chose a king from among themselves. And, certainly, according to his account, this colony was founded in common from Thebes and Meroë. A very remarkable fact, which not only proves the foundation of such colonies, and the objects for which they were intended, but also places beyond a doubt the continuance of a connexion and a common interest between Meroë and Thebes.

The kingly Thebes itself was a third, and by far the most important settlement of this priest-caste; it formed a sort of central point, from which they spread over the rest of Egypt and the Oases. The priestly tradition of Ethiopia and Egypt asserted the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with its feasts and processions, to be first settled at Meroë the metropolis.[2] From this city did Osiris, the great symbol of Egyptian civilization, carry it into Egypt. The worship of Ammon and his temple associates, the same priestly dominion, the same oracles, confirmed it in antiquity; and do we not see the same truth still established by the monuments, when we discover in the temples of Upper and in the pyramids of Middle Egypt the same designs carried to the highest perfection, of which the monuments of Nubia and Meroë furnished the first rude models? But that Meroë was a colony of Thebes there is not the slightest proof. And if the question turns upon the rise of civilization,—what is gained by this opinion? On what account was it less likely to arise in Meroë than in the Thebais? No doubt in both countries certain external causes promoted it; but that these are to be found as well, indeed rather sooner, in Meroë than in the Thebais, will be seen in the next chapter.

It is no slight proof of the conclusions to which I came, in the early editions of these Researches, by the study of history, to find that the pursuits of others, in a different path,—I mean the study of monuments and inscriptions,—lead exactly to the same inferences. I cannot, therefore, refrain from giving here the opinions to which the labours of Gau and Champollion

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 175. As the credibility of the statements of Diodorus depends entirely upon the sources from which he obtained them, it is necessary that these should be brought under notice. He cites them himself. At one time as written, namely, the narrative of Agatharchides in his work on the Red Sea, and the history of Artemidorus: at others as oral; namely, the assertions of the priests in the Thebais; and of the ambassadors from Meroë, whom he there had an opportunity of conversing with; all these agree very well together. Diodorus, i. p. 181.

have led, although these as yet are only prematurely made known:

"The observation of Gau," it is said,[1] "seems especially interesting, on account of the results to which it will lead; we mean his remark, that he hopes by his work to prove, that the original models of Egyptian architecture may be found in the Nubian monuments, from the rudest rock-excavation to the highest point of perfection; and that specimens are met with in Nubia of the three different epochs of architecture. Of the first attempts, the excavations from the sides of rocks, which were not till a later period ornamented with sculpture, the temples of Derar, Ipsambul, and Ghyrshe afford examples. From them Egyptian art proceeded to perfection, as we know from the monuments of Kalabshé, Dekar, etc.; and again retrograded, as is shown by the small buildings of Dandour, etc."

"History," it is said, in the letters upon Champollion's latest discoveries,[2] "is extended and authenticated. Champollion reads the names of the mighty Egyptian Pharaohs upon the edifices which they erected; and arrives at certainty respecting the deeds of a Thutmosis, Amenophis II., Ramasses Miamun, Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, and others, which our modern sceptical critics would tear from the volume of authentic history, and place among the fabulous.[3] But a powerful voice is raised in their favour by the irrefragable evidence of the venerable reliefs, the innumerable inscriptions on the pylones and long walls of the Theban palaces. Nearly thirty royal dynasties are enumerated, of which from seventeen upwards, uninterrupted monuments have been discovered."

"The most flourishing period of the Egyptian state, and its highest point of civilization, Champollion places under the eighteenth dynasty; the first of whose kings expelled the shepherd race, or *hyksos*, from Lower Egypt, under whom this part of Egypt had groaned for centuries. It was also the Pharaohs of this dynasty who so aggrandized Thebes; who built the vast palaces of Karnac, Luxor, Medinet Abou, Kornu, and Memnonium. What a high pitch of cultivation! What an astonishing era of art; two complete thousand years before the Augustan age of Rome! The magnificent palace of Karnac

[1] From the German journals, the *Hesperus*, etc.

[2] From the *Lettres de Turin*, or in German, in the *Europaische Blätter*, Sept. 1824, p. 224. In some later accounts it is said, that among the Papyrus-rolls a whole archive has been found, with the names of the Pharaohs, and annals of their reign.

[3] That these opinions never formed the basis of my criticism may be seen by the early editions of this work, and my *Manual of Ancient History*.

records by its hieroglyphics, that it was built during the eleven hundred years which elapsed from the time of Amenophis I. to that of Nekao II. Amenophis I. was the third, Amenophis II. (whom the Greeks call Memnon) the eighth, and Amenophis III. the sixteenth of this glorious dynasty. But the most exalted hero among the Pharaohs was Ramasses the Great, or Sesostris, as he is called by Herodotus. He is the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, and flourished fifteen hundred years before Christ."[1]

"But this advantage of the researches, so interesting in their consequences, is not merely confined to the antiquities of Egypt: it stretches away to the south—it opens up an historical view of countries, whose names have not yet been enrolled in the eternal tablets of history. In Nubia and Ethiopia, stupendous, numerous, and primeval monuments proclaim so loudly a civilization contemporary, ay, earlier than that of Egypt, that it may be conjectured with the greatest confidence that the arts, sciences, and religion descended from Nubia to the lower country of Mizraim; that civilization descended the Nile, built Memphis, and finally, something later, wrested by colonization the Delta from the sea. From Meroë and Axum, downwards, with the Nile, to the Mediterranean, there arose, as is testified by Diodorus, cultivated and powerful states, which, though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same writing, and the same religion."

"Champollion, by comparing the manners and customs, the political institutions and physical organization of the Egyptians with those of other nations, regards it as certain that they are a genuine African-descended race; undoubted aboriginals of this quarter of the world, as they resemble the western-Asiatic nations, their neighbours, in but a very few unimportant particulars. Their language contains as few analogies with the Sanscrit and Zend, the Chinese and the Arabic, as their writing with that of the rest of the known world. Everything tends to prove them a great, a self-cultivated, and an exclusive family of nations, possessing the north-east of Africa, Nubia, the Oases, and Egypt."

How well these conclusions accord with my own, the earlier editions of this work will show. Should there still be something problematical in the manner in which the priest-caste

[1] The Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties are those which I have comprised under the name of Sesostrides. *Manual of Ancient History.*

extended itself, it will be solved by my recalling the attention of the reader to a remark already made; it is, that those very places formed the principal stations of the caravan trade. I have already proved this with regard to two of them, Ammonium and Thebes;[1] and the following inquiry will leave no doubt respecting Meroë itself.

If I do not err, a stream of light is breaking upon the night of Egyptian and Ethiopian antiquities, which opens to us new and unexpected prospects. Who can help perceiving here a close connexion between religion and commerce, which was, perhaps, as natural to those countries as it is opposed to our institutions? Though this priesthood was not itself a trading body, (which I by no means maintain,) did it not guide the southern commercial intercourse by its establishments? Were they the builders of those proud temples and palaces along the banks of the Nile and on the great inland trading highways, which served as sanctuaries for their gods, as dwellings for themselves, and as stations and marts for the caravans? Were they, indeed, the founders of those states which bore so close a resemblance to each other in Egypt and Ethiopia?—These are questions which perhaps many of my readers have already proposed to themselves. But if we would not answer them with partiality, we must take a higher point of view, and trace out, in its whole extent, the ancient and so frequently mentioned Ethiopian commerce, as far as the darkness of antiquity will permit us.

CHAP. III. *Commerce of Meroë and Ethiopia.*

THE LABOUR OF EGYPT AND THE MERCHANDISE OF ETHIOPIA SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE. ISAIAH XLV. 14.

WHEN it is considered that the Ethiopians were one of the most distant and least known nations of antiquity, and that only vague and disfigured reports had reached the West respecting them, can it be a matter of surprise that so little should be known of their commerce? There are many circumstances, however, in ancient history, which cannot be satisfactorily proved and described from the direct testimony of ancient writers, which, nevertheless, appear certain and consistent to the critical historian. To this class belongs the

[1] See above, p. 99, 100.

early commercial intercourse among the southern nations, in which the Ethiopians took so considerable a part.

Nature has, in a remarkable manner, ordained the commerce of these nations, by conferring treasures on one portion of the southern districts which the others have not, and yet cannot well do without. This need of a commercial intercourse certainly does not prove its actual existence; but, as it evidently gives an additional force to every historical argument brought to its support, it is on that account necessary to go somewhat further into its detail.

By the countries of the south I here understand the western coast of the peninsula of India, together with Ceylon on one side, and Ethiopia and Arabia Felix on the other. India, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] is one of the richest countries of the world in natural productions, and on that account has always been a country of the greatest importance in the commerce of the world. Besides wares for clothing, which it possesses in common with other countries, nature has bestowed upon it exclusively, cinnamon and pepper, the two spices most in request. In colder regions these are become articles of luxury; but under the burning and damp climate of the southern zone, they are indispensably necessary, as antidotes to putrefaction; and none of the nations in these regions can ever do without them after having once experienced their value.

Yeman, or Arabia the Blest, though separated from India by an open sea, is yet connected with it by nature in an extraordinary manner. One half of the year, from spring to autumn, the wind[2] regularly sets in and wafts the vessels from Arabia to India; the other half, from autumn to spring, it as regularly carries them back from India to Arabia.[3] A sky, almost always serene, offers them the stars as guides, and spares them the pain of creeping round the coasts. Though nature has conferred no spices upon Arabia, she has amply made up for that deficiency by other valuable gifts. If not exclusively, Arabia is above all others the native country of frankincense, of myrrh, and other aromatic perfumes. If the purification of the air by sweet-smelling savours was not as necessary in these warm climates, as spices are for the preservation of the health, yet the value of these productions was

[1] See my *Researches on the Asiatic Nations.*

[2] What are called the monsoons, which must not be confounded with the almost unchangeable trade winds of other seas between the tropics.

[3] The former is a south-west, the latter a north-east wind.

doubled by religion. There was scarcely one of the half-civilized nations of the ancient world, that would have dared to offer a gift to the gods without frankincense.

As eastern Africa likewise produced frankincense, it divided, in some degree, this treasure with Yeman; but it possessed another besides, in its gold, of which neither this country nor India could boast, and without which their traffic must have been much cramped. Though the western coast of the Indian peninsula did not produce this metal, and Arabia, if at all, but very sparingly,[1] eastern Africa contained those districts abounding in gold, which are still numbered among the richest of the world.

Taking all these circumstances together, it may easily be perceived, that there are probably no other extensive regions of the world, where so many causes excite to a mutual commerce; and if any such should be found, trade could scarcely any where be more profitable than here. Let us now follow the historical traces which have been preserved respecting it.

The early appearance of Indian produce in the western world claims our first attention. Indian spices, especially cinnamon, come before us as early as the Mosaic records; and, indeed, in such quantities as plainly show them to have formed an important article of trade.[2] Should, however, any objection be made to the translation of the terms[3] or the uncertain antiquity of the Mosaic writings, the explicit accounts of the early trade of Arabia Felix will be sufficient to obviate it.

Both Hebrew and Greek writers always speak of this country as one of the richest of the earth. It has already been shown in my researches upon the commerce of the Phœnicians, how well that enterprising people, and even the Jews, were acquainted with it.[4] The Hebrew poets cite the names of its various cities and harbours, and are full of the treasures which were imported from them.[5] No sooner had the Greeks obtained some knowledge of these regions, than they almost exhausted their language in crying up the boundless riches concealed in Arabia Felix. "Its inhabitants, the Sabians," says Agatharchides as quoted by Diodorus,[6] "not only surpass

[1] Ancient writers give gold to Arabia Felix as a natural production. It is not found there at present, which leaves the fact in doubt.

[2] See in Exodus xxx. 23, the enumeration and quantity of spices to be used in compounding the holy oil of the sanctuary. [3] I do not know that this has been questioned.

[4] See the chapter on the land-trade of the Phœnicians.

[5] Compare Ezek. xxvii. 21—24, and the commentaries.

[6] Diodorus, i. p. 215. See note.

the neighbouring barbarians in wealth and magnificence, but all other nations whatsoever. In bringing and selling their wares they obtain, among all nations, the highest prices for the smallest quantities. As their distant situation protects them from all foreign plunderers, immense stores of precious metals have accumulated among them, especially in the capital. Curiously-wrought gold and silver drinking vessels in great variety; couches, tripods with silver feet, and an incredible profusion of costly furniture in general. Porticos with large columns partly gilt, with capitals ornamented with wrought-silver figures. The roofs and doors are ornamented with gold fretwork, set with precious stones; besides which, an extraordinary magnificence reigns in the decoration of their houses, in which they use silver and gold, ivory, and the most precious stones, and all other things that men deem most valuable. These people have enjoyed their good fortune from the earliest times undisturbed; being sufficiently remote from all those who strove to feed their avarice with the treasures of others."

The inhabitants of this country, then, had obtained by their commerce not only immense wealth, but had arrived at a high degree of cultivation; as even architecture and the plastic arts had made a considerable progress among them. It was not, however, from the mere produce of their soil that they obtained this opulence; much of it, as we learn from Herodotus's account of the cinnamon which came through their country,[1] was derived from the merchandise of India, for which their country was the great mart; and his statement is fully confirmed by the testimony of another well-informed writer.[2] "Before merchants," he says, "sailed from India to Egypt, and from Egypt to India, (that is, as the context shows, *before* the period of the Ptolemies,) Arabia Felix was the staple both for Egyptian and Indian goods, much as Alexandria is now for the commodities of Egypt and foreign merchandise."

If the explicit testimony here brought forward proves a

[1] Herod. iii. 3. See the chapter on the land-trade of the Phœnicians.

[2] Arrian. *Peripl. Mar. Eryth.* in Hudson's *Geog. Min.* i. p. 15. Since the first appearance of these Researches this valuable document, so important in the history of geography and commerce, has been illustrated by the well-known and excellent commentaries of Dean Vincent. It appeared to this careful and acute critic, as it must indeed to every one, who, without prejudice, and with some knowledge of the East, goes into the inquiry, that the high antiquity and extent of an active commerce between the countries of the south is so very clear that no doubt can remain respecting it. The results of the learned dean, who laboured independently of the author,—though he shortly before his death testified to him, by letter, his participation and approbation of his labours, and sent to the library of Goettingen a copy of the last edition of his work, enriched with his own autograph additions,—are quite in unison with his own upon these particulars. See Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, in the *Preliminary Disquisitions*, p. 57, etc.

commercial intercourse between India and Arabia, it proves at the same time its high antiquity, and that it must have been in active operation for many centuries.[1] And although we have not sufficient information to point out with absolute certainty by what nation and by what way the navigation between these two countries was carried on, yet everything connected with the subject seems to point the finger so plainly to the Arabians, that we can scarcely err in attributing it to them. The Indians no where appear as navigators;[2] the Arabians always. They not only possessed the navigation of the Indian Ocean during the whole of the middle ages, but undoubtedly enjoyed during the period of the Ptolemies, and immediately afterwards, the advantage of a direct intercourse with India. When therefore we hear that their country even thus early was the market for Indian goods, it is surely highly probable that they, at this time as well as afterwards, possessed the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean. Whether this was confined to coasting, or whether advantage was taken of the monsoons, and vessels stretched across the sea, must be left to conjecture; though we can scarcely suppose it possible that the benefit of this wind should have remained unknown, during the lapse of centuries, to a people dwelling in the very regions whence it blew.[3] Every other passage across the open sea, in the infancy of time, may excite suspicion; nothing, however, can be opposed to the shortness and facility of this. A great part of the way along the Arabian coast, moreover, might be navigated by the monsoons; the rest of the voyage was in itself inconsiderable, and the great number of islands, with which the ocean is here dotted, would serve as landmarks and harbours. At all events it is a remarkable circumstance to every reflecting mind, that the direct transit from

[1] Although its commencement is beyond the reach of history, it is nevertheless very evident that it was yet in its zenith during the times of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; in the eighth and seventh centuries before the Christian era, and consequently in the flourishing period (as is shown in the preceding section) of the kingdom of Meroë. The overthrow of the throne of the Pharaohs seems to have led to its decay; though the more early great Asiatic wars of the Assyrians and Babylonians had, no doubt, considerably affected it.

[2] See Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 61, and my *Researches on the Indians*.

[3] The well-known account in Arrian. *Peripl.* p. 32, that the use of the monsoons was first introduced by the Greek, Hippalus, forms no objection. It refers only to the Greeks at Alexandria, and not to the earlier periods. In these primitive times the use of the monsoons was not required in the same manner as in the Alexandrine period, when vessels sailed from Myos, Hormos, and Berenice. At that time Aden, lying without the straits of Babelmandel, was the principal port, as it seemed destined to be by its position. This distinction is of great importance. The voyage from Aden to Malabar and back is the easiest in the world, because one sails thither with one wind and returns with another; but the voyage out of the Arabian Gulf is far more difficult, for two different winds are required both for the navigation to and fro. See on this head Valentia's *Travels*, ii. p. 380.

Yeman to India leads straight to that very district of all this vast country, in which (at Elephanta and Salsette) some of the most ancient and remarkable monuments that are to be found within it still exist.

The intercourse between Arabia and Ethiopia is not subject even to one of *these* little difficulties. They are neighbouring countries, only separated by a narrow strait. Just across this lies the Ethiopian land of frankincense, known to Herodotus,[1] and, near to that, the gold countries, of which so much has already been said. That Egypt and the rest of northern Africa abounded in the home produce of Ethiopia, as well as in those of the countries we have just mentioned, is evident from so many circumstances, that no doubt can remain upon the subject.

In proportion as we ascend into the primeval ages, the closer seems the connexion between Egypt and Ethiopia. The Hebrew poets seldom mention the former without the latter; the inhabitants of both are drawn as commercial nations. When Isaiah, or rather a later poet in his name, celebrates the victories of Cyrus, their submission is spoken of as his most magnificent reward. "The trade of the Egyptians, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and of the tall men of Saba, will come over to thee and become thine own."[2] When Jeremiah[3] extols the great victory of Nebuchadnezzar over Pharaoh Neco near Carchemish, the Ethiopians are allied to the Egyptians. When Ezekiel threatens the downfal of Egypt, the remotest parts of Ethiopia tremble at the denunciation.[4] Every page, indeed, of Egyptian history exhibits proofs of the close intimacy in which they stood. The primitive states of Egypt, as we have already seen, derived their origin from these remote regions: Thebes and Meroë founded in common a colony in Libya; Ethiopian conquerors more than once invaded Egypt; Egyptian kings in return forced their way into Ethiopia; the same worship, the same manners and customs, the same mode of writing are found in both countries; and under Psammetichus, as is shown above, the noble and numerous party of malcontents retired into Ethiopia. Does not this intimate connexion presuppose a permanent alliance, which could only have been formed and maintained by a long, peaceable, and friendly intercourse?

[1] Herod. ii. 8. [2] Isaiah xlv. 14. [3] Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[4] Ezek. xxx. 5, and the Comment. of Michaelis.

Egypt also, as far as history reaches back, abounded in all the commodities of the southern regions. Whence did she obtain the spices and drugs with which so many thousands of her dead were embalmed? Whence the incense which burned on her altars? Whence that immense quantity of cotton in which her inhabitants were clad, and which her own soil so sparingly produced?[1]

Further, whence came into Egypt that early rumour of the Ethiopian gold countries, which Cambyses set out to discover, and lost half his army in the attempt? Whence that profusion of ivory and ebony which the ancient artists of Greece and Palestine embellished?[2] Whence that general and early spread of the name of Ethiopia which glimmers in the traditional history of so many nations, and which is celebrated as well by the Jewish poets as the earliest Grecian bards? Whence all this, if the deserts which surrounded that people, had formed an impassable barrier between them and the inhabitants of the northern districts?

Yet why should I invoke the traditions which have so long slept? Let the remains of those proud monuments, which extend in one unbroken series from Elephantis and Philæ beyond the desert to Meroë, now speak for themselves. However short and monosyllabic their language, they plainly enough evince that a close connexion must have prevailed between the nations that erected them.

I think I have now placed the reader in a situation to judge both of the certainty and extent of this international commerce of the southern regions in that very remote period. It was just a connexion between the richest and most productive regions of the earth: the gold countries of eastern Africa, the spice regions of India, and the native land of frankincense, of precious stones and drugs, in southern Arabia. Another interesting research still demands our attention, and that is, to trace the course of this trade through the distant countries of Africa. The more original and unexpected the views have been which have already, in more than one place, opened before us, the greater claim I hope to have to the indulgence of the reader while I yet detain him somewhat longer on this part of my subject.

[1] See Beckmann's *Corbereitung zur Waarenkunde*, v. p. 19.

[2] Herod. iii. 114. Ethiopia, the most distant region of the earth, brings forth gold in plenty, and ivory, and ebony and various other woods, and the tallest and most long-lived of men.

This research necessarily presupposes another inquiry, upon which indeed I have already touched, but which still requires to be carried a little further, because it is a subject which does not readily fall in with our ideas, I allude to the exact *relation in which commerce stood in these regions with religion.*

Commerce and religion have always been indissolubly connected in the East. All trade and commercial intercourse requires peaceable and secure places in which it may be transacted. In the limited countries of Europe, inhabited by nations partly or altogether civilized, every city, indeed almost every hamlet, affords this. How totally different is the case in the immeasurable tracts of the East! The rich caravans here have often to perform journeys of hundreds of miles through nations of nomad robbers. The mart is not where they might choose, but on the boundaries of the desert, where nature herself fixes it, in the midst, or in the neighbourhood of these roving hordes. What can protect commerce here but the sanctity of the place? Where are their asylums except under the walls of the temple?

Besides, a profitable and ready sale of merchandise requires a resorting together of men; and where does this take place so frequently and to such an extent as in the vicinity of the national sanctuaries, where whole nations celebrate their feasts? Here, where men give themselves up to good living, the necessaries of life will be plentiful, and here the merchant will obtain the best profits. Now, however, the East affords a striking example of the extent to which the trade by sea has diminished that by land. Mecca remains still, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart for the commerce of Arabia; and what are the great caravans of pilgrims which journey thither from Asia and Africa but trading caravans? Are not the fairs which depend upon their arrival the greatest in Asia?

The rapidity with which a place rises in the East, when once it has obtained a sanctuary that becomes the object of pilgrimage, and by that means becomes a place of trade, almost surpasses belief.[1] The whole organization of social life in these

[1] The single example drawn from the present times of a place in Egypt, which Europeans scarcely know by name, may serve as a sufficient proof. Tenta, a city of the Delta, is celebrated as containing the sepulchre of a Mahometan saint, Seyd Achmed. The veneration in which this is held brings an incredible number of pilgrims, who come at the time of the spring-equinox and summer-solstice from Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, and Darfour. Their number is stated at one hundred and fifty thousand. These periodical assemblies, besides the worship of the saint, are devoted to commerce; and each of them is the period of a celebrated fair, which lasts for many days, and at which the produce of Upper Egypt, the coast of Barbary, and the whole of the East, is exchanged for the cattle of the Delta and the linen there manufactured. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 357.

parts contributes towards it. In Europe the richest market can only become the resort of a less or greater number of individuals; but in the East, where the greater part of the inhabitants consist of nomades, who though their wants be few have still some, or easily acquire them, which can only be gratified by commerce, it is not merely individuals, but whole tribes, or portions of tribes, who appear as merchants. How well frequented, how important must a trading place of this kind become under such circumstances! How widely must the fame of such a sanctuary become spread; and if once trade becomes connected with it, how natural it seems, that, by the establishment of similar sanctuaries, with the same form of worship in other distant places, the same order of things should follow!

Upon the religion of these nations I have endeavoured to be as explicit as the nature of these researches requires. It was the worship of Ammon and the deities allied to him, whose rites were propagated by the foundation of colonies of the same caste of priests along the banks of the Nile, from the vicinity of its sources till its divided streams lose themselves in the sea. And the same places which are most celebrated for the worship of these deities, are also famous as the great marts for the commerce of these regions.

These statements, therefore, furnish us with so many data for determining the most ancient trading route from Ethiopia to Egypt and northern Africa. It is unnecessary to prove that this was a caravan trade; the situation and nature of the country will allow of no other. The Nile, if we believe Herodotus, was not navigable above Egypt but with great labour (although commerce in this way seems very early to have been carried on); and single merchants could travel with as little safety in antiquity, as they can at present, over these sandy deserts without a secure convoy.

I have already, in my researches upon the land trade of the Carthaginians, pointed out the caravan roads from the north of Africa and the negro countries to Upper Egypt, where Thebes was the place of rendezvous. It therefore only now remains to trace out the route from thence to Ethiopia, and its chief place, Meroë.

Nubia from its situation is the natural, and has therefore always been the great point of communication for the caravan trade between Ethiopia and the countries on this side the Nu-

bian desert. There are still three principal caravans which go from inner Africa to Egypt; one from Fezzan or Barbary, another from Darfour, and a third from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë.[1] In coming from Egypt this is the first fertile spot that relieves the wearied eye of the traveller over the dreary desert, the crossing of which is so often attended with toil and pain, and frequently with peril. Nature therefore seems to have destined this as the resting-place for the caravans from Egypt; it is likewise the natural staple for such productions of inner Africa, as are wont to be transported to the north. It is indeed the extreme point of the gold countries towards Egypt;[2] and possesses an easy communication with the southern regions, by the many navigable streams with which it is surrounded. Its moderate distance from Arabia Felix facilitates its intercourse with that rich country, which again rendered it, as long as it possessed the trade of Arabia and India, the natural market of Africa for Arabian and Indian goods.

But though Sennaar, or the country of Meroë, appears as a great commercial country, yet the territory about the city of Meroë seems always to have been the principal market.

"Shendy," (now the nearest place to the ancient Meroë,) says Bruce,[3] who does not speak here as illustrating any point of history, but as simply relating his adventures, "was once a town of great resort. The caravans of Sennaar, Egypt, Suakin, and Kordofan, all were accustomed to rendezvous here, especially after the Arabs had cut off the road by Dongola."

Still more copious particulars have been given us by another well-known traveller, no way inferior to Bruce; I mean the celebrated Maillet, who wrote at the beginning of the last century.[4] At that time the caravan from Sennaar arrived twice every year, bringing gold dust, ebony, ivory, balsam, and between two and three thousand black slaves:—all wares equally known and valued in antiquity.[5] It assembled at Gherri, a place lying a few miles above Shendy and the ancient

[1] This is generally acknowledged. See however *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 81.

[2] Meroë is enumerated as one of the countries which produce gold, Diodorus, i. p. 38; Strabo, p. 1177. This is particularly to be understood of the districts adjoining it on the south-west, Cuba and Nuba, which abound in gold. It is however very probable that the rivers in Meroë brought some gold with them, as they partly flowed from those mountainous provinces. Meroë moreover had mines of iron and metal, Diodorus, i. p. 38; Strabo, p. 1177. Certainly not an unimportant circumstance in estimating the degree of civilization to which that country had attained.

[3] Bruce, iv. p. 532.

[4] Maillet, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 197, 216, etc.

[5] Exactly the same that Herodotus mentions as the produce of Ethiopia, see lib. iii. 114.

Meroë. The merchants from Sennaar and Gondar, the two chief cities of Abyssinia, and many other districts, here met together to begin their journey. The caravans leave the Nile to the east, and stretch across Libya, where, after a seventeen days' journey, they come to a fertile valley planted with palms; then, continuing their route, which leads over mountainous districts, they again reach the Nile at Monfelut, a city of Upper Egypt.

The information brought to Europe by the French expedition not only confirms this statement, but discloses many other particulars respecting the commercial importance of these places.[1] Shendy, or the ancient Meroë, we are told, is the place where the caravan road to the north, or Egypt, and to the east, or the Arabian Gulf and Suakin, separate. It must therefore on this account have become long ago a place of great trade, and it still remains the next city to Sennaar.

It bore also this character in the middle ages, to the flourishing period of Arabian commerce. The trading road extended at that time from Alua to Suakin, to Massuah, and to the islands on the Arabian Sea.[2]

Burkhardt, who remained an entire month at Shendy,[3] not only confirms all this, but gives such copious details respecting the trade of that town, that I refer the reader to his work in preference to giving extracts. "Commerce," he says, "is the very life of society in these countries. There is not a single family which is not connected more or less with some branch of traffic, either wholesale or retail, and the people of Berber and Shendy appear to be a nation of traders in the strictest sense of the word.[4] Among the articles of commerce which he particularly specifies, are black male and female slaves, dhourra, gold, ivory, ebony, monkeys, and ostrich feathers.[5] The land does not produce sufficient dhourra for the consumption of the population, but requires a supply to be imported. The many other articles of commerce, which he mentions, are chiefly brought from Sennaar, whence a caravan arrives every six weeks; almost as often from Suakin; and the traffic with Yeman, Hadramaut, and Malabar, is repre-

[1] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 119.
[2] From Makrizi in Quatremere de Quincy, *Mémoires*, ii. p. 16.
[3] From the 17th of April to the 17th of May, 1814. *Travels*, p. 277, etc.
[4] Burkhardt, p. 234.
[5] That there was a considerable trade in ostrich feathers in antiquity, is evident from the frequency of their appearance in the head-dress of the Egyptian priests. Monkeys we have seen above among the booty, p. 181, as well as in the trade of Ophir, 1 Chron. ix. 21

sented as very active.[1] To these must be added the salt trade, so important in ancient times.[2] The great salt-works are but at a few miles' distance from Shendy, which supply all Abyssinia with this useful commodity; Strabo also mentions this, to whom I must refer for further particulars.[3] I shall only notice one other circumstance, which I think of too much consequence to be passed over in silence.

Although the intercourse between Egypt, Arabia, and Sennaar is so brisk, that to the west, with Soudan,[4] is altogether as inactive and insignificant. The principal commerce of the interior of Africa is chiefly carried on in two directions; one follows the valley of the Nile from Egypt to Sennaar, the other is that of Soudan, from the Joliba to the Mediterranean. The empire of Bornou forms a separation between them. Thus it is now. And a glance at the trading routes laid down upon my map will show that it was just the same in antiquity. All here perfectly agrees.

It appears, therefore, that the districts of Gherri and Shendy, that is, of the ancient Meroë, was, and still continues to be, the place where the caravans are formed, which trade between Egypt and Ethiopia, or the point at which they touch in passing to and fro. But a commercial connexion between Egypt and Meroë being established, it scarcely needs be mentioned, that the trade of the latter must necessarily have stretched much farther into the south of Africa. Meroë was the emporium, where the produce of the distant southern lands were collected together in order to be transported, either on the Nile or by caravans, into north Africa. The great end of this commerce was the rich gold countries, much farther to the south. What is said of the Macrobians, whose seat I have already proved to be at a much greater distance in this direction, shows that such was the case. If Cambyses, however, could settle the plan of an expedition to this nation, and could find Egyptian Ichthyophagi who knew the road and could speak their language, to send there as spies, a connexion between them and Egypt must already have existed for some time. The only obstruction to the communication between north and south Africa is the desert; the countries beyond that maintain, as we learn both from ancient writers and the

[1] Burkhardt, p. 319.
[2] Ibid. p. 276. It is perfectly white. The Sennaar merchants buy it in great quantities for the Abyssinian market. Its importance in all ages requires no proof.
[3] Strabo, p. 1177. [4] Burkhardt, p. 322.

more modern accounts of the British society, a constant intercourse.[1]

Thus numerous and manifold are the traces of a connexion between Egypt and Ethiopia! We have only now to determine accurately the routes by which it was carried on. The usual route of the caravans in the present day runs to the east of the Nile, where that river makes its great bend towards the west, through the midst of the Nubian desert; the same that Bruce followed from Sennaar to Egypt, and Burkhardt from Egypt to Sennaar.[2] From the northern boundaries of Sennaar, and the beginning of the desert, to Assur on the Egyptian frontier, the distance amounts to twenty days' journey.[3] Another road, which almost constantly follows the course of the Nile, is, in consequence of its great westerly bend, much farther about.[4] Whether the first, that is, the shorter or more difficult, was frequented in antiquity, cannot be determined from express historical evidence; but as Eratosthenes and Artemidorus state the distance from Syene to the city of Meroë, the former at 625 and the latter at 600 miles,[5] and these distances are undoubtedly reckoned according to this route,[6] we may safely conclude that it was known. According to Burkhardt, it is the only route from Shendy to Egypt,[7] and the one generally pursued by the Sennaar caravans. Though not without its perils, it did not appear so dangerous to him as the great Syrian desert. Springs are met with, and these naturally confine the path to one direction. A description of the longer way on the banks of the Nile, and, indeed, as far as the nature of the stream will allow, upon that river, has already been given from Herodotus, whose forty days' journey is explained by the context, that the course of the river is almost invariably followed.[8] The succession of places along the river renders it probable that in these times it was the common way, especially for those who dreaded the dangers of the desert. These places continue to *Merawé* where the last cataracts begin; and a very natural cause is found in this situation for the establishment of these settlements. Pliny was not only

[1] *Proceedings*, etc. p. 259, etc. [2] The different stations and the distances, are accurately stated in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. 118.

[3] Which is the time it took Burkhardt, who travelled with a caravan. It took Bruce less because he did not journey with a numerous caravan.

[4] It is traced out in Bruce's map. [5] See above, p. 197.

[6] Reckoning the day's journey at twenty-five miles, it will require twenty-four days for the whole distance, which agrees very well with the above statements, if we add to the twenty days' journey the distance from Shendy to the beginning of the desert.

[7] Burkhardt, p. 207. [8] See above, p. 195.

acquainted with them, but describes the manner of the voyage up the Nile. "Syene," says he, "is the rendezvous of the Ethiopian vessels. The sailors fold them together, and carry them on their shoulders as often as they come to the cataracts."[1] This custom is still continued. "Notwithstanding the number of falls and cataracts," says Maillet,[2] "which render the navigation difficult, they do not altogether impede it. The boats are brought as near as possible to the cataracts; the movable wares are then all taken out, and a number of men take the boat, which is built very light for this purpose, upon their shoulders, and carry it past the cataracts, while others transport the merchandise to the same place. The boat is then relaunched on the Nile, and so they go on, from cataract to cataract, until they have passed them all." But the nature of the journey itself shows very well that this could hardly have been the usual caravan road. And, besides, the account of Herodotus expressly states, that people, in order to avoid the cataracts, would rather go a journey of about forty days. The number of places show that this route lay through inhabited districts, which perhaps rendered it possible for single travellers to go it without danger.

The route which led, in ancient times, from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf and Yeman, is not pointed out by any historian. Nevertheless, traces are still extant of the intercourse of those nations, which time has been unable to obliterate. Just in the midst of the way are found the ruins of Axum, and, at its end, on the coast opposite Arabia Felix, the remains of Adule and Azab.

The antiquity of Axum, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, entitles it to a particular notice. Its name is not mentioned, so far as I can discover, by any writers previous to the first century. It was unknown both to Herodotus and Strabo. It is first mentioned by the author of the Periplus of the Red Sea,[3] who probably flourished under Nero; and afterwards by Ptolemy. Some time later, in the sixth century, when Justinian closed an alliance with Ethiopia, Axum was highly celebrated. At this time it was the residence of the Ethiopian monarchs; Cosmas, Nonnosus, Procopius, and others have a good deal to say concerning it.[4]

[1] *Plicatiles*, Plin. v. 9, they were, therefore, probably made of skins.
[2] Maillet, p. 215. [3] Arrian. *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* in Hudson's *Geog. Min.* vol. i. p. 3. Axum is here called a *capital*, (metropolis,) and was at that time the chief mart for the ivory trade. It was about seven or eight days' journey from the Red Sea.
[4] See Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* ii. cap. 11, and commentaries, etc. p. 60, et 251.

The silence of early writers, however, proves nothing against a higher antiquity; and that Axum, in fact, was more ancient would be proved by an inscription which Bruce states he found there, if the existence of the inscription itself had not since been disputed. But, notwithstanding the silence of the early writers, the ruins of Axum are still left, and their evidence is still sufficient to establish the fact.

These remarkable monuments soon attracted the attention of travellers. The first account we have of them was given by two Portuguese, Alvarez and Tellez;[1] to this succeeded the narrative of Bruce, which has been sharply criticised, and in many places corrected, by Salt, a later traveller, and the companion of Lord Valentia.

The accounts given by the Portuguese, especially by Alvarez, are copious, but not critical. The remains of Axum belong to different ages; partly to a very high antiquity, partly to the first centuries of the Christian era, and partly to a still later period. Alvarez and Tellez had not sufficient knowledge to distinguish these accurately; but their information is still very valuable, because it shows that in their time many monuments were extant which are no longer to be found. Besides the obelisks, sometimes standing and sometimes thrown down, which were in part covered with inscriptions, Alvarez mentions many pedestals and statues of lions jetting out water. Tellez not only speaks of obelisks and pyramids, whose resemblance to the Egyptian cannot be mistaken, but also saw, as he relates, an inscription in Greek and Latin letters, most likely the same which Salt has since given to the world.—The narrative of Bruce I give in his own words.[2]

"On the eighteenth of January (1770) we came into the plain wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia, at least as it is supposed. For my part, I believe it to have been the magnificent metropolis of the trading people, or Troglodyte Ethiopians, for the reason I have already given, as the Abyssinians never built any city, nor do the ruins of any exist at this day in the whole country. But the black or Troglodyte part of it,[3] have in many places buildings of great strength, magnitude, and expense, especially at Azab,[4] worthy the mag-

[1] See Alvarez, *Viaggio della Etiopia*, cap. 38, and Tellez, *Historia General da Ethiopia*, lib. i. cap. 22.

[2] Bruce, iii. p. 130, etc.

[3] [That is, according to Heeren's translation, in the parts inhabited by the Troglodytæ, or negroes. *Trans.*]

[4] Azab lies on the African coast, near the straits of Babelmandel, and exactly opposite Arabia Felix. It is a great pity that neither Bruce nor any other traveller has yet examined these ruins.

nificence and riches of a state which was from the earliest ages the emporium of the Indian and African trade."

"The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but entirely consist of public buildings. In one square, which I apprehend to have been the centre of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them. They are all of one piece of granite; and on the top of that which is standing there is a *patera* exceedingly well carved in the Greek taste."

"We proceeded southwards by a road cut in a mountain of red marble, having on the left a parapet-wall about five feet high, solid, and of the same materials. At equal distances there are hewn in this wall solid pedestals, upon the tops of which we see the marks where stood the colossal statues of Syrius, the Latrator Anubis, or Dog-star. One hundred and thirty-three of these pedestals, with the marks of the statues I just mentioned, are still in their places; but only two figures of the dog remained when I was there, much mutilated, but a taste easily distinguished to be Egyptian."[1]

"There are likewise pedestals, whereon the figures of the sphinx have been placed. Two magnificent flights of steps, several hundred feet long, all of granite, exceedingly well fashioned, and still in their places, are the only remains of a magnificent temple."

These accounts of Bruce are in part contradicted and in part confirmed by Salt, the companion of Lord Valentia, but who went alone into Abyssinia.[2] He denies the existence of a parapet of red marble, and the traces of one hundred and thirty-three pedestals upon it; as what Bruce took for a work of art, he regards as a natural production. The remains of ancient art found by Salt are two groups of obelisks, a considerable distance apart, each composed of fourteen or fifteen pieces. Only one of each group is now standing. The largest, formed of one piece of granite, is eighty feet high, and some of those thrown down are still more; the smaller one is twenty feet. Many of them, and the first one standing upright is among the number, are ornamented with sculptures, which seem, however, rather embellishments than hieroglyphics; some are plain. The proportions and workmanship are admirable; the plates

[1] Might not these mutilated figures of dogs have been intended for sphinxes, or even Egyptian lions, somewhat like those of the *Fontana Felice* at Rome? Bruce, led away by his hypothesis of the worship of the dog-star, saw every where monuments of it. Though Salt could not find these two figures, that proves nothing against their existence; as Alvarez mentions many similar statues of the lions, which in his time served as fountains.

[2] Valentia's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 87, sq. 181. Among the plates are a ground-plot of the territory, a representation of the great obelisk, and of the modern church.

of Salt give a very just idea of them, and contradict the strange fancies of Bruce respecting the Greek *pateræ*, etc. The sculptures represent architectural ornaments, somewhat similar to those in the Indian rock-pagodas—a door below, and apertures or windows above. The ecclesiastics stated the original number of the obelisks to have been fifty-five. Several pedestals and altars lay scattered around; fallen from their former places, the two magnificent flights of steps are included in the plan of Mr. Salt, as well as two others hewn in the rock. The Greek inscription, which he has transcribed and explained, belongs to the remains of a later period—the fourth century of the Christian era.

The ancient monuments of Axum were laid waste by the violence of fanaticism. According to the statement of the ecclesiastics of the place, by a queen of Amhara, named Gadit, about the year 1070; or, according to an inscription found there, by a conqueror named Abun David; perhaps by both. As Axum was something more than eleven hundred years the seat of a Christian church, (the present one was built in 1657,) many of the old materials were probably used in the construction of the new buildings; and only such remain as could not be readily removed or put to use. This, however, is sufficient to clear up every doubt respecting the high antiquity of Axum. Though the plan of the principal building can no longer be accurately laid down, yet Mr. Salt expressly remarks, that all the antiquities in the district of the new church now form one group, and formerly belonged to one great fabric. But who does not perceive in its separate members, as well as in the whole, a most striking resemblance to the Egyptian monuments. Do not the rows of obelisks, which here again form an avenue; the pedestals, which at one time bore statues, perhaps of a gigantic size; and the vast magnitude of the whole, show the same architecture, the same art in the arrangement of the great masses of stone, and the same taste as the ruins of Thebes, of Elephantis, and Meroë, with which Bruce himself in another place compares them.[1] Remarkable differences, however, still occur; for, as I have already observed, no traces of obelisks appear in Nubia and Meroë,[2] while here we find them in groups; and while, on the contrary, the

[1] Bruce, iv. p. 542.

[2] What Bruce took for the fragment of an obelisk near Kurgos (see above, p. 199) was not seen by his successor.

Egyptian obelisks are covered with hieroglyphics, there are none on those of Axum, which are merely ornamented.

These circumstances have lately led a learned historian to conjecture that Axum was originally one of the cities founded by the emigrant warrior-caste from Egypt. And there is much, certainly, which appears to favour this opinion.[1] It lay within the territory possessed by them, which we know extended easterly towards the Arabian Gulf. And, if this opinion should be correct, it would account for the absence of hieroglyphics, as there was no caste of priests among them. This would make Axum mount up to the last period of the Pharaohs, and it is known, from the Periplus of Arrian, to have been, some centuries later, a principal mart for the interior trade; whether it was so even still earlier, remains indeed open to conjecture.

The end of this route, according to Bruce, was Azab, at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf, whence the passage to Arabia Felix requires but a few hours. Ruins, similar to those described in the passage above cited from Bruce, are said still to point out the site of this remarkable place, which was at one time the great staple of Indian and Arabian goods for the vast regions of Africa.[2]

But besides Azab there is yet another ancient sea-port on the Arabian Gulf, of which we can speak with more certainty, I mean Adule. This lay at a small distance from the present Arkeeko, 15° N. Lat. "Adule," says Pliny,[3] "according to an ancient writer, is the greatest emporium of the Troglodytæ and Ethiopians. They bring here ivory, rhinoceros-horn, hippopotamus-hides, tortoise-shell, and slaves." Adule was certainly an Egyptian colony. "Egyptian bondsmen, who ran away from their masters, founded it." Must not this be a version of the emigration of the warriors? Unfortunately, no modern traveller has reached Adule; Stuart, whom Salt sent there, was obliged to return, having been prevented from proceeding. The Arabians, however, are uniform in their assur-

[1] Mannert, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, part x. 166. He considers Axum to be identified with Esar, which was one of the cities founded by them. Compare my treatise in *Comment. Soc. Goetting.* vol. xii. p. 64.

[2] From the accounts already given of the Somaulies, at p. 166, it is seen how desirable it is that the coast of Africa about the straits of Babelmandel should be more accurately explored. If we were even to set aside the authority of Bruce with regard to Azab, (which is the same as Saba,) it would be very astonishing if the long intercourse between Arabia and Africa had not produced some large settlement. But if not to be found exactly in the spot where Azab is placed upon our charts, it may perhaps with more probability be sought for without the straits, as from that part a connexion with Aden would be so much easier.

[3] Plin. vi. 34.

ances, that the ruins of a city exist there; and a column brought to Arkeeko gives evident proofs of the Egyptian style.[1] The successful adventurer who reaches this place will most likely make some interesting discoveries, and perhaps will find there, still in its place, the well-known monument of Adule, for the preservation of whose inscription we are indebted to Cosmas.[2]

It is an important circumstance, and more than once mentioned by Bruce, that in all Abyssinia there are only three places, namely, Azab, Axum, and Meroë, (to which we may now add Adule,) where ruins of those great establishments are found, whose form as well as high antiquity shows them to have sprung from a common origin. All these are ruins of large public edifices; everything about them is colossal; while of private habitations there is not the slightest trace. These, perhaps, from their being less durable, may have long been crumbled with the dust; though it must always remain very doubtful whether, and how far, we ought to extend our notion of cities to any of those places. The greater portion of the inhabitants of Ethiopia were nomades, as they are in the present day, and as from the nature of their country they must always remain. Who, therefore, can venture to determine that those places called cities, really were so in point of fact? Is it not possible that these places, adorned with temples and obelisks, were merely extensive places of trade, where caravans from remote regions of the world gathered together, and to which distant nations, under the protection of the deities who inhabited these temples, brought the treasures of their country, in order to barter them for others? Does not this notion seem most agreeable to the physical geography of Ethiopia, and does it not best accord with the magnificence of these monuments? It cannot be too often repeated, that in those distant countries everything sprung from completely different causes, and therefore must have been completely different from what they are in the regions in which we live.

Let us now take a review of what we have thus far advanced, and we shall find that we may with certainty deduce from it the following conclusions:

1st, It appears, that in the earlier ages a commercial intercourse existed here, between the countries of southern Asia and Africa—between India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, and

[1] Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 452. The name is now pronounced Zulla.
[2] See above, p. 167.

Egypt; which was founded upon their mutual necessities, and became the parent of the civilization of these people.

2dly, The principal seat of this national intercourse for Africa was Meroë; and its principal route is still pointed out by a chain of ruins, extending from the shores of the Indian Sea to the Mediterranean. Adule, Azab, and Axum are links of this chain between Arabia Felix and Meroë; Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Egypt, and Carthage.[1]

3dly, The chief places of this trade were likewise establishments of the priest-caste, who, as a dominant race, had their principal seat at Meroë, whence they sent out colonies, which in their turn became builders of cities and temples, and likewise the founders of states.

No doubt, therefore, can exist respecting the close connexion between trade and religion here, nor respecting the manner in which more than one state became formed, in the interior of Africa, in very high antiquity. But though this caste, by sending out colonies, guided the course of trade, it did not on that account keep it to itself, nor did it, in general, even directly participate in it. I have already remarked, that

[1] It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that this whole chain, and almost every link of it, may be traced in the earliest Greek mythology. The fame of the Ethiopians, as a civilized people, had forced its way to Greece in the time of Homer, and referred pre-eminently, as we have shown above, to Meroë. The hundred-gated Thebes is celebrated by the same poet. The traditions of Jupiter Ammon, in Libya, are interwoven with the most ancient Greek mythi (Diod. i. p. 237); and that the Carthaginian coast was a theatre of these mythi, is generally known, from the Argonautic expedition, the Triton Sea, the garden of the Hesperides, the Gorgons, etc. All this proves, that rumours of these regions and places travelled very early into the West; and is it not evident, that these should be understood of the places which were the seats of national commerce? But a very remarkable clew is preserved in Herodotus, which seems evidently to prove, that not merely rumour of this commerce found its way into Greece, but that an attempt was actually made, at a very early period, to introduce it from Africa, by the then usual means, of founding a sanctuary and oracle. I refer to his account of the origin of the Dodona oracle under the Pelasgi, ii. 51—58. The priests of Ammon at Thebes informed him, that the oracle of Ammon and of Dodona were both founded from Thebes; and he himself testifies, that they were both delivered in the same manner. Two sacred women (prophetesses or soothsayers) were carried off by the Phœnicians, who sold one in Libya and the other in Greece; the latter of whom founded that of Dodona, and the former that of Ammon. The information he received in Dodona was, that two black doves had flown from Thebes into Egypt, one to Libya, the other to Dodona, at which places they had, with human voices, commanded the establishment of oracles; all this Herodotus himself explains to be a figurative account, which had arisen from the prophetesses having spoken a foreign language, and from their having been black Egyptian females. The account of the sale of the two women as slaves was given him by the priests themselves as an uncertain tradition. So far as regards Ammon, we know from other creditable testimony that this oracle was a colony founded by Thebes and Meroë; it is therefore exceedingly natural to conjecture the same of Dodona, and to consider the holy women as merely representing these settlements, because they, as prophetesses, certainly were the chief personages. Thus then becomes explained the account of Herodotus, ii. 51—58: the oracle at Dodona commanded the Pelasgians to adopt the Egyptian names of the deities, which at the same time passed through them to the Hellenes. I scarcely need repeat, that I only state this as a conjecture; but yet I know no more natural way of explaining Herodotus's extraordinary account of the adoption of the Egyptian names of deities in Greece, than that the oracle at Dodona was influenced from now known causes to introduce the Egyptian worship into Greece. That this did not produce the same effect as in Africa is easily accounted for. Greece was altogether a different world; and whatever the Greeks adopted from foreigners they always stamped as their own property.

the tribe of priests by no means became a tribe of merchants. It would, indeed, have been altogether contrary to the manners of the East; nevertheless, without properly following trade, they found means to obtain a share of its benefits, and the consideration which this caste obtained through it was very great; partly from the oracles; partly from the security and protection which they afforded; and partly from the number and variety of the merchants.[1]

The nature of the caravan trade imposes upon it the necessity of employing a great number of hands; to perform these long journeys in safety, numerous bodies are requisite as a guard; besides which, the whole internal organization of caravans, the care of the camels and other beasts of burden, the lading and unlading of the wares, etc., require a great number of assistants, who not unfrequently, from mere carriers, become merchants themselves.

Men who are accustomed to a settled abode, and dwell in cities, are not at all fit for a caravan life, constantly upon the move. In Arabia, therefore, as well as in Africa, these trading communities are formed by the nomad pastoral tribes, of which the greater part of those distant countries are full.[2] These by their mode of life are not only best adapted to it, but possess in their herds, their camels, and other beasts of burden, the only means of carrying it on. It was thus that the merchandise of the Sabeans was conveyed to Arabia Felix by the Nabatii and the Midianites; it was thus that the Carthaginian caravans were formed by Lotophagi and Nasamones; and thus it is, in the present day, that those from Tripoli to Cairo are formed by the inhabitants of Fezzan. It is not then a mere fanciful, fleeting hypothesis, but is founded on the nature of things, that this must also have been the case in Ethiopia: we already know that these regions were also occupied by vast numbers of wandering pastoral tribes, and we find some faint traces in antiquity, which makes the matter still clearer.

The nations who dwelt to the west of Meroë along the banks of the Astaspus, tribes of Agows and Bejahs, could not be unknown in Egypt, which they must have frequented. They occasionally spoke there of the river on which they dwelt, and maintained it to be the proper Nile. Diodorus obtained this information from their own mouths;[3] and they could not well

[1] Let the reader here bear in mind what is said of the present Damer. See above, p. 219.
[2] See above, p. 90. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 45. The Agows appear on the monument of Adule.

have made this long journey except in the train of a caravan. There is still more evidence to prove that the inhabitants of the eastern mountains, the Troglodytæ, and their neighbours the Ichthyophagi, were engaged in this calling; they were indeed so well acquainted with the route to the most distant parts of Africa, that Cambyses chose them for the spies, which he sent under the form of an embassy to the Macrobians. This could scarcely be the first time of their journeying to this nation, as they were already able to speak their language.

This eastern ridge, its inhabitants, and its productions, have been for a long time known in Egypt. Even Herodotus could describe them as far as the straits of Babelmandel; for he not only points out very accurately its direction, but also knew, that where it ended on the south the land of frankincense begun.[1] This is the region extending from Azab to Cape Guardefui; consequently, the country of the Somaulies. And here again the statements of the Greeks are confirmed by the accounts of recent British travellers.[2] This accurate knowledge presupposes mutual intercourse, and the conjecture therefore is highly probable, that the nomad inhabitants of these regions, composed for the most part the caravans, which journeyed from Egypt to Ethiopia, and again from Ethiopia to northern Africa and Arabia Felix. This is exactly the case in the present day. The caravans which trade between Egypt and Abyssinia are now, and have been from time immemorial, composed of the Bejahs and Ababdés, who at this time occupy the mountains and part of Nubia.[3]

These nomades, however, were scarcely ever anything more than mere carriers of merchandise; no wealthy tribes being found among them. They appear in this character in the pageants, which Ptolemy Philadelphus gave at his accession to the throne, when, among other shows, the procession of an Arabic-Ethiopian caravan was exhibited.[4] "There came a train of camels, carrying three hundred pounds of frankincense, crocus, cassia, and cinnamon, together with two hundred pounds of other costly spices and drugs. These were followed by a host of Ethiopians armed with lances; one band of these bore six hundred elephants' teeth, another two thousand pieces

[1] Herod. ii. 8. [2] See above, p. 166. [3] *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 269.
[4] Athen. p. 201. Bruce, i. p. 432, etc., gives an ample account of these armed herdsmen. It is known that the caravans of the nomad tribes, as now from the Ababdés, take escorts. According, however, to another reading of Athenæus, (δωροφόροι instead of δορυφόροι,) they were present-bearing Ethiopians.

of ebony, and another sixty vessels of gold, silver, and gold dust." Notwithstanding the part which these nomades took in conducting it, the trade itself still remained in the hands of the inhabitants of Meroë and Axum, who carried it on by their foreign settlements; and these places still remain, what nature herself has appointed them, the great marts for the southern commerce.

Thus the great conclusion, so interesting and important for human nature and its history, becomes in a manner forced upon us: THE FIRST SEATS OF COMMERCE WERE ALSO THE FIRST SEATS OF CIVILIZATION. Exchange of merchandise led to exchange of ideas, and by this mutual friction was first kindled the sacred flame of moral and intellectual culture.

That this civilization of the Ethiopians,—that is, of the ruling priest-caste,—was bound to their religion is easily shown. Some scientific knowledge must indisputably have been connected with it, else the erection of those monuments would have been impossible. But the high attainments in science which some would bestow upon them rests upon no solid foundation.[1] None of the ancients has made them philosophers or astronomers; although the latter science could not have remained altogether concealed to a nation, who were wont to spend the greater part of their lives in journeys across the deserts, where the stars of the firmament could be their only guide, and whose climate brought a more regular change of weather and seasons than we are accustomed to. Diodorus certainly derives the civilization of the Egyptians in general from Ethiopia,[2] but I cannot perceive how this can be true, unless in a very limited sense; and though its first germ might perhaps have shot forth there, the fruit did not ripen till transplanted into Egypt.

From the express testimony of this writer, we learn that the Ethiopians possessed the art of writing;[3] not, however, alphabetical characters, but merely picture-writing, a proof of which is still preserved upon the ruins of Meroë;[4] and from this passage the first invention of it has been attributed to them. Criticism may fairly dispute this point, the truth or falsehood of which it is equally impossible to prove. The invention of

[1] See Plessing, *Memnonium*, i. p. 341, etc.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 174, 175. [3] Ibid. i. p. 176.
[4] Hieroglyphic inscriptions are found as well in the vestibule of the pyramids at Assur, especially in the sanctuary, Caillaud, plate xli. xliii., as in the principal temple at Naga, Caillaud, plate xx. *Explications;* they cannot however be copied.

this kind of writing would be no where more easy than among a people with so decided a bias for the pictorial arts; nor the use and perfectioning of it more natural, than in a state whose government, next to religion, was founded upon trade.

A very interesting fact however is recorded by Diodorus; namely, that the knowledge of picture-writing in Ethiopia was not a privilege confined solely to the caste of priests as in Egypt, but that every one might attain it, as freely as they might in Egypt the writing in common use. Ought not this general use of it to be regarded as a powerful proof of its being applied to the purposes of trade? A great commercial nation altogether without writing surely could never exist; and however deficient hieroglyphics might be for the multifarious wants of our trade, yet it seems quite adequate for all the purposes of the caravan trade, whose regular course and simple merchandise demanded but few accounts.

The piety and justice of the Ethiopians, the fame of which spread to the most distant regions, even to the Greeks, requires little explanation! They are the first virtues which would be cultivated in a nation whose government was established by religion and commerce, and not by violence and oppression.

The progress this nation had made in architecture, and, to a certain degree, in the pictorial arts, is still one of the greatest problems, though one of the greatest certainties. The ruins of those colossal monuments, more or less preserved, still lie there, and will remain the everlasting proofs of the awful magnificence of their architecture.

It is however one of the worst errors, into which we but too frequently fall, to consider ourselves as the standard of what is or can be done by other nations, in other countries, and under other circumstances. Is it necessary that the band between science, architecture, and the plastic arts, should every where be as closely knit together as it is with us? Might not mechanical dexterity and handicraft be carried to a high degree of perfection on their own account alone? Is it not possible then that the powerful vigour of a nation might be drawn by circumstances to concentrate itself upon one point; and in that way might here have produced works which to us seem supernatural? Was not indeed the connexion between scientific and artificial improvement, in our own country, very different from what it was in the middle ages, when our forefathers

erected those lofty domes which we still gaze at but cannot imitate?

But with all these changes in particulars, how little, taken as a whole, do the nations of Africa differ from what they were. Temples and sanctuaries seem always to have been the object of their trading journeys, as they are in the present day. About those obelisks lodged at one time the caravans, pilgrimizing to the temples of Ammon, which now journey to the Caaba of the prophet at Mecca. The hand of time has altered the nature of the tie between trade and religion in these regions, but has never been able to dissolve it.

And thus then we leave the ruins of Nubia and Meroë, the sacred monuments of the earliest civilization! Under their shade its fruit once ripened, a fruit indeed only such as this soil could bear, but which in a more congenial climate mellowed into a softer and fairer form. It prospered better transplanted into the more fertile plains of Egypt. Bend we then from these sterile sands, that we may there survey it ameliorated and improved, again sprouting forth from a similar germ.

EGYPTIANS.

PREFACE.

The history of ancient Egypt is in a particular manner connected with its monuments. It is only since these have become better known, and have been more closely examined, that a clearer light has begun to spread over the nation that erected them. A history, however, founded upon monuments, or rather blended with them, must in many respects assume a different character from those compiled from written authorities. Now, although I do not profess to give in the following researches a proper history of Egypt, yet as they are wholly upon historical subjects, and are in the most intimate manner connected with history, a further exposition of the peculiarity of such a history can be no where more in place than here; where indeed it seems required for the information of those whose notions are not very clear upon the subject.

The monuments which here come under consideration are principally monuments of architecture, to which sculptures and inscriptions, though they more or less ornament them, only appear as subordinate. We shall not leave these unexamined; but must first be allowed to consider the monuments themselves, unconnected with any other object, as sources of history.

That they in a certain sense possess this character cannot be denied. A monument bears witness of a fact more clearly and certainly than could be done by the statement of a writer. This fact is, that the people who erected this monument, had attained to a certain degree of civilization, without which they could not have erected it. But this degree of civilization we do not learn from a description; it is set forth in the monument, placed as it were before our eyes. It is true the monument does not display the whole of their civilization; but, if it be of any magnitude, it relates much respecting it, as it exhibits not merely a specimen of mechanical skill, but also of the taste, of the manner of life, of religion, etc. It supplies us with a certain rule by which to judge of the civilization of the nation that erected it.

A single monument may do all this. But where a series of them exists they do much more. We observe in them the progress and decline of art among the people, as well as of everything connected with it; they may therefore, to a certain extent, become authorities for the history of the civilization of a nation. To what extent? This depends upon their difference at different periods, upon their number and nature.

Monuments moreover become in another manner, and in another respect, the authorities for the history of a nation. Every monument, which is important from its magnitude and nature, is usually accompanied by a tradition, a mythus. As soon as it attracts attention, the beholder naturally desires and endeavours to learn its origin, its builder, its destination. And those are never wanting who believe themselves able, from whatever source they may have obtained their accounts, to give information respecting these matters. If the monuments are of a religious kind, temples or sanctuaries, (and these form by far the most numerous class,) there are specially attached to them appointed servants, the priests who preserve and communicate these traditions, which then become interwoven with the history of the nation. Even a part of the earliest Roman history rested upon such a temple-tradition; such as that of

Coriolanus upon the story of the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*. These are preserved in the memory of the vulgar: they may be varied and embellished; but nothing can justify us, without further examination, to consider them as mere fables. He who maintains this, must deny the possibility of a true account respecting the founder of a monument being ever preserved. And who will take this task upon himself? That, however, in making use of them the rules of sound criticism must be kept in view, I need scarcely add.

In the sense thus far given, monuments are to be considered as sources of history only so far as they are mere pieces of architecture. But they become so in a higher degree if they are likewise furnished with works of sculpture,—with representations of remarkable events; and still more so if they contain inscriptions. The works of sculpture are certainly of themselves intelligible, so far as to make known the nature of the subject which they represent,—warlike transactions, objects of worship, sacrifices, processions, etc.; but not the particular circumstances, unless these are clearly pointed out by some special token. This is done by the inscriptions, when they designate the persons, the place, and the time: how far they do this depends upon the paucity or copiousness of their details, and the whole upon their intelligibility.

From the principles here laid down, it is evident that the history of a nation may be so closely connected with its monuments, that these may become the chief source of it. But if we imagine a history resting entirely upon them, it will assume a peculiar character. Together with the monuments will naturally arise a series of traditions referring to them. The monuments speak by themselves, their language is strong, but vague and laconic. Tradition becomes their interpreter; but it goes no further than to the founders of the monuments, and the explanation of them where they contain pictorial representations. The monuments, however, only belong to individual rulers, the events only to single points of time. Even though a series of events or transactions be represented, as is found to be the case upon certain monuments, each recounts its own particular history. It therefore follows, that one of the chief characteristics of a history resting upon monuments, must be its being almost entirely made up of fragments. A tolerably continuous or complete narrative must not be expected here. To this is to be added, that tradition, although pro-

bably more communicative in earlier times, continually concentrates itself more upon the monuments; since in them it finds its chief support, and refers to the same hero or ruler what belongs to many. Hence it happens that we have a history of those rulers only who have left monuments, or are said to have left them.

We have laid it down as the first principal characteristic of a history founded on monuments, that it must, from its nature, be composed of fragments. Let us now add the second; which is, that (unless where the dates are expressly stated upon them) it cannot be strictly chronological. No doubt a certain order of time may be perceived in the progress and decline of art, in the events represented, and even in the greater or less preservation of the monuments; but a history founded upon monuments can at the best only reckon according to centuries—to attempt to bring it within one or even twenty years would be a fruitless undertaking, and only lead to error.

A third characteristic, finally, of a history resting on monuments, is, that it always borders on the marvellous. The monuments themselves, and this in proportion as they are larger and more extraordinary, lend it this character; and who can be ignorant of the inclination of mankind to exaggerate and embellish the facts comprised in the traditions of a nation? This is certainly closely connected with, and partly dependent upon, the poetry of a people; it will, therefore, of course, be less where this is confined to hymns and songs, as was the case, so far as we know, among the Egyptians.

This is the sum of what monuments may fulfil, without any other aid, as sources of history. Of this we have an example in the Mexican and Peruvian monuments; although here the destruction of the ancient priesthood has deprived us of their traditions. But the case is very different where the monuments can be compared with historians, even though these should be of no higher character than mere annalists. Here it is that these monuments appear to the greatest advantage, since they give, as it were, a reality to the narration. In how much clearer a light would the monuments of those American nations appear, and what light would they again have spread over those people, had their annals been preserved!

It was necessary to lay before the reader these remarks previous to the application of them to Egyptian history. This is also a history resting upon monuments; and although certain

writers in this case come to our assistance, it preserves, nevertheless, the peculiar character, that it is chiefly, and in the closest manner, connected with monuments, because even the statements made by historians almost entirely flow from this very source. Those of Herodotus do so altogether, those of Diodorus for the most part; and of the work of Manetho, drawn from the temple archives, only scanty extracts have been preserved. It follows, therefore, of necessity, that the history of ancient Egypt can only be fragmentary: and in this point of view it must be considered and treated. The truth of this remark will become so apparent in these researches, that I consider it would be superfluous to say anything more respecting it.

Moreover, a strictly chronological history cannot, with the means we now possess, be hoped for. Herodotus here gives us no determinate continuous series of dates; Diodorus reckons, indeed, according to generations; but we meet with many indefinite chasms; and in Manetho we have besides to contend with the numerous errors of transcribers in the numbers. And although upon the monuments certain representations have been preserved, bearing some reference to chronology, yet no continued train of dates has been discovered. Our only resource, therefore, is, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, by comparison, some of the principal events; and to arrange the order of others, preceding or following them, in a general way; not by years or by decades, but by centuries. Where there are no corresponding annals of other nations, this is all that is required; and history is not falsified by a variation of a half-century or a century in the date of particular events.

But, although they afford no determinate chronology, those vast monuments, which for centuries have stood forth as the dumb, yet convincing witnesses of the grandeur of the ancient Pharaohs have, as it were, now begun to speak, since the attempts to decipher the inscriptions have not been altogether ineffectual. The nature of this work demands that I should give my opinion upon the success of these attempts; and this is done in my preliminary discourse. The reader will there find the reasons which induce me to give my assent to the method of M. Champollion, and how far I agree with him, without pledging myself to the correctness of each of his interpretations; but at the same time I beseech the reader not

to pass unnoticed the great precaution with which I have made use of his decipherings. I have confined myself to the adoption of some royal titles or names in the second part of the chapter on Thebes, which in themselves are already known from Manetho; but which, as they are now read upon the monuments, give some clew for ascertaining the builders of them. For this purpose I have had recourse to the great work of Champollion, his *Précis*, and not to the scattered information in periodicals. Since this work appeared, the same learned writer has commenced the publication of a *Panthéon Egyptien;* which contains engravings with the descriptions of Egyptian deities. But I have already upon another occasion explained that these researches are foreign to my purpose. The accuracy or inaccuracy of the legend of the names of the Pharaohs, of which alone I have made use, is not connected with this subject. Even the opponents, therefore, of the interpretations of M. Champollion cannot charge me with having built my researches upon a method of interpretation not yet proved. Nothing is built upon it. Some of the results are brought forward merely as confirmations of points already ascertained; but from attempts at deciphering particular words and names I have altogether abstained.

The promised work (*Rudimenta Hieroglyphices*) of a German scholar, Prof. Seiffarth of Leipsic, without which it would be rash to criticise any of his interpretations, has not yet appeared. But from what is stated above it is evident, that neither these nor any similar attempt can have the slightest bearing upon these researches, further than as regards the reading of the names of the Pharaohs. The *Adversaria*, published by the same scholar from the papers of my deceased friend Spohn, relate only to the deciphering of the demotic and hieratic methods of writing; and therefore have no connexion with the subjects upon which I have treated.

No other part of my works has, in the present new edition, (the fourth,) undergone so much alteration as this: nearly one half of it has been re-written. Every effort has been made, so far as my means and skill would allow, to improve it; and abundance of materials have been afforded me by the splendid works and travels which have appeared during the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of the last edition. I hope my readers will therein find the best, and—as by always quoting my authorities I have given them an opportunity

of judging for themselves—the most satisfactory answer to the violent attacks which have been made, and continue to be made, even by men whom one would expect, from their situation, to be interested in the promotion of science.

The appended ground-plan of ancient Thebes, as well as the map of Egypt and Nubia, as far as the second cataract near Wadi Halfa, (the remainder will be found in the map of ancient Africa,) are from the skilful hand of my friend Prof. C. Otfr. Müller. I need scarcely add, that these maps are constructed expressly for this work.

March 12, 1826.

No nation in the world has taken so much pains to transmit its memory to posterity as the Egyptians. In its marvellous and stupendous monuments, whether erected on the earth or excavated from its bowels, it has left behind not merely proofs of its greatness, but has endeavoured, by covering them with sculptured representations of its religion, its public affairs, and even of private life with its numerous occupations, to hand down the remembrance of them to the latest generations. Its endeavours have not been in vain. The attention of the present age has been strongly drawn towards it, and it is now, as it were, resuscitated from the grave, and lives before us. Notwithstanding this, the antiquities of no nation are wrapped in deeper obscurity. Even its emblematical representations are, in a great measure, to us so many problems. A more interesting matter, however, than even this, is the method by which that people expressed and committed their ideas to writing; and before we can venture upon the history and antiquity of the Egyptians, it is necessary we should throw some light upon this obscure subject, and explain what has hitherto been done, towards dispersing the mist in which it has so long been enveloped.

From what is said by ancient writers, and from the monuments themselves, no doubt can remain but that there was more than one kind of writing in use among the Egyptians. Herodotus distinguishes between the sacred writing and the popular.[1]

[1] Herod. ii. 36. Between *γράμματα ἱερᾶ* and *δημότικα*. An attempt was made, some time ago, by Zoega, to prove that the first included hieroglyphics, but not the hieratic writing: *De Obeliscis*, p. 428.

It would be sufficiently clear, that, by the first, the hieroglyphic or picture-writing must be understood; even if it were not established by that celebrated relic of antiquity the Rosetta stone, which exhibits both methods of writing. It must also be sufficiently evident that, if both kinds of writing were already in common use, in the time of Herodotus they must both have belonged to an age much anterior; and that, therefore, the popular writing was even then a writing dating up to the period of the Pharaohs. Hieroglyphic writing is of the greatest importance in an inquiry into Egyptian antiquities, because, in the time of the Pharaohs, it was certainly used in preference, and, as far as we know, exclusively for public monuments; not a single trace having yet been discovered of any other sort of writing, upon any monument belonging to that period.

Now, as the most interesting part of Egyptian history is closely connected with its public monuments, it becomes the more important, that we should be well informed respecting the writing found upon them; that we should clearly comprehend its nature, and the relation it bears to other kinds of writing. From the time of Kircher, Jablonsky, and others, there certainly has been no lack of attempts to decipher hieroglyphic writing. How little has been done by them is sufficiently shown by the confession of one, who devoted no small portion of his life to its study, the fruits of which are honourably preserved in more than one work, and particularly in his celebrated treatise on obelisks.[1] Yet he frankly and undisguisedly confesses, that in the interpretation of hieroglyphics, very little progress has been made. However different the means pursued, by which those men endeavoured to obtain this object, they all ended in one common supposition; namely, that hieroglyphical writing is merely an allegorical picture-writing, whose characters, not representing sounds, but merely ideas, are altogether of a different nature from our alphabetical letters. Could, however, a writing of this kind be imagined—which at best could only be very limited and incomplete—a key would be required for understanding it, which, if once lost, we cannot see where and how it could be recovered; for the little resemblance between the allegoric signs and the objects would by no means be sufficient. I do not, therefore, seem to have been wrong in the early opinion I gave, that if this be

[1] Zoega, *De Obeliscis*, p. 464.

admitted, though perhaps some hieroglyphics might, yet no general hieroglyphical writing could ever be deciphered.[1]

Does it, however, follow that the figures, composing hieroglyphics, are only and exclusively signs of ideas? May they not also, at least in part, as well represent sounds, and consequently letters? This cannot be contradicted; for there is no reason why a figure, say a hand, or a beast, may not represent a sound quite as well as a simple or complex line. It is solely upon the solving of this question, that the present study of hieroglyphics hinges. Should the conjecture be realized, should further researches lead to the discovery of an alphabet, we shall be able *to read;* and if we may venture to assume, that the language in which the hieroglyphics are composed is not entirely lost—that the ancient Egyptian language is, at least to a certain degree, preserved in the Coptic—we shall be enabled *to translate*, and consequently, *to understand.*

Although by these investigations the object of the inquiry may be rendered clear, yet we are naturally led to ask, in what way it first came to be conjectured, and then to be believed, that hieroglyphics are not merely allegorical picture-writings, but contain as well alphabetical characters? To those who would adopt the first system a difficulty opposes itself at the first step, which cannot be surmounted. The application of the hieroglyphic writing to monumental inscriptions would be impossible without the frequent occurrence of proper names, whether of deities, kings, or private persons. Now, what method is there by which proper names can be expressed by allegorical writing, when they happen to be void of signification? Such names as Lion, Wolf, and the like, may be represented by pictures, but how can those of Henry, Lewis, and such like?[2] But supposing, nevertheless, that names are to be sought for upon monuments, where are they to be looked for? How could it be demonstrated that exactly this or that group of hieroglyphic figures contains proper names?

Nothing but a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances could have led to a step beyond this. The famous Rosetta stone, now in the British Museum, contains a *trilinguar* (or

[1] *Ideen*, ii. p. 477, the earlier (*German*) editions.

[2] The *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 119, says, "Heeren, as far as we know, was the first who observed the impossibility of representing proper names by symbolic figures. Here, as elsewhere, necessity was probably the mother of invention. Signs may represent genera, and classes, and orders, but can scarcely discriminate individuals. The symbols of royalty, added to the sign of the man, designate the king. The victorious, or the wise, or the religious king may be distinguished from the weak or tyrannical; but what adjunct will show that we mean king George or king William, rather than king Henry or king Edward?"]

rather *bilinguar*) inscription in hieroglyphics, in the popular writing of the Egyptians, and in Greek. In this many proper names are found in the Greek character, of which, unfortunately, from the mutilated state of the stone, only one, that of Ptolemy, remains in hieroglyphics. Had the other names been preserved, a comparison of the signs of which they were composed would at once have led to a certain conclusion. Happily the basis of an obelisk was discovered at Philæ, containing likewise an inscription in hieroglyphics and some Greek writing, probably the translation of, or something relating to, what precedes it. This important relic was purchased by the late Sir Joseph Banks, and sent to England by the unfortunate Belzoni. Besides the name of Ptolemaus, expressed in the same signs as it is upon the Rosetta stone, there is upon this the name of Cleopatra.[1] These two names contain six letters in common; and by comparison it is found that the consonants PTL and the vowels AEO are represented in both by the same pictures. Hence these are concluded to have been signs of sound, and consequently letters; the signification of the remaining characters of the two names, after this, becomes easy; and a part of the hieroglyphic alphabet is of course deciphered. These signs are called *phonetic*.

But another very remarkable circumstance remains to be noticed. The two names we have just mentioned were, upon both the monuments, separated from the rest of the inscription by being enclosed in an oval border, or, as Champollion calls it, a *cartouche*. It is, therefore, evident, that the names of kings and queens were usually distinguished in this manner. Oval enclosures of a similar kind frequently occur upon Egyptian monuments. It certainly was not made out that they always contained royal names, and no others; yet it must be allowed, that it seemed to afford strong grounds for the opinion, that such at least was often the case. The next step, therefore, was to apply the alphabetical key, thus far discovered, to these cartouches; and a succession of names, borne by rulers of various periods, by Cæsars, Ptolemies, Persians, and even by Pharaohs, were speedily deciphered. Each of these cartouches was usually accompanied by a second, in which was soon discovered the title and surname of the kings, as they were adopted after known deities. This led to the conclusion, not only that this kind of writing must have remained in use, unchanged,

[1] See upon this subject the works of Champollion, hereafter quoted.

throughout the different periods of the Egyptian empire, but also, that some of those monuments which had heretofore been attributed solely to the Pharaohs, did not belong to them, but to the Ptolemies and Cæsars. It likewise established the most magnificent and ancient of the works to be due to the Pharaohs, whose names were legible upon them. A light has thus been thrown upon the history of those distant ages, and many parts of it verified in such a way as could hardly have been expected; the opinions of those who had ejected the Pharaohs from the page of history, and merely considered them as fabulous or symbolical beings, fell therefore at once to the ground; their monuments, with their names sculptured thereon, stand ready to confute them!

Every lover of Egyptian antiquities must be aware, that the first steps which led to this important and interesting discovery were made by the learned Dr. Young of Cambridge, who first seized the idea of *phonetic* hieroglyphics, and applied it to the names of Ptolemy and Berenice.[1] It is, however, to the exertions of a learned Frenchman, Champollion, that we are mainly indebted for its further progress, and for the results

[1] What share in the merit of the discovery must be ascribed to Dr. Young, as compared with his own, M. Champollion has attempted to show at the beginning of his work. To that and to the treatise of Dr. Young I must refer my readers, as the rising dispute upon this head has nothing to do with these researches.

[The translator cannot let pass this opportunity of stating, that, as far as he can judge, after a fair examination of the subject, there does not seem the slightest evidence to set aside Dr. Young's claim to the entire discovery of the phonetic system of hieroglyphics. "The method adopted by him for deciphering the enchorial and hieroglyphic texts of the Rosetta inscription is a masterpiece of ingenious contrivance; and he has the honour of having been the *first to demonstrate*, that in the latter as well as in the former, *certain characters*, whatever may have been their original import, *were employed to represent sounds*." This opinion of the Edinburgh reviewer, which is merely just to the fame of Dr. Young, has been echoed by the learned of nearly all Europe. M. Klaproth, one of the first scholars in Europe, says, "Le docteur Young, Anglais, est sans contredit le premier auteur de cette découverte. Le célèbre Zoéga avait déjà soupçonné qu'une partie des signes hiéroglyphiques pouvoit être employée alphabétiquement, mais l'honneur d'avoir démontré ce fait appartient au docteur Young . . . . . Disputer à ce savant la priorité de cette découverte serait aussi absurde que de vouloir soutenir, que celui qui le premier mêla du saltpêtre avec du souffre et du charbon n'a pas été l'inventeur du poudre, mais bien celui qui s'est servi pour la première fois de ce mélange comme moteur pour les projectiles." Klaproth, *Préfaces Collection des Monumens Égyptiens de M. Palin.*

That the fame of the first discovery indisputably belongs to Dr. Young, is fully made out in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 114, etc.; *Edinb. Review*, vol. xlv. p. 120, etc.; and *Encyclop. Metrop.* article *Hieroglyphics*, etc. The following circumstances seem to set this matter at rest. In the first place, there is the direct testimony of Dr. Young himself as to his claim, both in regard to *priority of publication* and *originality of discovery*, which M. Champollion has not yet answered. See *Edinb. Review*, l. c., where this is clearly shown. In the second place, there is the following proof equally unanswered. In the year 1821, after the discovery of Dr. Young had been made known, Champollion published, at Grenoble, a volume, *De l'Écriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens*, in which he distinctly states his conviction, that *the hieroglyphics are not phonetic*, "que les signes hiéroglyphiques sont *des signes de choses, et non des signes de sons.*" This volume has been withdrawn from circulation on the pretext that the author was actuated by "le crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses." M. Klaproth asserts, that there is positively nothing in the volume which could produce that impression; and that the real motive for its suppression was the unfortunate avowal which decides at once the controversy.]

to which it has led.[1] M. Champollion was well prepared for this, as he had ardently pursued the study of the Coptic language and literature almost from his infancy; one of his early works was the Restoration of the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs, with its ancient names, compiled from MSS. in the royal library at Paris,[2] a work which must have increased his knowledge of the Coptic language, and laid a foundation for new researches.

An important question here naturally occurs: *Are these phonetic pictures, or hieroglyphics, chosen arbitrarily, or are they subject to some general law?* In the first case, it could scarcely be hoped to apply them further than to the deciphering of names; the discovery of a general law led to the idea of a more general application. A knowledge, however, of the language would necessarily be the first step; as in this must be sought the origin of their signification; and it is only by the help of the Coptic that this can be attained. By this it was soon perceived, that it might be regarded as a confirmed conventional rule: *that signs, used as letters, representing certain sounds, are always the image of an external object, the name of which, in the old Egyptian language, begins with the letter which it represents.* Thus, for example, if we wished in our language to introduce a writing of this kind, a hand might represent the sound *h*, a dog the sound *d*, a staff the sound *s*, etc.

This rule, therefore, certainly furnishes us with a key for the further deciphering the hieroglyphic alphabet, to whatever extent we may be able to unlock it. As the explications of M. Champollion, however, may be known but to few readers, I judge it necessary, before proceeding any further, accurately to unfold them. I shall do this in a series of single propositions, as nearly as I can in the words of the author.[3]

"The writing of the Egyptians consists of three distinct kinds; the *hieroglyphic*, or sacred writing; the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests; and the *demotic*, in common use."

"A. 1. The hieroglyphic writing consists in the simultaneous use of three very distinct species of signs:—(*a*) of *pic-*

[1] Champollion the younger (his elder brother is *M. Champollion Figeac*, likewise celebrated for his researches into Egyptian antiquity) first gave, in September, 1822, a preliminary account of this system to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, in a letter addressed to the secretary, *M. Dacier; Lettre à Mons. Dacier, relatif à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonetiques*, Paris, 1822. This was soon followed by his greater work, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1824; second and improved edition, Paris, 1829, 2 vols. 8vo, and a volume of plates, which forms the basis of the following inquiry.

[2] *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, tom. i. ii.; Paris, 1814, with a map.

[3] [I have compared this with the last edition of the *Précis* of Champollion, and made such alterations as I deemed necessary. *Trans.*]

ture signs, or representations of the objects themselves, which they serve to represent: (*b*) of *symbolical*, *typical*, or *enigmatical signs*, representing ideas by physical objects, always bearing some analogy to the idea represented: (*c*) *phonetic characters*, representing sounds by pictures of physical objects."

"A. 2. The *picture* and *symbolical* signs, are employed in all the texts in a much less proportion than the *phonetic* characters."

"A. 3. The phonetic characters are real alphabetical signs, *letters*, which express the sounds of the Egyptian words."

"A. 4. Every phonetic hieroglyphic is the picture of a physical object, the name of which object begins, in the Egyptian language, with the vowel or consonant (*voix* ou *articulation*) which the sign itself is intended to represent."

"A. 5. The phonetic characters combine to form words in the same manner as any other alphabet, but they are often placed one over the other, and in various directions, according to the disposition of the text, either in perpendicular columns or horizontal lines."

"A. 6. The intermediate vowels of words written in hieroglyphics are often left out, as in the Hebrew, Phœnician, and modern Arabic."

"A. 7. Every vowel and consonant may, according to the principle laid down in A. 4, be represented by several different phonetic signs, all, however, representing exactly the same sound."[1]

"A. 8. The use of one phonetic character rather than another, representing the same sound, was often regulated by the material form of the character made use of, or by the nature of the idea expressed by the word to be written in phonetic characters."

"A. 9. The various hieroglyphic phonetic vowel signs had no more settled sound than the Hebrew aleph (א), the yōdh (י), and the vāv (ו), or the elif (ا) and the waw (و) of the Arabians."

"A. 10. Abbreviations of phonetic groups are often met with in the hieroglyphic text."

"A. 11. Phonetic characters, the necessary and inseparable elements of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, exist in the most ancient Egyptian texts, as well as in the more recent."

"A. 12. I have already determined the sound (*fixé la*

[1] [This is questioned by Heeren hereafter. *Trans.*]

valeur) of above a hundred hieroglyphic phonetic characters, among which are those that most frequently occur in the texts of all ages."

"A. 13. All hieroglyphic inscriptions found upon Egyptian monuments belong to one single and same kind of writing, composed, as we have said, (A. 1. *a*, *b*, *c*,) of three kinds of signs simultaneously employed."

"A. 14. It is proved, by a series of public monuments, that the sacred writing, combining the *picture*, *symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs, was in use, without interruption, from the nineteenth century before our era to the entire conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, under the dominion of the Romans, when the different Egyptian kinds of writing were displaced by the Coptic, that is to say, by the Greek alphabet increased by a certain number of consonants, taken from the old demotic writing of the Egyptians."

"A. 15. The same ideas are sometimes represented in the same hieroglyphic text, at one time by *picture* signs, at another by *symbolic*, and finally by a group of *phonetic* characters, expressing a word significant of the same idea in the language spoken."

"A. 16. Other ideas are represented, either by a *group* formed of a *picture* and a *symbolic* sign, or by uniting a *picture* or *symbolic* sign with *phonetic* characters."

"A. 17. Certain Egyptian bas-reliefs, or compositions formed of figures of physical beings, and particularly of representations of monsters, grouped and connected, do not belong to the proper hieroglyphic writing. These are purely allegorical or symbolical scenes, to which the ancients gave the name of *anaglyphs*."

"A. 18. A number of figures are, however, common to the proper hieroglyphic writing, and to this system of painting, or, if it must be so called, of writing, which produced *anaglyphs*."

"A. 19. These anaglyphs seem to be pages of that secret writing, which the ancient Greek and Latin writers tell us was known only to the priests, and to those whom they initiated in their mysteries. The hieroglyphic writing, on the contrary, was never secret, but known to all the inhabitants of Egypt at all educated."

"A. 20. Two new systems of writing sprung in time from the hieroglyphic writing, the *hieratic* and *demotic*; these were

invented to facilitate the art of writing, and bring it more into common use."

"B. 21. The *hieratic* or *sacerdotal* writing, was merely a kind of short-hand way of writing the *sacred*, from which it was immediately derived. In this second system the form of the signs is considerably abridged."

"B. 22. It consists, properly, of *pictural*, *symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs; but the first two are often replaced either by groups of phonetic characters, or by *arbitrary* characters, which no longer preserve the form of their correspondent sign in the hieroglyphic system."

"B. 23. All the *hieratic* manuscripts extant, and we possess some belonging to the epoch of the Pharaohs, of the Greeks, and of the Romans, belong to one single system, however different the shape of the characters may appear at the first inspection."

"B. 24. The use of the *hieratic* writing appears to have been restricted to the transcription of texts relating to sacred or scientific matters, and to a few, but always religious, inscriptions."

"C. 25. The *demotic*, *epistolary*, or *enchorial* writing, is a system quite distinct from the *hieroglyphic* and the *hieratic*, from which it is immediately derived."

"C. 26. The characters used in *demotic* writing are merely simple characters borrowed from the *hieratic* writing."

"C. 27. It excludes almost all pictured signs."

"C. 28. It admits, nevertheless, a certain number of symbolical signs, but only to express some ideas essentially connected with the religious system."

"C. 29. The greater part of every demotic text consists of phonetic characters, or *signs of sounds*."

"C. 30. The number of characters used in demotic writing are much fewer than in either of the other systems."

"C. 31. In demotic writing the intermedial vowels are often suppressed both in Egyptian and foreign words."

"C. 32. The demotic, like the writings from which it is derived, may express every consonant or vowel by several signs, very different in form but entirely alike in sound. Nevertheless the number of these demotic same-sounding characters is not nearly so great as in the sacred and sacerdotal writing."

"C. 33. The demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic writing

have been simultaneously in use during a long series of ages in every part of Egypt."

These propositions, according to the discoveries of M. Champollion, form the basis upon which the Egyptian system of writing rests. The latter assertions, however, upon the derivation of the hieratic and demotic writing from the hieroglyphic, may be dismissed as not bearing upon the present subject. It may easily be perceived that this can only be decided by comparing and by giving specimens of the characters used in the different methods of writing. This has been done in the work to which I have above referred; and so far as I can judge from that, the author's opinion is fairly established. This, however, was not an original idea of his own; but it had, as he admits, been previously acted upon by a native of Germany, the learned Aulic Counsellor Tychsen.[1] It certainly seems the natural way in which the common writing would proceed from hieroglyphics, as soon as the latter contained phonetic signs; some such operation would indeed seem demanded by necessity, as writing ceased to consist of mere sculpture and came into common use. The fact, however, becomes clearly established thereby, that hieroglyphics could not be merely a secret writing of the priesthood, at least not in its whole extent; for the way to its comprehension must have been open in the demotic characters. This, however, might be, and no doubt was, subject to many limitations. But let this be as it may, the hieroglyphic writing is the only one for our consideration in the present inquiry; the key to which is the key to Egyptian antiquities.

In order to form a proper judgment upon this attempt to decipher hieroglyphic writing, the following questions seem to require consideration: How far does this method of writing correspond with the advances which man in general is enabled to make in the art of writing? Secondly, how far does it agree with the information which has been given us by the ancients, upon the Egyptian methods of writing? Thirdly, how far do the results already obtained by deciphering agree with history? —that is, in a general way, with what in the nature of things might reasonably be expected, and with what is known of ancient Egypt from monuments and writers still extant?

It will at the first glance be seen that this method of writing

[1] *Précis*, p. 20. Namely, in the *Bibl. der altern Litteratur und Kunst*, St. vi., in the treatise upon the alphabetical writing of the ancient Egyptians.

possesses peculiarities which essentially distinguish it from the merely alphabetical; namely, the mixture of symbolical with alphabetical signs. The course therefore which the nation took in the improvement of their system of writing was consequently somewhat peculiar; it is not, however, in our power to trace this course by historic documents; for, as upon even the most ancient monuments which remain, this writing seems completely formed, we can only raise such conjectures respecting it as the nature of things suggests. One of the first of these is, that the formation of this writing must certainly have taken place *gradually*. Its natural course could be no other: its first step was the mere representation of objects; and this explains how physical objects came to be adopted as signs in this writing. It must soon have been perceived that every object could not be represented by its proper resemblance, and this naturally led to the second mode of writing; people began to employ these signs from certain similarities, real or merely fanciful, in an allegorical sense; and in this way symbolical writing had its origin. But the most important step still remains, the representation of individual sounds by pictures,—that is, the adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics. The way in which this was attained, is a problem which can only be solved by conjectures. These phonetic signs, though, as being representations of natural objects, they belong to the same class with those which represent ideas, are yet, in their nature, inasmuch as they are signs of sounds, essentially different, and could not proceed from them. Zoëga, an early, profound, and skilful inquirer into the antiquities of Egypt, and who thought to find there the origin of letters, believed, indeed, he had discovered such a change to have taken place in a species of hieroglyphics, to which he at this time gave the name of phonetic; these were such as were not taken for the *likeness* of the object, but the *sound* of the word;[1] as, for example, if we should signify our word *hearty* by a *heart* and an *eye*. It must however be seen in a moment that these phonetic hieroglyphics are entirely different from those now under consideration, as they denote the sound of the whole word, and not the component sounds, as letters do. It therefore still remained unsettled how this step was got over. The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the want, which must naturally have been felt, of some means of expressing proper names, when

[1] Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 454.

these did not happen to have some signification, and which could in no other way be supplied, must have led to it. And if we take into consideration that the hieroglyphics were principally used for monumental inscriptions, in which the names of kings formed an essential part, it will add great weight to this conjecture. This want, especially if it led to phonetic signs in Zoëga's sense, might very well go on till the sound of the whole should be dissolved into its component sounds, and these with the same or like signs be denoted, as those which had already been in use in the picture-writing. This is all that can now be said upon the matter. The particular pains taken to point out the royal names, by enclosing them in a *cartouche*, or border, goes a great way towards proving, that the signs so enclosed were not symbolic, but rather of the phonetic kind, and to be read as letters.

The adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics, or making them represent sounds, would certainly overcome, in a great degree, the inconveniences which must render a writing composed of merely pictures or symbolic signs almost useless. For though by these a series of separate ideas might be represented, yet it is difficult to conceive how the connexion of these ideas, such as the modification of nouns and verbs by declension and conjugation, could be expressed. It seems impossible to write *connectedly* with such signs. And it therefore seems a very natural conjecture, that hieroglyphic writing was never much more than a formal writing for public monuments, on which, besides names and titles, short historical or religious sentences might be expressed.[1] The adoption of hieroglyphics of sound clearly indicates how, by them, the lesser parts of speech might be represented; and eventually even the variations of nouns. In fact, Champollion shows us, that the gender sometimes is denoted by means of articles,[2] and the case by means of *suffixes*. But how the verb, through all its moods, tenses, and numbers, is to be represented, it is indeed almost impossible to imagine, even if we were able to translate the greater number of the signs; and even up to the present time M. Champollion has only succeeded in discovering a representation of the three principal tenses, and the third person. The proposition therefore still may hold good, even after the adoption of hieroglyphics of sound, that this writing was mostly

[1] *Ideen*, ii. p. 476, former edition.
[2] [First discovered by Dr. Young: see *Edin. Rev.* No. lxxxix. p. 123.]

destined for set forms. All that is yet deciphered is strictly limited to such; and it must be still further explained, before we can judge of how much or how little was or could be written in it.

It seems therefore to lie in the nature of the Egyptian system of writing, that it must always have remained very imperfect. It never ripened to a complete alphabetical system. Human genius evidently made great efforts to reach so far; it attained not, however, its object, but seemed to have stopped half way. Why such was the case we can only conjecture; but the reason generally given is the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the priest caste, and the immutability of any system they had once adopted. As the matter now stands, two great obstacles come in the way, and render the reading very difficult.

The first is, that the same images were sometimes used as pictorial, sometimes as alphabetical signs, without there being any certain means of determining to which they belong: this, to be sure, in the deciphering of names, has hitherto occasioned but little embarrassment, as they are composed almost entirely, or altogether, of phonetic hieroglyphics. But whether, hereafter, in reading the larger hieroglyphic texts, greater difficulties will not occur, time and experience alone can show.

But another and a still greater impediment seems to lie in the manner of representing these phonetic hieroglyphics. This consists, as above, (A. 4,) in taking always for the sign of the sound which it is wished to represent, the image of some word, which in the common language of the people begins with the same sound. Thus, for example, if we wished in the English language to write London, we might take the picture of a lion to represent the sound of *l*, an oak for *o*, a net for *n*, a dog for *d*, and a nail for *n*, the initial sounds of which would spell the name of the British capital. The Egyptians, however, did not confine themselves to one sign for each sound, but made use of many; all that was necessary was, that the sign should be the image of some object, whose name, in the language spoken, should begin with the sound wished to be expressed; as for example the sound of *b* might be represented by a bird, a book, etc., *m* by a mouth, a man, etc., *p* by a pen, a pail, etc. The number of phonetic hieroglyphics therefore must have been very considerable; and certainly, according to my view, were increased without sufficient reason. This could not but embarrass the reader, and especially if we con-

sider that the signification or value of an image might easily become uncertain, when several words, not beginning with the same sound, might be applied to the same object; thus, for example, in our language, the image of a horse might be taken for an *h* or an *s*, just as one might happen to think of steed or horse. As the Egyptians spoke the language, they certainly would much more readily master this difficulty than the moderns, who have but a very imperfect knowledge of it; to read it, nevertheless, must still have been embarrassing even to them. One thing, however, may easily be supposed, and, indeed, seems highly probable, I mean, that the number of pictures thus made use of as letters were gradually diminished by custom, and that they could not be arbitrarily increased. The amount of these phonetic hieroglyphics, according to M. Champollion's discoveries, thus far, does not much exceed a hundred. Where everything was so firmly and unchangeably settled as among the Egyptians, the art of writing could scarcely form an exception.

The suppression of the vowels, whenever they were not the initial sound of the words from which the image was taken, cannot be surprising; it is the case in other Oriental languages, although, from custom, it may render the reading more difficult to us. It arises from the unsettled state of the sounds of the vowel-signs in use, the clearer and deeper of which are not so distinctly marked as in the European languages.

But admitting, after all that has been said, that writing was very imperfect, yet that will not warrant us to consider it as useless; and we shall be still less justified in rejecting the whole system, because we meet with a few difficulties, or even apparent contradictions. We do not yet know the whole alphabet of the nation. We shall perhaps find by and by that many signs, which M. Champollion in his alphabet has given to the same sound, may be found to represent different ones. What, indeed, do we know of their gutturals, their breathings, and their dentals? From our knowledge of the Coptic, it seems highly probable that the Egyptians had many sounds in their language which we have not in ours. Was it not found necessary, on the first application of the Greek alphabet to the Coptic, to add to it eight new characters? We scarcely know our letters, and can we expect already to read? It would be most unreasonable to demand so much, even from the discoverer himself. Here is a writing hitherto unknown (and such

a writing!); a language with which we are but very imperfectly acquainted. Of the orthography of the Egyptians we know still less; and in which many mistakes must have been made, notwithstanding the greatest care in the copyists;—how then can we hope not to meet here and there with a contradiction; how can it be expected that every letter should agree? This indeed would be the very thing to excite suspicion.

But another consequence incontestably results from this; and that is, that the Egyptians themselves were the inventors of this art, which in their *mythus* of Thot, or Hermes, they ascribe to him. A system of writing connected, in this peculiar manner, with the proper language of a nation could only be invented by the people who spoke it. This leads immediately to a second remark: this system of writing could not reach farther than the language was spoken; it neither was nor could be adopted by any foreign nation.

The second question to be examined, and a favourable answer to which is necessary to establish the theory of M. Champollion, is, does it, or not, agree with the information the ancients have left us on the Egyptian system of writing? Should it be confirmed by what they say, a great weight is at once thrown into the scale in its favour.

The Greek writers have said but little, that has descended to us, on the Egyptian method of writing, with which they certainly were but very imperfectly acquainted. The little that Herodotus, Plato, and a few others say upon it, gives us no information whatever.[1] Clemens Alexandrinus, a Christian Father, is the only writer, and he quite incidentally, who has explained himself somewhat more copiously. All who consider the matter, agree that his account is not only the most important, but that there is no other in which are precisely enumerated the different kinds of writing in use among the Egyptians. This, therefore, next deserves our attention. I shall only premise, that what this Father says, carries with it an additional authority from his having himself lived in Egypt, where it would be easy for him to obtain a clear knowledge of that which, to those at a distance, would still seem very obscure.

"Those who are educated among the Egyptians," says

[1] Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 426, has collected all these passages together. They all speak of only two kinds of writing, that of the priesthood, and that in common use. Only one besides Clement mentions three; Porphyr. *De Vita Pythag.* 11, 12, but without properly distinguishing them. See Zoëga, l. c.

he,[1] "learn first of all the method of Egyptian writing, called EPISTOLOGRAPHIC; secondly, the HIERATIC, which is employed by the sacred scribes; and finally, to complete all, the HIEROGLYPHIC, which is partly *kyriologic*,[2] by means of the first elements; partly *symbolic*. The symbolic expresses them either by imitation; represents them by tropes; or by certain enigmatic allegories. Thus, for example, if they wished to indicate the sun and moon, by the representing method, (by imitation,) they draw a circle for the former, and a *luniform* figure, or crescent, for the latter; but in the tropical method they represent objects by certain similarities, (or analogies,) which they alter, exchange, or completely transform. Thus, when they transmit the praises of their kings in their religious mythi, they describe them by means of anaglyphs (that is, by transpositions, or transformations of the hieroglyphs). Of the third sort, by enigmas, let this serve as an example: the oblique course of the other stars they represent by a serpent; but that of the sun by a beetle."

From this passage it is evident that St. Clement was acquainted with three different methods of writing, the *epistolographic*, or demotic, which was the one in general use for common affairs; the *hieratic*, employed by the sacred scribes, and which probably on that account came to be used in all their writings by the priests; and the *hieroglyphic*. I need not speak of the two first, as no doubt exists respecting them. But, with regard to hieroglyphics, he again subdivides them into the *kyriologic*, composed of first elements, and the *tropical;* which latter again is partly representative, partly symbolic, partly enigmatic. That the first was that which is usually termed hieroglyphic, or allegorical picture-writing, no one can well doubt, of which the enigmatic is only a higher description. The main question that remains for our consideration, is, what did Clement *understand by hieroglyphic writing by means of the first elements?*

The Greek expression is, διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, which is literally translated *per prima elementa*. The early commentators, who by hieroglyphics only thought of symbolic signs, found this passage embarrassing, as the second sort is expressly distinguished from the others by being symbolic. We may, for this reason, conclude with certainty, that the former, which

[1] Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, vol. iv. p. 555, *Sylb.* I only give a translation. The passage, with a commentary, will be found in Appendix I.

[2] [Or expressive of objects in a proper, not figurative or metaphorical manner.]

was composed of first elements, differed from this, or was not of a symbolical kind. Now the Greek word στοιχεία, as well as the Latin, does also signify *letters (elementa litterarum)*. Why should we not therefore at once conclude, that it should be so understood here, which would at once prove the existence of phonetic hieroglyphs, or hieroglyphic signs of sound?

The expression is thus understood by the learned Frenchman. But what does the adjective mean: by the *first* letters? Upon this point M. Champollion, wishing to have the opinion of a Greek scholar, applied to M. Letronne, who in a very learned manner explained it to mean the *earliest letters*, namely, the sixteen which Cadmus carried into Greece.[1] I cannot, however, see what end so far-fetched an explanation could answer; and much wonder, that two learned men should overlook what seems so obvious, and by which the method of explaining phonetic hieroglyphs is likewise so manifestly confirmed. Why should we not translate the expression *by the first letters:* BY THE INITIAL LETTERS?[2] Every one knows that the Greek word πρῶτα denotes as well the first in order of *place* as in order of *time;* just as it does in the inscription on the obelisk explained by Hermapion, where πρῶτος στίχος is translated the first row, or initial lines; and in a passage of Plutarch, easy to be turned to, πρῶτον τῶν γραμμάτων, the first letter. No grammatical difficulty, therefore, stands in the way; and the expression, otherwise so obscure, by this means becomes perfectly clear. According to this explanation, then, hieroglyphic writing consists of three sorts of characters: the first is composed of initial letters, that is, *phonetic hieroglyphs*, which are always taken from the initial sounds of the word, which the picture in the common language denotes; in scientific language, *kyriologic*. The second, the symbolic. This again represents either the object itself, by its picture, (κατὰ μίμησιν, *imitation* or *copy*,) or in a symbolic picture; it is therefore called the *tropical*, where a certain relation between the object and the picture is always found; or, finally, the *enigmatical*, where such a relation does not exist at all, or is no longer evident; and which, therefore, as it is the most difficult to comprehend, is very justly named.

[1] See his Letters at the end of the *Précis*, p. 405.

[2] I did not see till after I had written this, that it is shown in the reprint of the *Précis*, by the learned proofs brought forward, though only cursorily, that the same opinion has been there adopted. I thought it necessary to mention this, lest my explanation should be considered as taken from that.

Now if this interpretation of the first method of writing, *per prima elementa*, by INITIAL LETTERS, is just, then it follows that the manner of deciphering the phonetic hieroglyphs becomes confirmed by the testimony of a writer; and certainly of *the* writer who was the most intimately acquainted with it, and who has spoken the most accurately upon the subject.

I do not see what objection can be made to this interpretation of St. Clement, except, perhaps, that he has spoken somewhat too briefly and obscurely to warrant it. This we will willingly grant to be true in reference to us. But, first, he only touches upon this subject on its coming incidentally in his way; he by no means intended to give a commentary upon the Egyptian method of writing. Secondly, from the manner in which he speaks of it, we must conclude, that it was at that time a thing still well known in Alexandria, as the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was open, at least to every educated individual. And, lastly, the apparently obscure expressions, the kyriologic, the tropical, the enigmatical methods of writing, are not to be taken as terms invented by Clement himself; they are evidently the common scientific expressions, or technical terms, which were made use of in the Greek language, to denote these particular methods of writing; and which, in the eyes of the Father of the church, seemed to require no prolix commentary.

To these general proofs may be added one of a more direct nature, which, though it has escaped M. Champollion, appears to me to carry great weight, since it not only affords us the example of a particular phonetic hieroglyphic, but also evidently proves the accuracy of the interpretation itself, by the testimony of a writer of very great authority. Plutarch, in his Symposion, where speaking of the arrangement or succession of letters in the alphabet, makes Hermias say:[1] *Hermes is said in Egypt to have first invented letters. The Egyptians therefore consecrate to the ibis, as belonging to him, the first place in the alphabet.* That alphabetical letters are here spoken of, the context places beyond contradiction, as it speaks expressly of the arrangement and order of letters in the alphabet. Two propositions evidently follow from this; first, a hieroglyphic, the ibis, denotes a letter; secondly, this letter was the

[1] Ἑρμῆς λέγεται Θεῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γράμματα πρῶτος εὑρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων Αἰγύπτιοι πρῶτον Ἶβιν γράφουσιν, ὡς Ἑρμεῖ προσῆκουσαν. Hermes primus Deorum in Ægypto dicitur invenisse litteras. Itaque Ibin Ægyptii signum faciunt primæ litteræ, utpote Hermeti consecratam. *Op.* ii. p. 738.

first in the alphabet, consequently the A; for that is the object just before spoken of. Now, independent of this passage, Champollion, by *his* method, had arrived at the same result; that *l'épervier, l'ibis, et trois autres espèces d'oiseau s'emploient constamment pour A*, is what he states in his letter to M. Dacier; and he gives representations of them in a plate.[1] If, then, the existence of one phonetic hieroglyphic, with its signification, is proved by the testimony of Plutarch, can there be any doubt left respecting the existence of others,—respecting the existence of a hieroglyphic alphabet? If the Egyptians called one of their letters the first, does it not stand to reason that they must have had a second, a third, etc.

The third question now demands our attention: how much has yet been deciphered by this method, and how does what has been done agree with history? Before this question can be properly answered, it is necessary to make some inquiries respecting the language in which the Egyptian writings are composed. It is certainly conceivable, that when the signs representing sound are discovered, a writing, by the rules of artificial deciphering, may be *read*, without even a knowledge of the language; but it is impossible to conceive that it could without this be understood, where the writing is altogether, or even the greater part, composed of alphabetical letters.[2]

It is generally agreed, that the Egyptian inscriptions are composed in the language of the country—the ancient Egyptian. But what do we know of this language? Those who have most studied the subject are of opinion, that the key to it must be sought for in the Coptic. The next question that arises then, is, in what relation does this language (the Coptic) stand to the ancient Egyptian?[3] A question which has the greater claim to our attention, as it has lately been asserted, that the Coptic can give us no help in this matter.

The Coptic is no longer a living language, although the Copts still continue to form a distinct class of inhabitants in Egypt. Their former language (for they now speak Arabic

[1] *Lettre*, p. 38, plate iv.

[2] It is altogether different with Chinese writing, whose signs do not represent sounds but ideas, which every one, without even knowing the Chinese words, may read and understand in his language, as soon as he knows the signification of the signs.

[3] We already possess a full answer to this question in Etienne Quatremère, *Recherches critiques et historiques sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1808, in which the identity of the Coptic with the ancient Egyptian, in the sense explained in the text, is clearly proved. A still more important authority is given to it, in *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Recherches, etc., par* Silvestre de Sacy, 1808. The work of Quatremère carries the proofs principally through the various periods, by a number of testimonies from contemporary writers; it also gives a history of the study of the Coptic in Europe.

like the rest of the Egyptians) is only to be found in writings. We still know of three different dialects in which these are composed; the Saidic or Thebaic, which prevailed in Upper Egypt; the Bahiric or Memphitic, that of Middle Egypt; and the Bashmuric, upon which some uncertainty rests, whether it was spoken in Lower Egypt, or in the Oases, or in both.[1] All the Coptic literature with which we are yet acquainted, is entirely theological; it consists of translations of the Bible, homilies, lives of saints and martyrs, and the like;[2] nothing has yet been found in geography or history; one single medical tract is said to have been discovered.[3] The Coptic alphabet is borrowed from the Greek, with the addition, however, of eight signs, to represent sounds which could not be represented with the Greek letters.

We gather, therefore, from the Coptic literature itself, two distinct propositions; first, that it ceased during the time Christianity was professed in Egypt, consequently, before the Arabian conquest, and the introduction of Islamism;[4] and secondly, that the Coptic, up to that time, was certainly the language of the country, because these writings were composed for the people.

We have only therefore to ascertain, whether the language at that time spoken by the people was the ancient language of the country? But here we may ask, what else could it have been? It is true that the Greeks, and after them the Romans, conquered Egypt. But neither of these caused, or wished to cause, their language to be spoken beyond Alexandria, which, from the beginning, was a Greek city, any more than the English do theirs in Bengal. How, indeed, would this have been practicable, among a people remarkable for preserving their customs and habits, and whose language was already refined by a literature?[5] Neither would this have been possible

[1] See Quatremère, *Recherches*, etc. p. 147, etc.

[2] Quatremère, p. 115, etc., gives a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts so far as known. The great work of Zoëga had not at that time appeared; *Catalogus codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum, qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Romæ, 1810.

[3] H. Akerblatt notices such a one in the manuscripts of Borgia. Quatremère, p. 141; but it is not mentioned in Zoëga's Catalogue.

[4] Zoëga finds a Coptic manuscript of the year 802; and in the Vatican are some as late as the beginning of the tenth century. Zoëga's *Catalogue*, p. 171.

[5] That this did not happen under the Ptolemies or Romans, Quatremère has shown by a great number of proofs in section i. By the introduction of Christianity, the ancient religion, but not the ancient language, fell to the ground. The ancient writing, however, certainly fell into disuse with the religion, I do not say all at once, but gradually, as it was no longer of any service. The Greek took its place, according to Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 437, in the third century. This also, very naturally, became gradually adopted, hence the impossibility of an accurate settlement of the time. Quatremère, p. 18.

to the Arabs, had they not fixed themselves permanently in the country.[1] It cannot certainly be denied but that the dominion of the Greeks and Romans had some influence upon this language. Many Greek words must have been adopted to express ideas for which this language had no terms. The introduction of Christianity and Greek characters must also have wrought a considerable change. But still all this did not form a new language. All learned in the Coptic agree, that it continued to form a distinct language. The proportion of Greek words was very small; and of the Latin, which was rendered unnecessary by the spread of the Greek, no words at all were adopted. The Coptic, therefore, probably bears about the same relation to the ancient Egyptian as the modern Greek does to the ancient. And will any one hesitate to admit, that we might understand ancient Greek, even if we had no other way of obtaining a knowledge of it but through the modern? Surely, then, as this is a case in point, we may consider the Coptic as the key to the ancient Egyptian. Its very name, indeed, tends to confirm it, for *Coptic* is, by almost general agreement, regarded as merely a corruption of *Egyptic* (Αἰγυπτιος)![2]

Let us now return to the main question: how far do the results of what has been done agree with history; and how much has been thus far deciphered? Taking the first of these questions in its widest sense, it is equivalent to asking whether the interpretations already made, give us such information as might reasonably be expected from the nature of things in general?

What has been hitherto deciphered consists almost entirely of inscriptions upon public monuments, temples, palaces, and obelisks; together with a few upon mummies. We know, for a certainty, that these monuments were built by kings, in order to hand down their memory to posterity, and to obtain from the priest caste such advantages and concessions as their situation might make desirable.[3] We should therefore naturally be prepared to find the names of kings upon these monuments; and, appended to their names, the honorary titles conferred upon them. In the theocracy these honorary distinctions

[1] Quatremère, p. 29, etc., shows us how the Coptic gradually ceased to be a living language under the Arabian dominion. Till the year 718 (the 96th of the Hegira) the register of the divan at Cairo was made in Coptic, p. 32. From that time, at the command of the then governor, it has been entered in Arabic.

[2] The proofs are collected by Quatremère, p. 31.

[3] See p. 190.

could scarcely be other than such as had a reference to religion; they would express some relation to the deities to whose service they had devoted themselves, to which occasionally might be added some family connexion or occurrence, names of ancestry, that of the father or wives, etc. This is what might reasonably have been expected; and this is what has been found. The discoveries hitherto made go little beyond this. The presumption, that the names of rulers would be found upon these monuments, is not to be regarded as a fancifully conceived hypothesis. It is a supposition arising from the nature of things; and when such a one is confirmed, it can only excite a favourable opinion.

It was a great advantage that the names of kings were distinguished by being enclosed in an oval border (*cartouche*). For when this became manifest by the Rosetta stone, with the Greek translation, a great advance was made towards the deciphering of public monuments; especially, as it was soon established, that this border was conferred exclusively upon kings, and not granted to any other persons, or even to deities.[1] It gave rise to the hope, that if no further light should be thrown upon the inscription, the names of the kings alone would at least clear up many parts of the early history of Egypt.

That these oval enclosures, therefore, contain nothing but the names and titles of kings, cannot be denied, even by those who feel inclined to question the other discoveries of M. Champollion. Let us next examine how the names and titles deciphered agree with history.

With regard to the titles, they refer throughout to the worship of, and relation to, the native deities. "The well-beloved of Ammon, of Helios (Rhe); The approved of Ammon; The approved of Helios; The Ammon loving," etc.

We need not attempt to prove that these titles are just such as might be expected from our knowledge of the national religion, and the close intimacy of the kings with it. But a more direct proof still remains. The translation of the inscription on the obelisk of Hermapion, which has been preserved by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, contains a title of the king to whom it was erected, partly in the same words, and, even where it differs, it is quite in the style.[2]

And, finally, come the names of the Pharaohs themselves.

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 131, etc. [2] Ammian. Marcellin. xvii. 4.

The greatest part and most important of these are preserved to us in the fragments of Manetho on the dynasties. What has been deciphered agrees as well with these as can be expected from the omission of the vowels according to the Egyptian orthography, and the Greek terminations.

To this may still be added another confirmation. The deciphered names upon public monuments mostly belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Manetho; none yet reach beyond the eighteenth, except one inscription, discovered at Abydos, which is said to contain some from the sixteenth.[1] With this eighteenth dynasty, however, commences the flourishing period of Egypt. It is the epoch at which Egypt, after the expulsion of the nomad conquerors, the Hyksos, became united into one empire; and which I have named after the most celebrated of its rulers, SESOSTRIS.[2] We read the names of more than one Ramasses, (which Sesostris also bore,) though distinguished by different surnames; of more than one Amenophis, of a Thutmosis, a Sesonchis, and some others. None have yet appeared which are not confirmed by Manetho.

From what has been now stated, I think we are fairly justified in holding the method adopted by M. Champollion for the right one, till a better shall be discovered. It does not rest upon merely fanciful, arbitrary data, but upon reasonable and well-founded propositions. I say, however, his *method;* and by no means intend to assert that every one of his interpretations is established beyond a doubt. That indeed would be next to a miracle. We stand but on the threshold. Beyond names and titles (indubitably the easiest, because in the former there is no difficulty, and in the latter only little, occasioned by a few Coptic words which sometimes occur) scarcely anything has been yet attempted. What may be hereafter done by this method, in the interpretation of longer Egyptian compositions, it is impossible to determine; we shall be better able to judge when we have seen what changes the ancient Egyptian has undergone in the Coptic. But even if the course which has been pursued should lead to no such result, that would prove nothing against the validity of the given interpretations. The names and the titles, with the exception of a few words, are entirely independent of the language. Justice warns us not to require more than the means made use of will

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 246. We are indebted to Caillaud for the transcript of this important relief.

[2] *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 50, London, 1846.

fairly entitle us to expect. I have experienced, in giving an account of the deciphering of the arrow-headed writings, what unreasonable expectations are formed by some would-be critics,[1]—nothing less than what would be demanded in the interpretation of a Greek or Roman inscription.

After all this there yet remains the examination of the separate phonetic hieroglyphics, in order to see how far these are the initial sounds of the Egyptian words, whose sounds they are said to represent. This however presupposes a familiar acquaintance with the Coptic language, with which I cannot flatter myself, and must therefore leave it to those who have made that language their study. That M. Champollion applied himself with great ardour, even from his earliest years, to the study of that language, is proved by his early work on the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs, which has been already noticed.

The discoveries of a celebrated German traveller afford us an opportunity of comparing these hieroglyphics of Egypt with those of a very distant country, and separated from it by an immense ocean: I mean the Mexican.[2] Such a comparison cannot fail to be instructive, even though it should furnish nothing towards the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. It is the common failing of the lovers of antiquity, where they perceive certain similarities, to go back so far upon derivation and common origin, as seldom fails to lead to rash, and often specious hypotheses. A close inspection, however, of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics will prove that their origin was not the same, and that there is no similarity in their progress and use. The origin of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics was evidently in both cases local. There is nothing in the signs of the Mexican which points towards a foreign origin; the far greater part of the Egyptian are plainly stamped of native growth; and though this cannot possibly be the case with all, as among the members of the human body, yet I do not know of one that might not be of Egyptian origin. Be-

[1] Although criticism upon single deciphered names may be ill-placed here, yet I cannot forbear to notice a single deciphering, which is equally interesting as regards the way of explaining both the arrow-headed and phonetic hieroglyphics. Upon an Egyptian urn at Paris made known by Caylus, is an inscription in the arrow-headed writing, and in hieroglyphics. In the first, M. Grotefend found, according to his method of deciphering, the names of Xerxes (*Ideen*, vol. ii. s. 350). When Champollion applied his method of deciphering to the second, he found exactly the same name. *Précis*, p. 180. How can such a coincidence be accounted for except by the accuracy of the methods? Any other way it is next to a miracle.

[2] De Humboldt, *Vues de Cordillères et Monumens de l'Amerique*. Livraison i. ii. iii. iv. and particularly v. and vi.

sides, the pictures of the Mexican hieroglyphics are, for the most part, whole human figures; figures of beasts; or the heads of beasts, so portrayed, that the species is immediately recognised;—while the Egyptian hieroglyphics consist, with few exceptions, of merely separate parts of objects, limbs, implements, etc. Again: the hieroglyphics of Mexico evidently sprung from painting; they still closely resemble them; those of Egypt from sculpture. The Mexican hieroglyphics, with which I am acquainted, in the manuscripts at Rome, Vienna, Velletri, and those which Mr. Humboldt has deposited at Berlin, consist entirely of paintings; only one in relief was found and copied by the latter, and it is still doubtful how far that can be called a hieroglyphic.[1] The great influence which this difference had upon the whole character of the hieroglyphics need scarcely be pointed out. The greater part of the Mexican hieroglyphics were such as could not be represented at all, or only very imperfectly, in sculpture. Fourthly: the number and variety of Mexican hieroglyphics, provided we may venture to judge from the few monuments yet known, are much more limited than those of the Egyptians. When the signs are formed of whole figures, or outlines of whole figures, this must almost necessarily be the case. Hence therefore we deduce, that, upon the whole, the Mexican hieroglyphics had not attained near that perfection which the Egyptian had. It remained generally much nearer the mere image, their representations being usually half such images; while the Egyptian are evidently much farther removed from mere images, and become allegorical. Finally: let us add to all this the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics, altogether unknown to the Mexicans, and all appearance of similarity in the hieroglyphics of the two nations will almost entirely vanish.

A very important, and, as regards the hieroglyphics, very beneficial restriction, was imposed upon those of Egypt, from the use to which they were applied. All that remains to us of Egyptian antiquities, very plainly tells us that they were especially made use of for public monuments, buildings, and statues. I have already remarked, that upon all these monuments hieroglyphics *alone* are to be found, there is no where the least trace of alphabetical characters.[2] Notwithstanding,

[1] Part i. plate 21. *Bas-relief Azteque de la Pierre des Sacrifices.*

[2] A single exception is found in a short inscription of one line at Philæ, plate xv. fig. 15, of the great work on Egypt. It is still, however, very doubtful whether these are letters;

therefore, that hieroglyphics may likewise be met with upon mummies, and that it should be granted that they are contained in some of the earliest sacred books of the priests, still it does not remain the less certain, that the principal use for which they were designed was inscriptions on public monuments; and accordingly we find, in the flourishing period of Egypt, (of which alone we can here speak,) but very few made use of in the writings upon papyrus, while they abound in sculpture. There is no doubt but it was this circumstance which preserved to them their proper form, and prevented their transformation into a mere arbitrary figure. This is always the case in writing, where contraction, combinations, and so forth, unavoidably lead to it. Sculpture, upon durable bodies, demands a more careful formation of the separate members,—the figures must be fully expressed; moreover, their destination, as public monuments, would naturally awaken the emulation and industry of the artisan. The latest researches give proofs of this. The hieroglyphics are found much more carefully and highly finished upon public monuments, where they are *sculptured*, than upon mummies, etc., where they are merely painted; Champollion, therefore, has divided them into two classes, according to the character of the workmanship, one of which he names the *pure*, and the other the linear.[1] The hieroglyphics, also, were the better preserved on another account; as they were sculptured on the ancient monuments of the nation, and belonged to its flourishing period, the epoch of its splendour and glory, they became sacred in the eyes of posterity, and continued unchanged and uninjured.

But this very fact leads again to another very important conclusion: the archæology of this nation was by themselves immediately linked to their public monuments. It was by these that was preserved the remembrance of former times,—the remembrance of their kings, their heroes, and legislators. This is the description which antiquity itself gives of the sources whence the priests derived their information, since they traced back, on those sacred pillars covered with hieroglyphics, all that Thot or Hermes, the symbol of human intelligence, as inventor of hieroglyphic writing, and, therefore,

and besides, the latest inquirers place the greater part of the monuments at Philæ in the Greek and Roman period.

[1] *Précis*, p. 357. *Hieroglyphes purs*, and *Hieroglyphes lineaires*.

likewise the protecting deity of the priest caste, had established. But these pillars, obelisks, temples, etc., were covered with hieroglyphics, and only with hieroglyphics. The more ancient history of Egypt, therefore, as related by the priests themselves, must necessarily have been a hieroglyphic traditional history, connected with these monuments, and extracted from them. The Egyptian history of Herodotus, as found in the latter half of the second book of his work, gives the most striking and irrefutable proofs of this fact. The father of history there relates to us those accounts which he collected from the mouths of the Egyptian priests; we may, therefore, flatter ourselves that he has preserved to us what they in *his* time knew,—before yet their country had passed under the dominion of the Greeks, not much above half a century after the fall of the throne of the Pharaohs,—of their ancient history, and the deeds of their kings, whose names he has rescued from oblivion. A single glance at this history, however, is sufficient to prove that it is a hieroglyphic history exclusively collected from public monuments. The nature of the matters related sufficiently evinces the truth of the latter, as they can only be understood allegorically, if they are to have a rational meaning at all.[1] The first is sufficiently obvious from the fact, that the monuments were instituted by *every* king, without exception, whose name they bear; but in order that no doubt should rest upon the subject, the writer adds, that the priests, besides, enumerated to him, from a papyrus roll, the mere names of three hundred and thirty kings, of whom they could relate nothing further, because they had left no monuments behind.[2]

[1] The passage quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus accords exactly with this. As a second sort of symbolical writing he mentions the tropic, which consisted of pictures that no longer were taken in a proper sense, and remarks, that therein were concealed, enveloped in sacred mythi, the narratives of the exploits of their kings. (He calls them *anaglyphs;* which expression is improperly referred by Champollion to the third kind, the enigmatic; *Précis*, p. 383.) These representations, therefore, were the principal sources of the sacred traditions (λόγοι ἱεροὶ) of the Egyptian priests, which are nothing more than picture relations of what we read in Herodotus, Plutarch, and other writers, partly of the gods, as of Osiris, Isis, Ammon, and numerous others, partly of their kings, as in Herodotus, of Pheron, Rampsis, and so on. These relations, however, contain anything rather than what we should call interpretations of these representations; no unfolding of the true sense which lies locked up within them; these remained the secret of the priest caste, so long as they chose, and the key thereto was not lost by them. And thus becomes explained why they could feel no great hesitation in imparting them to strangers, who succeeded in gaining their confidence. Many of them, indeed, became popular reports; namely, those which bore relation to the public feasts.

[2] Herod. ii. 101. Judging merely from this writer, should we not be fully justified in assuming, that *historical* written documents, besides the catalogues of kings, existed among the priests; and yet Herodotus inquired for them among the best informed at Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. It may however be, that the priests did not *wish* to give him any further information; and, therefore, I will not altogether deny the existence of such writings; others quote them, and Manetho drew from them, whose sources (as I and Zoëga

But if the knowledge which the priests had of the principal events depended on public monuments, on temples, obelisks, and colossi, what a striking effect this must have had upon what we call the history of Egypt! How defective it must be; of what mere fragments composed! Was it possible to prevent what was known from being connected with certain names? and then how would the deeds of certain kings, as is evidently the case with regard to Sesostris, become exaggerated? Will it still be attempted to prove that the series of those kings was uninterrupted, even allowing the priests to have represented it as such?

The names of numerous Ptolemies and Cæsars, which have been found upon the Egyptian monuments in hieroglyphic inscriptions, confirmed what was previously known from the Greek inscriptions; namely, that many of those monuments must date their origin in a later period than that of the Pharaohs. It becomes so much the more necessary to explain this, because there seems a desire—if only for the sake of novelty—to bring down the age of most, if not all of those monuments to a later period.

It evidently was a great advantage for the study of Egyptian antiquities, that those, who took an interest therein, began by carefully transcribing and collecting the *Greek* inscriptions which were there found on many of the monuments, and which had previously been almost entirely neglected. We are indebted to them for the important work of M. Letronne, upon the state of Egypt under the dominion of the Greeks and Romans, drawn from inscriptions.[1] There are two ways of determining the age of monuments; one from the style of the architecture, the other from the inscriptions. Only proficients in the art can decide it by the first; and it is no where more difficult than in the monuments of Egypt, because their style, altogether, has been subject to the least change. Besides, the age in this way can only be fixed to certain periods, not to years; nor can it be done from drawings or engravings, but the object must be actually seen, and carefully examined, be-

(p. 433) believe, and as the latest inquiries confirm) could not be so inconsiderate and destitute of criticism as some of our later writers are disposed to make them. It is, however, highly probable that these writings, if such really existed, were nothing more than a commentary upon the hieroglyphic documents; these, therefore, still remained the primary and principal sources. It is, however, worthy of remark, that Clemens, *Stroth.* l. c., quotes no proper historical work in his classed catalogue of the sacred books.

[1] *Recherches pour servir à l' Histoire de l' Egypte pendant la Domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines, relatives à la Chronologie, à l' état des Arts, aux usages Civils, et aux Religions de ce pays; par* M. Letronne. Paris, 1823.

fore any judgment of its age can be given. By this means two celebrated architects, Gau and Hujot, came to the conclusion, that Egyptian architecture should be divided into three different periods: the earliest, to which belong many of the monuments of Nubia and Upper Egypt; the period of its complete splendour in the flourishing ages of the Pharaohs; and a third which reached down to the times of the Ptolemies and Romans.[1] This view, with regard to the last period, is completely confirmed by the Greek inscriptions, while it completely overthrows the opinion, which previously prevailed, that all the monuments built in the Egyptian style date earlier than the period of the Ptolemies, and belong to that of the Pharaohs. And if we fairly consider what we know of the state of Egypt under the Ptolemies and under the Romans, we shall hardly be able to conceive that the whole ancient temple architecture of Egypt could have ceased all at once. The religion continued; the priest caste continued; (policy, indeed, required that these should be favoured;) means could not be wanting in a country so rich, and which at that time was the emporium of the world; can we then believe that the two ancient arts of architecture and sculpture could suddenly fall into disuse?

Before, however, we attempt to decide, from the Greek inscriptions, (for, as their evidence is the safest, we shall only judge from them,) how far the monuments of Egypt belong to the Greek and Roman periods, we must take a glance at the plan and architecture of those stupendous monuments, which ancient Egypt, principally in temples, has left behind. Not merely the extent, but the plan also, of these gigantic buildings clearly shows, that every part of them was not raised at the same time; but that a long period, perhaps a succession of centuries, elapsed before they stood in their full magnitude and perfection. The proper interior sanctuary is but of small extent, but gradually widens, as the new buildings, the colonnades, saloons of pillars, the pylones, are added to it. In front of these sit the colossi; again, before these are placed the obelisks. An avenue of sphinxes, rams, or other animals, of a gigantic size, lead to these; and again, in front of all this stands a magnificent entrance; and, perhaps, even before this another alley of colossal beasts; and these leading to various sides. It might therefore be said, that such a vast structure could scarcely ever be completed; art could always find place for

[1] Letronne, *Recherches*, etc. Introduction, p. xxv.

improvements or additions, without even offence to good taste. It was by these additional buildings, that monarchs endeavoured to preserve the glory of their deeds, to obtain a higher consecration, and to give splendour to their reign. It quite belonged, therefore, to the character of these buildings, and the purposes for which they were appointed, that continual additions should be made to them. Should there still be a doubt on this subject, so clearly proved by appearances, we have an historical proof of it in Herodotus, who tells us of the additions made to the principal temple at Memphis, and to that of Phtha, by a succession of Pharaohs.

The repeated researches that have been made leave scarcely a single Greek inscription on the Egyptian and Nubian temples, with which we are unacquainted; but their number is certainly not very considerable. Those that are known seldom extend to the whole building, but only to the particular parts, or additions, upon which they stand. These additions were mostly erected by the inhabitants of the nome, or by the troops, as votive offerings for the welfare of the king, or Cæsar;[1] and but few by these rulers themselves. To these belong the great eastern entrance of the small temple at Tentyris, as well as the vestibule (*pronaos*) of the great temple at the same place, as the inscriptions expressly state; and besides these, the propylon, or entrance, of the temple of Pan at Chemmis; and also that of the temple of Ammon on the great oasis. All these belong to the Roman period. From that of the Ptolemies we have the propylon of the temple of Isis and Serapis at Parembole, the station beyond Syene; the pronaos at Antaopolis, which was afterwards restored by the Antonines; the propylon at Little Apollinopolis; part of the great temple at Ombos: as a set-off to which the small temple at Philæ, dedicated to the Aphrodite, seems to have been entirely built by the second Ptolemy Evergetes. These are the monuments which, according to the Greek inscriptions, certainly belong to the later periods. By means of deciphering *hieroglyphic* legends, M. Champollion still adds to these the temple of Bahbeit; the great temple and the Typhonium of Tentyris; the portico of Esneh, and the temple to the north of this city; the temple of Ombos; the temple and the Typhonium of Edfu; and the great temple of Philæ.[2] But whether, allowing the deciphering to be accu-

[1] Namely all those beginning with ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βασιλέως or Καίσαρος; as is shown by Letronne.

[2] *Précis*, p. 387.

rate, the whole of these monuments, or only parts of them, belong to the later period, can only be settled by a further examination, which cannot be well made except upon the spot.

Be this as it may, it is very evident that the discovery of later buildings under the Ptolemies and Romans, in no way opposes the representations, which have thus far been made, of the state of the nation under the Pharaohs. The vast monuments of higher antiquity, the ruins of the kingly Thebes, of the royal sepulchre, the temples and obelisks of Elephantis, Heliopolis, and others, are become more striking and certain evidences than ever of that wonderful period, now that we read upon their walls the names of the Pharaohs who erected them.[1]

From what has been said, a tolerably correct notion may be formed, of the point to which our knowledge of ancient Egypt has already attained, and of that to which it may yet be carried. That wonderful nation seems still to speak to us through its monuments; in a language, it is true, in which we have made but little progress, and which, indeed, we can scarcely ever hope completely to master. How little, indeed, do we know of those pictural representations upon its monuments! Our information has, indeed, been somewhat extended within a very late period, but only just sufficiently to open our eyes to the nothingness of what we know, compared with what still remains hidden. A long tranquil period would be necessary, and a host of artists to copy the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which cover the walls of the temples, and the still more instructive paintings which decorate the partitions of countless sepulchres. All that we yet possess of them taken together, are but paltry patterns![2]

It is not the object of the present work to explain Egyptian antiquities in their whole extent. I shall be satisfied if I can place before my reader a general view of the country and people, of their political institutions, and of their literature and science, so far as connected with them, especially in the kingly Thebes; and, finally, of the share which they took in the commerce of the world.

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, l. c.

[2] [Considerable information, however, of a most interesting nature, is likely to be obtained by the exertions of Champollion. He has caused several hundred drawings to be taken of the most curious paintings in the sepulchral excavations of Beni Hassan. Most of these relate to the domestic manners of the ancient Egyptians. They are arranged by Champollion under various heads, as agriculture, the farm-yard, arts and handicrafts, singing, music, dancing, games and diversions, navigation, zoology; besides the higher classes of religious and historical subjects. See Champollion's *Letters from Egypt*, particularly the fifth and sixth. *Trans.*]

CHAP. I. *General View of the Country and its Inhabitants.*

EGYPT IS A LAND OF MARVELS, AND EXCELS ALL OTHERS IN MIGHTY WORKS. HEROD. II. 35.

IF it be still possible to throw any general light upon the obscurity of Egyptian antiquities; the torch must be first kindled by a knowledge of the country. Had we been born and passed our lives on the banks of the Nile, many things would be evident and easy to comprehend, which are now doubtful and unsolved problems. There is no other people of the ancient world whose form and fashion bears so strongly the impress of locality as the Egyptian; or who is bound to his country by so many ties, or who so identified it with himself. As this country, then, differed in so many remarkable peculiarities from all others that we know of, ought we to be astonished if the nation differed also?

Egypt, taken in its widest extent, must be ranked among the countries of moderate size. If we compute its superficial contents at about 6000 square miles, it will not much exceed England.[1] There is scarcely, however, any other country so limited, in which appears so much internal variety, or so wide and marked a difference in its separate parts. The highest fertility immediately borders on the completely sterile and solitary desert; rich plains stretch between the barren hills of sand, and barren and rugged mountains. The image of life and of death continually float before the eyes of the Egyptian in his country; what we have to say will show how much they influence the whole range of his ideas.

From the earliest antiquity Egypt has been called a gift of the Nile; and whatever hypothesis may be adopted, with regard to the formation and growth of its territory, it justly deserves to be considered as such, in reference to the fertility of its soil. Although Lower Egypt is not altogether without rain, yet this so rarely happens, as we retire from the sea, that, under the constantly serene sky of Thebes, the whole period of man's life may pass away without the earth being refreshed from above with more than a moist dew. The irrigation and fertility of the soil, therefore, entirely depend upon the river, without which Egypt would have shared the fate of the rest of

[1] [*Encyclop. Metropol.* An exact computation is impossible, from the unsettled state of the western boundaries. *Trans.*]

Heerne Reflections on Africa.

J. Fisher sculp.

Africa, and have been partly a sandy waste, and partly a stony desert.

The Nile flows in one undivided stream through Egypt, in almost an exact northern direction, till it reaches the city of Cercasorus, about sixty geographical miles from its mouth. It here divides itself into several arms, which enclose the Delta, or fruitful part of Lower Egypt. It is generally known that this river bears along a fat slime, which it deposits on the lands it waters with its flood, and thereby gives them a greater fertility than could be procured by the richest manure.

These yearly inundations of the Nile have not only improved the cultivation of the soil, but have had such a vast influence upon the life and manners, knowledge and religion, and indeed upon the general organization of the nation, that it will be of service, on more than one occasion, for the further progress of these researches, to stop here and take a glance at this interesting object.

The cause of this phenomenon was an object of much research even in ancient times. Herodotus formed many conjectures respecting it, and decided for the most reasonable of them;[1] Agatharchides, however, seems to have been the first to discover the truth.[2] The constant rains, to which the districts of Upper Ethiopia are subject during the wet season from May to September, swell all the rivers thereabouts, the whole of which pour their floods into the Nile, which consequently becomes the reservoir of this prodigious body of water. In the middle of June, about the time of the summer solstice, these first begin to enter Egypt, and the river there begins to rise. It continues to increase till the end of July, though still confined within its channel; but in the first half of August it overflows its banks, inundates the neighbouring territory,[3] and its waters continue, without intermission, to extend themselves till September. About this time, the torrents of rain in Ethiopia having ceased, the Nile begins gradually to fall, but so slowly, that the greater part of the territory of Egypt remains covered with its waters till the commencement of October; and it is not till towards the end of this month that they completely return into their bed.

The period of inundation, therefore, continues from the midst

[1] Herod. ii. 20, etc. [2] Agatharchid. ap. Diod. i. p. 50.
[3] It is usual to cut through the dams and open the canals on the 9th of August.

of August to the end of October; and during this time all the fertile valley of Egypt has the appearance of one vast lake, in which its cities jut up like so many islands. Ancient writers, indeed, are wont to compare it to the Ægæan Sea; where the Cyclades and Sporades offer a similar appearance on a larger scale.

The soil of Egypt, therefore, is fruitful as far as this inundation reaches, or can be made to reach by artificial means. The well-soaked earth, manured by a fat mud, or slime, requires only to be sowed, digging or ploughing being alike unnecessary.[1] Corn and pulse shoot up so quickly, that in some parts a double crop is grown every year.

The Nile, from the southern frontiers of Egypt to where the stream becomes divided, runs in one uninterrupted course through a valley, bounded on each side by a chain of mountains, which, though they sometimes approach nearer and sometimes retire farther from its banks, usually leave from nine to twelve miles between them and the river. This valley forms the chief part of the cultivated land of Egypt; it formed originally the bed of this river, from which it has in a great measure been rescued by art. This same valley was also the ancient seat of Egyptian civilization; in it were organized the first Egyptian states, and in it arose, one after another, that line of cities, temples, and colossal works of art, which ornamented both banks of the river.

Where this valley ends the stream divides, and forms, by its arms, the fertile part of Lower Egypt, which is called the Delta. Ancient naturalists rightly explained this territory to be a gift of the Nile, which, by the mud and slime that it bears along and deposits, gradually raises the soil, and when, in a long course of centuries, it had, by its annual accumulations, formed land where before only water existed, it still kept open for itself several entrances into the sea, which afterwards underwent various changes both of nature and art.[2]

These large plains of the Delta, every where intersected by canals, and the valley I have just described, constitute the whole of Egypt which admits of cultivation; it scarcely amounts to a sixth part of the whole territory, according to its estimated

[1] The use of the plough, however, in the cultivation of the soil, has not remained unknown in Egypt; it is met with on the monuments.

[2] Seven mouths of the Nile were known to the ancients, of which the Pelusiac was the most eastern and the Canopic the most western; but even at that time they were subject to many changes. The Nile at present has only two principal mouths, that of Rosetta and that of Damietta.

superficial contents.[1] However, the more the importance of the country concentrates in these districts, the more necessary it becomes that we should consider them somewhat in detail.

Although the narrow plain forming the valley of the Nile is reckoned to the fertile land, it is not equally so throughout. The stony mountain-chain which encloses it on the western side, presses in some places, especially in Upper Egypt, so close to the river, that the inundation reaches to its base. For the most part, however, and particularly in Middle Egypt, where the valley begins to widen, there is a barren sandy strip, from about a mile to two and a half broad, which intervenes between the foot of the chain and the land adapted to husbandry. This western chain serves in general to protect the valley of the Nile from the invasion of the sand of the desert, which whirled up, and impelled forward by the wind, would long since, without this barrier, have filled it up. Ancient Egyptian edifices, as well as single pyramids and colossal sphinxes, which are sometimes found buried to their middle in sand, plainly evince that this protection has not, at all points, prevented its entrance; but the more accurate information, which we have recently had the good fortune to obtain, respecting these regions, gives us proofs that this has only partially been the case, and that the valley of the Nile in general seems to have suffered but little from this destructive enemy. The cultivated lands are also highest close to the river, where the Nile deposits its riches in the largest quantity, and sink as they stretch towards the waste. The banks of the river in Upper Egypt are usually from thirty to thirty-five feet above the level of the water. The lower and more distant lands, therefore, by means of numerous canals, are flooded sooner than the higher and nearer; on which account the latter, from the quantity of water drawn off to inundate the former, run the risk of getting none at all; a misfortune, the more distant can scarcely fear.[2] Recent researches also prove beyond a doubt, (if indeed any proof was before wanting,) that this fertile soil has all been formed by the mud or slime deposited by the Nile, and is therefore entirely a gift of that river.[3] But, however nature may here be aided by canals and machinery, she herself

[1] [Quarterly Review, xxx. p. 95. Mr. Gerard, estimates the mean width of the valley, between Syene and Cairo, at about nine miles, and the whole area of cultivable soil, exclusive of the lateral valleys and the Oases, at about 11,000 square miles. *Trans.*]

[2] See proofs of this in Reynier, *sur l'Agriculture de l'Egypte*, in *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 6.

[3] Reynier, l. c.

has fixed a boundary which cannot be passed. Even in the valley itself, the separation of the fruitful soil from the solitary waste is distinctly marked; the empire of life borders on the empire of death; the habitations of the living, which cover the fertile plains through which the Nile pours its waters, are followed by the abodes of the dead, the sandy plain and the hills being filled with countless graves and sepulchres; and this seems to have contributed more than anything else to give that peculiar tone of mind and feeling to the nation, that peculiar character, which distinguishes it from all others.

The western mountain-chain, which bounds the valley of the Nile, consists for the most part of a stony ridge, covered with sand, whose western side descends into the great desert.[1] In this waste there are still two fruitful spots within the boundaries of Egypt, the Oases, so celebrated in antiquity, which are fertile, and possess water springs. In the researches upon the commercial routes of the Carthaginians, it has already been shown that such islands are not unfrequent in the great sandy oceans of Africa. Of the two Egyptian oases (only two were known to the ancients[2]) the larger, lying to the south, which has been visited by several travellers, is now called *El Wah*;[3] we have accounts of its monuments, consisting of many temples, of which we have descriptions and plates. The name of the smaller is now *El Gherbi*. The fertility for which the greater oasis was celebrated in antiquity appears to have been considerably diminished by the sand that has been driven into it from the desert; as large districts of sand are found between the few villages now scattered over it. Ancient geographers reckon all this part of Egypt to Libya; and indeed in these barren wastes there is no more a political than a physical definite boundary.

The eastern part of the country, from the valley of the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, is quite of a different nature. It consists of a stony mountainous tract, unfit for agriculture, though in many districts suitable for pasturage. These mountains, com-

[1] A description of this will be found in Browne's *Travels*, p. 253.

[2] Strabo, xviii. p. 168. I have already remarked, p. 104, that very probably the oases of *El Kargeh* and *El Dakel*, which are now considered as two, only together formed the Great Oasis of antiquity.

[3] First by Browne in his journey to Darfour. Since by Caillaud, Edmonstone, and others. See Caillaud, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, Paris, 1813, with the plates xv. xviii.; and Edmonstone's *Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt*, Lond. 1823. The smaller, without monuments, was visited by Belzoni. That of *Farafré*, and a few smaller, which have been mentioned by modern travellers, seem to have been unknown, and inconsiderable in antiquity. They are enumerated in † Ukert, *Geography of Africa*, p. 723.

posed of marble of the greatest variety of colours, of granite, porphyry, and similar species of stone, formed the inexhaustible magazines for the colossal architectural monuments of ancient Egypt, and in the granite quarries even now are sometimes found the forms whence obelisks and colossi have been hewn out.

The French expedition has thrown a clearer light upon this part of Egypt, which was before almost entirely unknown. The nature of these mountains has been examined by geologists, and the long prevailing error, that the large masses which the Egyptians made use of in the erection of their public monuments, were obtained from a long distance from the Nile, has been corrected. The mountains bordering on the valley of the Nile may be divided, according to their geological contents, into three districts.[1] In the south-east, near Philæ and the cataracts, rocks of Syenite or oriental granite prevail, from which the ancient Egyptians drew the stupendous masses required for their monuments of one piece, (*monoliths*,) obelisks, colossi, etc. The most northern district, reaching beyond Thebes, consists of mountain-chains both on the eastern and western side, composed of calcareous stone, of which therefore the pyramids were constructed. The middle district, extending from Syene to within a day's journey south of Latapolis or Esneh, forms the connecting link between the chalk and granite mountains, and consists entirely of sandstone. This sandstone—of which all the temples in Upper Egypt are built—is of various colours; grey, yellowish, pure white; veins also of bright pink, or rose colour, occasionally occur. The buildings, however, generally appear white or grey. The stone is not very hard, and therefore the immense quantity of sculpture upon the walls of the temples were the more easily executed. The stone quarries in these districts are largest and most frequent where the mountain-chain approaches nearest to the river; especially near Silsilis, the present Selseleh, which shows clearly enough the care that was taken to make the transport to the river as short as possible. It is particularly necessary to notice, in this geographical sketch, that these mountain-chains are intersected by many valleys, running from west to east, and stretching as far as the Red Sea. Some of

[1] For what follows see the essay of H. Roziere, *Description d' Ombos et des Environs*, sect. ii. in the *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. i. chap. iv. in the great work on Egypt. [The English reader will find a detailed account of the geology of Egypt in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* article *Egypt*, which seems to have been taken from the above source. *Trans.*]

these widen into plains, while others contract themselves into narrow ravines; the most northerly of them, the *Valley of Wandering*,[1] commences with an opening in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and extends to the most northern point of the Arabian Gulf near Suez. But the best known is the one through which the road passes from Upper Egypt to Cosseir.[2] Recent discoveries have shown that there were many similar ways, though at present they are but very imperfectly known.[3] To these belongs, in particular, one that leads southerly from Edfu to the emerald mines near Mount Zabara;[4] where is still found the remnant of an ancient city, and many mines. Closely connected with this subject is the still obscure inquiry respecting the situation and number of the ports on the Red Sea, in the period of the Ptolemies.

The rain, which not unfrequently falls in this stony mountain-region, gives it in places a degree of fertility. It is indeed incapable of agriculture; but the quantity of herbage which shoots up at certain periods in the valleys and plains fits them for pasturage; and the nomad hordes who wander over them find a necessary supply of water in wells and pits; while the strange shapes and various colours of the steep, naked, rugged mountains, give to the whole picture an appearance of complete sterility.

The valley of the Nile in its whole course (the upper part of which, down to Chemmis, contains the ancient Thebais or Upper Egypt; and the lower or northern, from Chemmis to Cercasorus, where the Nile divides, Middle Egypt) was covered with a succession of cities and monuments, which must have formed, with scarcely any interruption, one continuous chain; there is now, however, with regard to the remains of antiquity, a striking difference between the two. They increase both in number and importance the higher we ascend the river, those of Upper Egypt being by far the most numerous and interesting. In the whole of Middle Egypt, except a few quite decayed ruins,[5] and the antiquities of Arsinoë or Fayoum, not yet

[1] An accurate description of this valley will be found in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 360, etc. It derives its name from a tradition, that the Israelites wandered therein at their Exodus from Egypt. [2] Of this also the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii. p. 227, give an excellent account, which confirms that of Bruce.

[3] It is become very evident from these, that the ancient caravan road from Coptos to the Arabian Gulf, which may still be traced by ruins and ancient buildings, differed from the present. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. p. 264. † Ukert, in his *Geography of Africa*, i. p. 242, has noted down the course, and described the valleys which intersect the western mountain-ridge. [4] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 314. He did not find the ancient city here seen by Caillaud; probably because his guide lost his way.

[5] In the porticoes of Hermopolis. Denon, plate xxxiii.

sufficiently examined, the Pyramids are the only architectural monuments which now remain; while Upper Egypt, on the contrary, contains all those temples, which, however unintelligible the numerous inscriptions and representations on their walls, are far better calculated by their awful magnitude, their magnificence, and their altogether peculiar style, to give us some idea of what this nation formerly was. This series of monuments commences at Tentyris,[1] on the western side of the stream, where the temple, so celebrated for its zodiac, at once inspires the beholder with the idea of a gigantic and massive architecture, differing from what any other country on the globe has produced. A glance at this, however, only prepares the astonished traveller for the more magnificent wonders, which await him about twenty miles farther to the south, in the monuments of Thebes, the majestic capital of Jupiter, or the city of Ammon. The whole width of the valley, on both banks of the stream, forming an area of about nine miles from west to east, is covered with the ruins of the most ancient royal city of the world; and where the habitations of the living end, there begin the dwellings of the dead, which extend a considerable way into the western mountains. Temples, whose huge masses tower up like mountains, surrounded by colossi, sphinxes, and obelisks, whose magnitude insures their continuance, are scattered over the plain. Thousands of years have already passed over them; yet neither the hand of time, nor the destroying ravages of barbarians, have been able to overthrow them. The great temple of Jupiter yet exists at Karnac; the stately palaces of the Pharaohs are still standing at Luxor and Medinet Abou; the colossus of Memnon, one of the wonders of the ancient world; the other temples and colossi, whose number cannot yet be told,[2] and the royal sepulchres, with their paintings as fresh and uninjured as though they had received the last stroke of the pencil but yesterday, still remain. From this place to the southern boundary of Egypt, link after link of this chain of monuments follow in rapid succession. Thebes is scarcely quitted before the remains of the ancient *Hermonthis*[3] present themselves; about

[1] The present Dendera, lying almost exactly under 26° N. Lat. For a representation of this proud building see Denon, plates xxxviii.—xl. Modern researches bring it down to the Greek-Roman period. Champollion, *Précis*, p. 387. [It may be worth observing to the English reader, that he will find a very interesting account of this and the other monuments of Egyptian antiquity, here noticed, in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* and in the *Modern Traveller, Egypt*, vol. ii. *Trans.*] [2] Denon, plates xlv.—l.

[3] Denon, plate li. With *Hermonthis* ends the first *livraison* of the splendid work, *Description de l'Egypte*, which begins with Philæ on the southern boundaries. See plate xci.

eighteen miles farther is the beautiful temple of *Esneh*, the ancient *Latopolis*;[1] and on the opposite eastern bank of the Nile is what is left of the former *Chnubis*.[2] At nearly the same distance, still farther to the south, follows *Edfu*, the *Apollinopolis Magna* of former times, with the most perfect and magnificent of all the temples except that of Thebes;[3] and to this immediately follow the monuments of *Eliethya*,[4] *Silsilis*,[5] and *Ombos*,[6] all on the eastern bank of the river. At a short distance, scarce twenty-five miles farther, we come to the ancient confines of Egypt. It is here in particular that the nation seems almost to have outdone itself in the erection of monuments, as though it would impress strangers, at their first step into their territory, with an idea of their greatness and splendour. Still farther, on the north side of the cataracts, immediately following *Syene*, or *Assouan*, the ancient frontier town of Egypt, lies, in the midst of the stream, the island of Elephantis; and just beyond the rapids, about six miles to the south of Syene, is that of *Philæ*. Both, and especially the latter, are full of the proudest monuments of architecture;[7]

—xcviii. At Hermonthis, now Erment, is a temple of Typhonius; the exterior is much defaced, but the interior is in good preservation. On one of the ceilings are the signs of the zodiac. See the treatise of M. Jomard, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. viii.; and compare my critique in the *Gött. gel Anz.* 1811, pp. 94—98.

[1] Denon, plates liii. liv. At Esneh there are also many temples. Of the principal temple the portico, quite entire, is alone visible. This portico is said to belong to the Greek-Roman period. Champollion, *Précis*, p. 387. In order to restore the temple itself, which is probably just as well preserved, many houses must be pulled down which are built upon and about it. It is only with considerable toil that the portico can be entered, as the entrance is through a very narrow passage; the view of it however is sufficiently imposing to compensate amply for the trouble, and shows what the whole building must be. See the *Description de* Ms. Jollois et Devilliers, *Antiquités*, chap. vii., and compare the plates lxxii.—xc.

[2] Denon, plate lxxv.

[3] Denon, plates lvi.—lxviii. in the *Description, Antiquités*, plates xlviii.—lxii., with the treatise of M. Jomard. Modern researches bring down this temple to the period of the Ptolemies; Champollion, *Précis*, p. 388. Not however from the inscriptions, but from the style of the architecture. The flat roof of the great temple has borne for a long time a small Arabian village, of miserable mud hovels; and the windows, or openings, intended to admit the light, are now made use of as sinks. The temple, therefore, is made the receptacle of every kind of filth, and is now nearly filled up. The magnificent saloons are in this way become caverns; and of the colossal columns the capitals alone jut out above the rubbish. Notwithstanding all this the building is still so well preserved, that only the partition walls of the columns of the portico, and the upper border of the pylones of the external façade, (one hundred and ten feet high!) have suffered to any extent. Not a stone in any other part is out of order; and the sculpture work is as free from injury as the architecture. Adjoining the great temple is a smaller, whose ornaments leave no doubt of its having been dedicated to Typhonius. Near to the temples of the benevolent deities it was customary among the Egyptians to build that of the *evil* principle.

[4] Highly interesting from the two sepulchral grottoes found there, with paintings representing the domestic life of the Egyptians. *Description*, plates lxviii.—lxxi. I shall again return to these.

[5] Denon, plate lv. The present *Selseleh*. In this district are the quarries above-mentioned, (p. 291,) from which the materials were drawn for the construction of those immense buildings. See the treatise of M. Roziere, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. iv. sect. ii. plate xlvii.

[6] Denon, plate lxxv. The temples of *Ombos* (the remains of two are found) are nearly destroyed. A view of the ruins, as they now exist, is given, *Description*, plate xxxix.—xlvi.

[7] Denon, plates lxiii.—lxxii. See upon *Elephantis* the treatise of Jomard, *Description*, chap. iii. and plates xxx.—xxxviii. The remains of two temples are still found here of the

some of which, however, according to the latest discoveries, are said to belong to the Ptolemeian period. But certainly not all. For Philæ was one of the holy places where, in a remote sacred spot, is shown the tomb of Osiris.[1] The high antiquity of the monuments of Elephantis cannot be doubted. Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, have here erected buildings, which are all scattered in the dust; the monuments of ancient Egypt, some probably a thousand years older than the oldest among them, alone defy destruction; these stand prominent amidst the palm groves which surround them, eternal as nature!

It was absolutely necessary for the prosecution of these researches, to give a clear sketch of this land of marvels, of architecture, and sculpture; although a whole life might be spent over the delineations of these monuments, which now place them, as it were, before us, and over the accurate description of the most ancient and noble among them,—the monuments of Thebes, which we have reserved for a future chapter. A mere glance, however, at the sublime and majestic monuments—and how many others must have been levelled with the dust—contained within the confined strip of the narrow valley of the Nile, must at least produce a conviction, that there did exist a time when this classic ground was the central point of the civilization of the world, and when its inhabitants must have possessed all that constitutes an opulent and mighty, a refined and cultivated nation.

Middle Egypt also was like Upper Egypt, in having its fertility confined to the banks of the Nile; the valley, therefore, through which it flows, was exclusively the seat of culture. But this valley, which in Upper Egypt is always so contracted, begins here gradually to expand; though its whole breadth as far as Arsinoë, the present Fayoum, scarcely any where exceeds twelve or fifteen miles. A large canal, drawn from, and running parallel with the Nile, on its western side, for nearly one hundred and fifty miles,—well known by the name of Joseph's

smaller size; but there is strong reason for believing that a third, much larger, formerly stood here. In the island of Philæ also there were two temples, which are distinguished in the treatise of the deceased Lancret, *Description des Antiquités*, chap. i. plates i.—xxix., by the names of the great, and the western temple. According, however, to late accounts, the island contains the remains of no less than five temples. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 89. They do not rank among the largest temples, but are in fine preservation, and of the highest finish with regard to workmanship. According to the latest information, judging alone from the style, the largest belongs to the period of the Ptolemies; Champollion, p. 388. A Greek inscription has been discovered upon the smallest of the temples. Letronne, l. c.

[1] Upon a small island, which therefore bears the name of Abatos (ἄβατος); a name conveying the idea of a retired situation, and likewise that of prohibition to enter it, as it was a sacred place. Conf. Letronne, *Recherches*, p. 304. Creuzer, *Commentationes Herodoteæ*, p. 187. So also the ancient temple of Ammon at Meroë, p. 207.

canal,—serves, as far as it goes, to extend the overflowing of the river. Near Fayoum, however, the valley opens (as the Libyan chain of mountains retires towards the west) and forms a very fruitful province, which is watered by a branch of Joseph's canal.[1] This part of Egypt, in distant ages, was celebrated for its stupendous works of art, the most considerable of which was lake Moeris, said, as a reservoir of the Nile, to have secured the fruitfulness of the province. A part of this remarkable lake still exists under the name of lake Kerun.[2] Modern research has here, however, confirmed the opinion previously entertained, that this lake cannot be regarded as entirely the work of man's hand, but that art here only assisted and brought into use the work of nature. A greater part of the province of Arsinoë formed a valley, that, by the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was of itself placed under water, which, on the fall of the river, again found a natural passage out, through a gorge on the south-west part of the valley. In this state of things it only required the construction of a few dams and canals, which are more or less still visible, in order to regulate these inundations. Not far from this lake stands one of the greatest edifices of ancient Egypt: the celebrated Labyrinth, of which Herodotus has given a description.[3] We learn, from more recent accounts, that many remains of ancient Egyptian building and art are still to be found here; even the pyramid of brick, mentioned by Herodotus, may still be discerned; but the whole of the buildings are now not only a heap of ruins, but seem, for the most part, to be buried in sand, which has been driven from the desert by the wind.[4]

To the north of Arsinoë the Libyan chain again returns to its former distance from the Nile, and, following the course of the river through the remainder of Middle Egypt, leaves the breadth of the valley, in most places, some where about nine miles. No buildings are found here as in Upper Egypt, although the city of Memphis, the more modern capital of the kingdom, which seems, indeed, to have emulated Thebes, and

[1] The ancient district of Arsinoë.

[2] We are indebted to Girard for the first accurate description of this remarkable part of the land in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 329, etc.

[3] Herod. ii. 148. He is the only writer who saw it entire. "All the buildings of the Greeks put together," says this far-travelled historian, "could not have cost so much."

[4] The ruins have been examined and described by Jomard; nothing is to be seen but immense heaps of rubbish. *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. ii. chap. xvii. sect. 19. Belzoni has since visited it, but found nothing but stones strewed about. He crossed the lake, and seems to have sought the remains of the Labyrinth in the wrong place. *Narrative*, p. 378, 379.

is not less celebrated for its temples and palaces, formerly stood here.[1] But if the monuments of the living have passed away, those of the dead still remain. The whole mountain-chain, as well as the sandy desert which runs within the valley at its base, is full of tombs, similar to those which are found in Upper Egypt. This district, however, is particularly distinguished by another species of monuments, which, by their prodigious massiveness, must for ever excite the astonishment of mankind —the Pyramids. These are situated sometimes singly, and sometimes in groups, on a strip about five-and-thirty miles long, reaching from Ghizeh, or Djizeh, opposite, in a slanting direction, the present capital, Cairo, to beyond Meidun. Many of these are so gone to decay that only uncertain traces of them can now be discovered, while others continue to defy the destroying hand of time, whence it seems evident that their number could at no time be stated with certainty. They all stand upon that great field of death—upon that sterile plain covered with sand and filled with sepulchres, at the foot of the Libyan mountain-chain. Those of Djizeh, opposite Cairo, which are generally understood when the Pyramids are spoken of, are the first and the highest; they are followed, about nine miles towards the south, by those of Sakkara, near the ancient Memphis, whose magnitude is evinced by the numerous sepulchres which are found in the waste. Farther on are discovered those of Dashour and others, all, however, more injured than those just mentioned, as far as Meidun.[2] However uncertain it may be whether they reached beyond this or not, it seems pretty evident that pyramids were never built in Upper Egypt, as there is no reason why they should have gone to ruin sooner than the large temples.[3] From recent discoveries it now appears that pyramid-architecture was by no means peculiar to Egypt; they still exist more numerously, though of a less magnitude, in what was the ancient Meroë.[4]

At the point where the Nile divides into two branches be-

[1] The name still exists in the village *Menf*, about twelve or fourteen miles to the south of Cairo, but it lies on the west bank of the river, while Cairo stands on the eastern. The latter, it is well known, was built by the Arabs.

[2] The number of pyramids is estimated at about forty; but they vary very much in size. The second pyramid of Djizeh was opened by Belzoni, and one of those at Sakkara by Minutoli: see their *Travels*.

[3] Or is the reason to be found in the difference of the stone which Upper and Middle Egypt produces? Does not the limestone, of which the pyramids are constructed, exist in Upper Egypt, where the sandstone and, farther on, granite prevails? See above, p. 291.

[4] See p. 200. They differ from the Egyptian by their vestibules, which the latter now have not. Nevertheless, the pyramid opened by Belzoni certainly had a temple before it. *Narrative*, p. 261.

gins Lower Egypt. The extension of its waters extends likewise fertility, which, before confined in Upper and Middle Egypt to the narrow valley, here takes a wider range, and stretches over the plains enclosed by the arms of the river. The western chain, which has hitherto narrowed it, here makes a bend into Libya; the eastern chain ends altogether just below Cairo with the mountain Mokattam. There is a tradition of ancient Egypt, which is mentioned by Herodotus, that the Nile at one time had a different course, and turned towards the Libyan desert. Now if this tradition should be rejected in its fullest extent, and it should not be believed that the *whole* stream took this direction, and that no branch of it penetrated through Lower Egypt to the Mediterranean, yet modern researches have placed it beyond a doubt, that at least a *part* of the stream formerly flowed towards Libya. The valley near the Natron lakes, (from which it is only divided by a ridge,) which, in the western side of Lower Egypt, is known by the name of the waterless sea, (*Bahr Bilama,*) gives very evident traces that it once formed,—though certainly long before the period to which credible history reaches,—the bed of the river.[1] The stupendous dam, by which the water was forced to take a more easterly direction, was ascribed by tradition to Menes, the first king of Egypt, and founder of Memphis;[2] and gave thereby at once a proof of the high antiquity and importance of this undertaking. In fact, it is easily seen that it was by this that the channels of the Nile were first driven into their present course, and the Delta rendered capable of being cultivated.

Although the fruitful land becomes much widened in Lower Egypt, yet it must not be taken for granted that all this part of the country possesses the advantage of fertility. It again fails towards the centre, or in what was called by the Greeks the Delta; and in the districts on both sides of it; in that of the east, which is now comprised under the name of Bahareh, and in that of the west, called Sharkeyeh. It is true that the western part enjoys the benefit of having on its coast the later capital, Alexandria; but even this city can only obtain its water by a canal from the Nile; and just before its gates opens

[1] See the admirable description of this valley and of the whole district, for which we are indebted to General Andreossi. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, i. 223, etc.

[2] Herod. ii. 99. According to his account, the damming was made one hundred stadia (eleven or twelve miles) above Memphis. Andreossi's conjecture, that there was a communication between the Nile and the Waterless Valley, through the valley of Fayoum, is opposed to this; it must have been through a more northern opening in the mountain-chain.

the desert, which swallows up the remainder of the province. The eastern part, which includes the cities of Heliopolis, or On, and Parbæthus, the modern Belbeis, fares something better; but here again the fertile soil ceases at a short distance from the river, and the isthmus of Suez follows, a barren and waterless waste. Only the country, therefore, between the two extreme arms of the Nile, that of Canopus and of Pelusium, or the Delta, can here come under consideration; and this still shows, in its present almost desolate state, what it must once have been. There can scarcely be a greater contrast than that which the short voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta affords the traveller.[1] Though he saw about that city only the silent desert, he now suddenly discovers, as he approaches Rosetta and the Nile, nature in her most luxurious abundance, and begins to comprehend how this country might once have been the foremost of the earth.

The numerous cities with which the plains of the Delta were once covered, of which it is enough for our purpose to mention Sais and Naucratis, sufficiently prove the high state of cultivation in which this portion of the country formerly existed. This, however, did not begin till long after Upper Egypt had been in a flourishing condition; and, perhaps, did not increase, to any extent, till the latter period of the Pharaohs; when Sais was the usual residence of the kings, and the foundation of Alexandria gave, and preserved to Lower Egypt, that superiority which Upper Egypt had previously enjoyed. But the vestiges of this splendour and greatness, except in the few monuments of ancient Alexandria, are all nearly obliterated; and even the land itself, along the coast, has undergone many changes.[2] Considerable portions of firm land, especially the districts so often mentioned under the name of fens, and inhabited by tribes who lived by tending cattle, are now become lakes, that are either supplied or enlarged by the stoppage of certain branches of the river.[3] The ancient lake *Sirbonis*, on

[1] A picture of it is drawn in Browne's *Travels*, etc. I purposely mention this writer here, because no one can less deserve the reproach of an embellishing imagination.

[2] A somewhat more accurate account of the interior of Lower Egypt was first given by the French expedition. The usual route of travelling has been from Alexandria up the canal to Rosetta, and thence up the Nile to Cairo. Scarcely any one saw the interior of the country.

[3] The most interesting illustrations of this part are contained in the classic treatise of General Andreossi, upon the lake Menzalé, in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, i. p. 165. It also decidedly and fully supports the opinion of Herodotus, that the Delta is a gift of the Nile. It is well known that lately this has been contradicted, not only by closet-writers, but even by travellers. The reasons of Andreossi, who was in a situation, from his knowledge of physics and hydrostatics, to go fully into the subject, places it beyond dispute, that the Delta was formed

the eastern boundary of Egypt, seems to be completely choked up with sand; on the other hand, the lake of *Tanis*, or present Menzaleh, into which three branches of the Nile—that of Pelusium, of Tanis, and Mendes—empty themselves, is now so much enlarged that it swallows up a fourth part of the whole northern coast; and the remains of the cities, which formerly stood on dry land, must now be sought for amidst its waters. The lake of *Butos*, or the present Bourlos, seems in a similar manner, by the flowing of the Sebennytic branch into it, to have much increased in size; but the land between it and the foregoing, where the ancient Bucolic mouth, under the name of Damietta, still discharges a principal branch of the river, preserves its ancient features. The coast to the west of the Delta, on the contrary, has been subject to the greatest changes. On the other side of the Bolbitine branch, or the present Rosetta mouth, the ancient branch of Canopus, which no longer reaches the sea, has formed the lake of *Edco*. This is only separated by a narrow strip of land from lake *Madieh* behind Aboukir, which again is divided from *lake Mareotis* by a still narrower isthmus; this latter lake, however, has not at present anything near the extent it had in antiquity. Lower Egypt thus gives us a striking example of the great changes which may be made in the features and shape of a country, not only by sudden and great physical convulsions, but by the mere decay of its culture. Where, indeed, was this more likely to happen than here, where the neglect of the canals and dams alone would be sufficient to cause such changes?

This general survey of the situation and features of the land, its gradual formation and cultivation, the great difference and completely opposite nature of its component parts, altogether, must naturally lead us to suppose, that the condition of its inhabitants must not only have been subject to great changes, but also that great dissimilarity must have continually existed among them. I shall now turn from the country, and take a glance at the nation itself; begging the reader's indulgence while I make a few preliminary inquiries concerning them.

The first object of inquiry is the colour, the figure, in short the whole exterior of the inhabitants, so far as it may enable us to unravel the intricate question respecting the race of mankind to which the ancient Egyptians belonged. A problem,

by the sediment of the river, with some assistance from art. The ancient therefore here, as usual, is right.

indeed, much more difficult to solve than the reader at first sight could possibly imagine.

There are two sources from which we may draw in our endeavour to determine it: ancient writers, and native monuments. Among the first, the testimony of Herodotus alone would seem sufficient to decide it. He, speaking as an eye-witness, expressly declares the Egyptians to be a black race, with woolly hair.[1] It easily appears, however, that these assertions must be limited in two ways; first, they apply only to the great body of the people, and not to the upper classes; secondly, the expression does not exactly signify a completely black, but rather a dark brown, nor the hair completely woolly (but rather curly). Another ancient writer upon the colour of the Egyptians determines this, where he calls them brown.[2] To me the Egyptians seem to have been exactly what the *Copts*, their descendants, now appear to the stranger who visits them. "I believe," says a modern, who has seen them,[3] "the ancient race of the Egyptians to exist in the present Copts; a kind of dark-coloured Nubians (*basannés*), much as they are seen on the ancient monuments; flat foreheads, half woolly hair, the eyes rather staring, high hips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips, placed rather distant from the nose, a thin and poor beard, few graces of body," etc. "The colour of the skin," says a later traveller, "is nearly the natural colour, if we assume that the Egyptians were of the same colour as their descendants, the present Copts, of whom some are as fair as Europeans."[4] However true, therefore, the statement of Herodotus may be, the reader must guard against giving it a meaning which it will not bear. Besides, few countries are so much exposed to the invasion of foreigners, and therefore to so many intermixtures, as Egypt, which is surrounded on three sides by nomad hordes; nor so much visited by strangers, as it has always been a principal place of trade. To this it may be added, that the question here respects a period comprising above a thousand years, (for so long certainly had Egypt been civilized before the time of Herodotus,) during which many changes must naturally have taken place.

The truth of this remark will be best confirmed by the

[1] Herod. ii. 104. He mentions this incidentally, in order to prove that the Colchians, who had this colour and hair, were truly Egyptian colonists.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16. Homines Egyptii plerique *subfusculi* sunt, et *atrati*, magisque mœstiores, gracilenti et aridi.

[3] Denon, i. 136. [4] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 239.

monuments of ancient Egypt which still exist; especially by those which have been lately discovered. A number of variously sized idols has hitherto been generally referred to, from which we should judge of the physiognomy of the people. I confess, that in the least of these I find something of the negro kind;[1] but then it must be considered, that we can neither fix the time when, nor the part of the land where, they were made; a question of the highest importance, because, as will be seen hereafter, every part of the country had not always the same fate with the rest. It is most agreeable to the rules of sound criticism, first to have recourse to those monuments—the temples and obelisks—of which we can with certainty pronounce, that they belong to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs. These are nearly all covered with works of art, which contain a great number of human figures, either of deities or men, and on that account deserve first to be examined. They acquire, moreover, a great additional value, from their clearly indicating an endeavour in the artists to copy nature, and from their faithfully representing the peculiarities of the different people, their features, nature of their hair, and so forth. The same proofs that this was the case are found here, upon the temples of the Thebais, as upon the ruins of Persepolis in Asia; necessity must have led to it, if the historical meanings were wished to be readily understood, and from this it probably became a rule of ancient art. It is impossible, however, to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been negroes, or anything like negroes. I appeal here to the great historical bas-reliefs upon the temples at Thebes, with which Denon has first made us acquainted.[2] The figure of the king comes before us at different times, and upon different occasions. It is always the same head; so that, according to the writer himself, it seems to be a portrait—or rather an idealised portrait. But it is so far from having the least appearance of African lineaments, that it seems rather to approach the Grecian profile.[3] Just as little resemblance is there to be seen of the ne-

[1] I refer here to the engravings in Caylus, *Recueil* V. plates i.—xxv.; as well as to Winkelmann, *Storia delle Arti*, etc. i. tab. iv. v. ed. FEA. Many of these, and other heads, no doubt represent the common Egyptian features, and are anything but beautiful, according to our ideas. In the ideal portraits, the sphinx's head comes the nearest, in my opinion, to the Egyptian profile; but I do not remember more than one of these which has anything of the negro cast, and that is, the colossal head at the pyramid of *Ghizeh*.

[2] Denon, plates cxxxiii. cxxxiv.; and after him, in numerous copper-plates in the great work on Egypt. [3] The correctness of the drawing is here so much the less subject to doubt because the artist has evidently enlarged the head of the king. Plate cxxxiv. No. 42.

gro in more than a hundred heads of his attendants, as well warriors as priests. I appeal as well to the other reliefs upon all the temples above Thebes, so far as they are made known to us in the great work upon Egypt. I appeal, finally, to the very accurately finished plate of the representations upon the obelisks, for which we are indebted to Zoëga.[1] Compare also the heads of the sphinxes and deities upon the top of the obelisk on Mount Citatorio, and the similar fragment of another in the museum of Cardinal Borgia, and see if there be anything to be found of a negro character!

Should even these proofs fail, the Egyptians have left us still another, in the pictures on the walls in their chambers of the dead. The colours in these are still so fresh and perfect, as to excite the astonishment of every one who examines them. The subjects mostly relate to the domestic life of the Egyptians; the human figure is consequently very frequent. Every thing else is faithfully copied from nature, and therefore it is fair to conclude that these are also. Bruce had already called the attention of the world to these pictures in the royal sepulchres of Thebes;[2] but it was the French expedition that first gave us a clear notion of them, by the labours of the learned who took the pains to examine them. The first striking specimen of them is given in the sepulchres of Eluthias in the Thebais, the true school for Egyptian antiquities, because they represent their whole manner of living, and almost every part of their domestic economy.[3] Women as well as men are here portrayed; "the men are red; the women yellow; the clothes white; the hair of the men is very dark, curled, but not short, as among the negroes."[4] Still clearer proofs are found in the royal sepulchres at Thebes, and, above all, in that most magnificent one which was opened by Belzoni. In these the light and dark men are expressly distinguished; and, indeed, in such a manner, that the former are represented as the victors, or rulers, and the latter as the conquered, or prisoners. "I remarked," says Denon,[5] "many decapitated figures; these were all dark, while those who had struck off their heads, and still stood sword in hand, were red." But the most decisive

[1] Zoëga, table ii. iv.

[2] Bruce, *Travels*, i. plate iii. iv.

[3] See the coloured engravings in the great work of Denon, *Description de l'Egypte*, plates lxviii.—lxxi.; and compare the excellent treatise of Costaz, (containing more information than many a thick volume,) in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, p. 134—158.

[4] Costaz, l. c. p. 156. The Egyptians had, as is there remarked, only six colours, but understood nothing of mixing these together. We need not wonder, then, at their not being able to paint exactly the colour of the skin.

[5] Denon, *Voyage*, ii. 278.

proof is in that of Belzoni, where not merely the light and dark, but in the ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, the three principal colours, white, brown, and black, are distinguished from one another with the nicest accuracy.[1] Indeed, when Denon descended one of the openings which lead to these subterraneous abodes, he found art in a still more certain manner confirmed by nature. A number of mummies, which were not banded up, showed plainly that the hair was long and lank, and the shape of the head itself approximating to the beautiful.[2] There is no need, however, to journey to Egypt to be convinced of this; the descriptions, and the mummies preserved at Munich, are quite sufficient to insure conviction.[3]

To this body of evidence there are still documentary proofs to be added: two commercial contracts, of which the fac-simile of one is at Berlin, and the original of the other at Paris. We are indebted for their interpretation to Professor Boeckh,[4] and H. S. Martin.[5] They certainly both belong to the period of the Ptolemies, but the names which occur show that the persons were Egyptians. These, in both, are described according to their external appearance, and, of course, their colour. In the Berlin document, the seller, Pamenthes, is called of a *darkish brown* colour;[6] and the buyer, *honey-coloured* or *yellowish;* the same epithet is conferred on the buyer, Osarreres, in the Parisian one. The shape of the nose and face is also stated, but so as not to raise the least idea of a negro physiognomy.

Two facts may be deduced from all this, as historically demonstrated: one, that even among the Egyptians themselves there was a difference of colour; as individuals are expressly distinguished from one another by being of a darker or lighter complexion. The other, that the higher castes of warriors and priests, according to the representations on all the monuments

[1] Belzoni, plate vi.—viii. No doubt whatever can be opposed to the question, whether the Egyptians wished to give the proper colour of the skin in their paintings—as far as their colours would allow. Hence it is clear that they not merely endeavoured to represent the colour, but also the physiognomy of the nations in the truest manner possible. Who can mistake the Jewish physiognomy among the captives in plate vii.?

[2] Denon, ii. p. 314. Compare with all this, in particular, the sculptures from the tombs of *Silsilis*, in Upper Egypt, in Denon, plate lxxvi. No. 2—4. These are evidently representations of the deceased; and certainly No. 2 and 4 of whole families. They are, therefore, the best adapted to enable us to form a judgment of the national physiognomy.

[3] See the exact description of them in the treatise of H. D. Waagen, p. 14.

[4] Explanation of an Egyptian document upon papyrus, in the Greek cursive writing, of the year 900 B. C., by A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1821.—The fac-simile was sent to Berlin by Minutoli.

[5] In the *Journal des Savants*, Sept. 1822.

[6] μελάγχρως and μελίχρος. The word μελάγχρωες is also used by Herodotus; and is, therefore, properly translated, where he uses it, by *swarthy*, or dark-coloured, and not by black.

executed in colours, belonged to the fairer class. Their colour is brownish, something between the white and black, or swarthy. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that the colour was exactly the same as that appropriated to them on the monuments; but it was become a fixed and settled type, and how could it have become so if it had not followed nature, when there was no want of means to represent white and black colours. In like manner the yellow or yellowish complexion became the standing type for women. The deities, on the contrary, both male and female, had no general distinctive colour, but the individuals among them differ.

These proofs, which seem to me irrefragable, will unquestionably acquire still greater force, when these monuments shall have been more carefully examined and more completely copied. As it is, we may conclude, that, though it be allowed that there was a dark-coloured race in Egypt, it certainly was not the only one; but a tribe of fairer, though perhaps not completely white, (for with the limited number of colours of which the Egyptians made use, and these without intermixing them, it was nearly impossible for them to give very exactly the colour of the skin,) had, at least for a certain period, spread themselves over Upper Egypt. We may, moreover, conclude, that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests, and warriors belonged; and that the magnificent monuments of Egyptian art, in this district, were erected by them.

The case is very different, notwithstanding its connexion with the foregoing subject, when we come to examine into the descent of this fairer race, and to inquire whether it was of African origin or not. I have observed, upon another occasion, that this question cannot be determined from history. Can we, indeed, trace the origin of other nations, the Greeks, for example, or even our own, from public records? Recourse, therefore, can only be had to such arguments as may be drawn from the nature of the people themselves, both as regards their external appearance and their civilization.

While little or nothing was known of the valley through which the Nile holds its course, above the confines of Egypt, with its monuments and inhabitants, it was impossible to answer this question with any satisfaction. But since the obscurity which hung over this region has been cleared up, the matter has assumed altogether a different appearance. The

southern frontiers of proper Egypt form merely a political boundary; the whole strip of land from the distant Meroë to where the Nile pours its flood into the Mediterranean, appears like a world by itself, cut off from the rest of the globe.[1] Neither in their speech, their writing, nor their religion, have the inhabitants of this strip of land any thing in common with the rest of the world. The same deities which were worshipped in Meroë were worshipped down to this nethermost boundary. We recognise the same art in their buildings, their sculptures, and their paintings. We recognise just the same writing; just the same hieroglyphics upon the monuments of Meroë as upon those of Thebes; and if, as I have remarked, this writing could only be taken from the language which was spoken by the people, it may thence be concluded, that the same language was spread over this whole district.[2] To all this may be added, that the best informed travellers and most accurate observers recognise the same colour, the same features, and mostly the same fashions and weapons in the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley, as they find portrayed on the Egyptian monuments. It was upon these grounds that I was induced, in the foregoing volume, to express my opinion, that it was the race, of which we now discover the remains in the Nubian—though by loss of liberty and religion much degenerated—which once was the ruling race in Egypt.

How could this culture, bearing, as it does, in a much higher degree than the Greek the stamp of locality, have been introduced from some other quarter? Here we do know its progress, though we can form but a very confused notion of its origin. But can we comprehend how this valley of the Nile, every where surrounded by the desert,—this strip, which alone allowed the soil its produce, almost without toil, the father-land of agriculture, and of a religion every where referring to it,—how here a condensed population came pressed together, and with it a rising commerce, for which the stream, the only one in north Africa which deserves the name, offers its assistance? This race did not come from Arabia; their colour, language, and manner of life were different, and continued different, though Arabian tribes became native in Africa. The Indians,

[1] See the discussion upon Meroë in the former part of this volume.

[2] It is true, that we have no conclusive evidence respecting the ancient language of the Ethiopians in Meroë, and its relation to the Egyptian. But their close affinity is proved by a very remarkable passage in Herodotus. In trying to demonstrate that the Ammonians were a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, he says, φωνην μεταξὶ αμιφοτερων νομιξοντες. Herod. ii. 42. Would this have any sense at all, if the languages had been wholly different?

then, are now the only nation known to us, that is left, whence the Egyptians could have descended. But though it cannot be denied that some Indians found their way thither, of which indeed there is an historical proof;[1] yet, as this could not take place otherwise than by sea, single colonies at the most—the Indians themselves never had a navy—could cross over; but we see not how a whole nation could. And would not such colonies, instead of penetrating so far into the interior, even to the banks of the river, have established themselves, or been obliged to establish themselves, on the coast?

I shall not repeat, but refer to what is said upon this subject in the former part of this volume. It would be rash to deny that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted from India to Ethiopia; but certainly nothing more than shoots, in which every foreign trace was soon lost by their being grafted in a foreign soil and climate.

From what has been already said, it must appear very evident that the manners and habits of the people of Egypt could not every where be the same. Local circumstances rendered this impossible; for many districts of Egypt permitted only this or that particular sort of life, and would allow of no other. The inhabitants of the eastern mountainous regions necessarily followed a pastoral life, as did also the tribes in the fenny districts of the Delta; their soil was unfit for agriculture. Other tribes, close to the Nile, were fishermen and mariners, as the nature of their situation made it more profitable than handicraft. But it is very apparent, that the civilized part of the nation, dwelling in the plains of the valley, carried on all the chief branches of domestic business, in all of which they arrived at great perfection, which is ascertained from the pictures in the grottoes so often mentioned, where they are all found portrayed. Agricultural occupations — ploughing, sowing, digging, harrowing, reaping, binding, treading out the corn by oxen, and storing it; fishing, with the angle as well as nets, and salting the fish; hunting; the vintage and its various labours; cattle-breeding, and herds of kine, horses, asses, sheep; the navigation of the Nile, as well with sails as oars; the weighing of living beasts for sale—all this is here represented.

[1] Syncellus, p. 120, ed. *Venet.* Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνασάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ᾤκησαν. Æthiopes, ab Indo fluvio profecti, supra Ægyptum sedem sibi eligerunt. This migration, however, did not happen before the reign of Amenophis or Memnon, belonging to the eighteenth dynasty; consequently in the flourishing period of the kingdom of Thebes. Neither the origin of the nation, therefore, nor its cultivation can be derived from that. The expression *supra Ægyptum* must be taken in a wider sense.

This difference in descent and manner of life likewise sheds a light upon that celebrated institution, which this nation had in common with the Hindoos, with whom they seem thus early to have had some connexion:—the division into castes, or hereditary ranks, of which, according to the most creditable accounts, there were seven in Egypt. The two most honourable were the priests and warriors; the next, merchants and shopkeepers, and mariners; then two castes of herdsmen; to which must be added—but not till the latter period of the Pharaohs—the interpreters or brokers.[1] Although the origin of castes among these nations extends beyond the period of history, and strict historical evidence cannot, therefore, be deduced, yet it is exceedingly probable that the difference of descent, connected with the modes of life, first laid the foundation of it, and that the various castes at first were various tribes.[2] There is no doubt but policy, in the infancy of civil society, expected to find this rigid separation of professions a security for their preservation and perfection, and for their further extension; neither is there any doubt but that accidental causes might, and indeed did, give rise to new castes;[3] the only question here is, from what cause did this institution spring originally?

This general view of the country and people will in some measure clear the way for the following discussions. But it will be necessary to mention, previously to taking a single step on our journey, that we are venturing into a region where the clear torch of history is gone out, and only a dim glimmering is left. It is only general masses that the most careful examiner can hope to discover; he who should attempt to point out clearly particular objects, will give us an illusory *ignis-fatuus* instead of the steady light of truth.

[1] Herod. ii. 164. He here calls the castes γένεα, as he generally calls the various tribes of a nation, as for example that of the Medes in lib. i. 101, that of the Persians in i. 125. The accounts of Herodotus have certainly a much higher claim to belief than those of Diodorus, i. p. 85, who only enumerates five classes, (namely, the two more noble, the husbandmen, the herdsmen, and the handicraftsmen,) as they do not agree in themselves. The reader may compare the passage in Isaiah xix. 7—21, where the prophet enumerates the Egyptian classes according to their leading circumstances. The reader will easily perceive the classes of agriculturists, herdsmen, fishermen, or navigators, the trading class, and the priests. The mention of the warrior caste would have been contrary to his object.

[2] See the disquisition, Meiners *de Origine Castarum apud Ægyptios et Indos, in Comment. Soc. Scient. Götting.* vol. x. p. 184, etc.

[3] As to that of the interpreters in Egypt, in the reign of Psammetichus.

CHAP. II. *Political State of the Ancient Egyptians.*

AND I WILL SET THE EGYPTIANS AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS, CITY AGAINST CITY, KINGDOM AGAINST KINGDOM. ISAIAH XIX. 2.

A FULL inquiry into the political state of ancient Egypt necessarily comprises two questions: first, what general revolutions the country or nation had passed through, in a political point of view, previously to the decline of the throne of the Pharaohs? Secondly, what was the state of things, with regard to the organization of the government, and the internal relations of the state, in the flourishing period of the Egyptian empire?

The origin of states usually takes place long before the period of authentic history; how much more then is this to be expected in a country, which, if not the first, was certainly one of the first in which states became formed. No more, therefore, can be here expected than that we should follow the obscure traces which history has left of its origin.

According to its own traditions, Egypt was originally inhabited by savage tribes, without tillage or government, who lived upon such fruits as the earth spontaneously brought forth, and upon fish, with which the Nile plentifully supplied them; while its buildings merely consisted of a few huts made of reeds! The mode of life of a part of its inhabitants, the shepherd and fishing tribes, in later times, evidences the truth of this account.[1] The history of the political growth of Egypt, however, does not depend upon the history of these tribes; but, as the still existing monuments evince, upon a race of different descent and colour; who, settling among these barbarians, in the fertile part of the land, especially in the valley of the Nile, became the builders of cities, the constructors of those proud monuments, and the founders of states; joining those ruder tribes more or less to themselves, or bringing them under their subjection. Thus they established a dominion, not so much by force as by superior knowledge and civilization connected with religion. The Egyptians themselves express this, when they ascribe the foundation of their civilization to their gods, particularly to Osiris, Isis, and Ammon.[2]

But if in the whole range of Egyptian antiquities there is to be found one proposition less open to contradiction than an-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 52. Isaiah xix. 8—10. [2] Ibid. i. p. 55.

other, it is, that civilization in general, and therefore more especially political improvement, did not spread from the sea inland, but rather from south to north. According to the proper accounts of the nation, Upper Egypt was more early civilized than Middle Egypt: and there was a time when the name of Thebais was generally synonymous with the civilized portion of Egypt.[1] It is equally certain that Lower Egypt was not cultivated till after both those portions: this observation is of more importance, because it marks a *successive* progress in the civilization of Egypt, and confutes an opinion which long prevailed in history. There was a time when Egypt was considered, even from its origin, as one great kingdom, which, through a long series of centuries, had endured without revolution, or at least without division. The tone in which many ancient writers, in other respects very worthy of belief, especially Herodotus, speak of Egypt, seems to justify this opinion; and although the fragments of Manetho, and later writers who borrowed from him, would seem, by containing catalogues of Egyptian princes in various states,[2] to contradict this, yet the learned are rather inclined to consider

[1] Herod. ii. 15.

[2] Towards a review of these sources, I offer the following remarks: When the Ptolemies ruled in Egypt, the study of the history of the country flourished, among the other branches of learning which they patronized. Ptolemy the Second caused an Egyptian priest, Manetho, to compile, from the archives of the priests, a history of Egypt; and in the execution of this task he has been accused of frauds, of too grave a nature for it to be possible for them to have been committed in so enlightened an age as that was, although slight mistakes might have crept in. His work received some additions from Eratosthenes, who arranged the succession of the ancient Theban kings. Other Greeks also, about the same time, made similar attempts; but the fruit of their labours, as well as that of Manetho, has been for a long period lost. Fragments, however, were preserved by Josephus in his Discourse against Apion. These writings, however, were made particular use of by the Christian writers, in their endeavours to arrange the chronology of the Bible; only, indeed, according to their hypothesis. This is first observable in Julius Africanus, in his *Chronicon*, composed in the third century; and by Eusebius, who again made use of them in the fourth. The work of Julius Africanus is likewise lost; of the Greek original of Eusebius we have only some fragments; but of a Latin translation by St. Jerome, we have the second part, or the Canons. The chronicles of both however were again made use of, at the beginning of the ninth century, by Georgius Syncellus, a monk, in his Chronicle, which in this manner became the principal source. But in this matter, the last ten years has supplied us, very unexpectedly, with a great treasure. The Chronicle of Eusebius, complete, as well as the first book, or the *Isagoge*, was again discovered in an *Armenian* translation at Constantinople. The first edition of this, but interpolated, appeared at Milan; and shortly after, the genuine edition, with a literal Latin translation, critical notes, and a preface giving all the explanation required, by the learned monk, Aucher, *Eusebii Phamphili Chronicon bipartitum, nunc primum ex Armenico textu in Latinum conversum, adnotationibus auctum, Græcis fragmentis exornatum, opera* P. Joannis Baptistæ Aucher, *Ancyrani, Monachi Armeni;* Venetiis, 1818, 4to. This edition is what I used. We there have the statements of Manetho at best only at second or third hand, and, without doubt, often disfigured in particulars, though not, on that account, upon the whole. The first modern who endeavoured to compile from these sources a chronological history of the *different* states, which often flourished in Egypt at the same time, was Marsham, in his *Canon Chronicus*, Lond. 1672; a work which displays as much acuteness as learning. In later times, Gatterer, in his *Synchronistischen Universalhistorie*, has endeavoured to reduce the *Dynasties of Manetho* to a better order; without, however, even satisfying himself, †*Weltgeschichte nach ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 16. While our means continue so scanty, it will always be a hopeless task to settle here an accurate chronology in particulars.

these as spurious or uncertain, than to give up the commonly received opinion.

These ideas require now no further confutation. The researches of more modern writers have placed it beyond a doubt, that Egypt in its earlier period contained *many contemporary kingdoms or states*, but which, nevertheless, became united, somewhat later, into one great empire. And if a single doubt had remained upon this head, it has been entirely done away with, from the time we have possessed the complete Chronicle of Eusebius, by his single testimony, that many dynasties must be considered as contemporary, and distinct from one another.[1] But further: this is proved, by a passage in Josephus, to have been also the opinion of Manetho himself; for, according to his own account, the Hyksos were expelled by the king of Thebes, and the *other* kings of Egypt.[2] The question here, however, extends over a period of at least eighteen centuries, during which, previous to the Persian invasion, Egypt was governed, for the most part, by native kings alone. How many changes might have come to pass in this long period! How many states might have arisen and fallen in this long lapse of ages, without history having preserved even the remembrance of their name! How many, indeed, *must* have sprung up and declined, unless we give to their institutions a firmness and durability, which is no longer the lot of human things!

The dynasties of Manetho, unfortunately, contain but little beyond mere catalogues of kings, but they are, notwithstanding this, of the greatest importance for Egyptian antiquity; not only because they lead us to correct notions respecting that, but, more particularly, because they likewise make known to us the names of the cities in which these kings reigned; and, consequently, point out the places where the most ancient Egyptian states were founded. In a nation, whose whole being, government, and civilization were so much formed according to the locality, these give the first ideas, the foundation, upon which all further inquiry must be built. The most

[1] *Porro si quoque valde auctus temporum numerus reperiatur, tamen et illius diligenter rationem scrutari oporteat; forte enim iisdem temporibus multos reges Ægyptiorum simul fuisse contigerit. Siquidem Thinitas aiunt et Memphitas, Saitasque et Æthiopes regnasse, ac interim alios quoque; et sicut mihi videtur alios alibi; minime autem alterum alteri successisse; sed alios hic, aliosque illic regnare oportuisse.* Eusebii, *Chronicon*, p. 201, 202.

[2] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγίπτου βασιλέων γένεσθαι φήσιν (ὁ Μανεθὼν) ἐπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας. *Reges Thebaïdos et reliquæ Ægypti invasionem fecisse dicit Manetho contra pastores.* Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. p. 1040.

ancient Egyptian states, according to the unanimous tradition of Manetho and others, were altogether in the valley of the Nile, on both sides the river. The nature of things determines this, because, in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, the soil itself was not formed till afterwards. The kingdoms of Upper and Middle Egypt, mentioned by Manetho, are, beginning from the southern frontiers, the state of *Elephantis*, of *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, of *This*, afterwards called *Abydos*, of *Heracleopolis*, and of *Memphis*, not far from the place where the Nile divides. States in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, are not mentioned till towards the end of his dynasties, namely, the states of *Tanis*, *Bubastus*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, and *Sais*.

None of these states appear, according to his account, to have continued without interruptions; the successions of their kings are broken off and renewed; revolutions, of which we know nothing, destroyed and suppressed them, till, under more favourable circumstances, they again arose and flourished. Yet, however little our information may be respecting the vicissitudes to which these states were subject, they cannot appear extraordinary, if we bear in mind that the narrow valley of the Nile, as well as the Delta, in which these states were situated, was every where surrounded by barbarous nomad hordes, whose inroads and wars must have occasioned many revolutions. An accurate chronology, showing how far they were contemporary, or followed one another,—were interrupted, and again continued,—lies beyond the scope of these researches; all that could be said upon the subject, with any show of probability, has long been published;[1] it appears, however, from the whole, as most evident, that Thebes and Memphis were the mightiest and most durable among them.

The way in which those earliest states of Egypt were formed, and to whom they were indebted for their origin and civilization, will become the first objects of my attention.

I venture, however, to hope that the groundwork for the settlement of these points has been already laid, in Ethiopians, chap. iii. It has there been shown how one religion, that of Ammon and his kindred gods, connected with their temples, spread over the whole valley of the Nile. We have there become acquainted with an extensive commercial intercourse, comprising the southern portion of the globe, from India to Africa; we have there pointed out certain places, which were,

[1] Gatterer's *Synchronistische Universalhistorie*, p. 301, etc., and also his later *Lehrbucher*.

at the same time, the chief seats of religion and trade; we have already seen examples in Meroë and Ammonium, that the sanctuaries which were erected at these places became likewise the central points of states, where, very naturally, from this very cause, a priest caste became the ruling order; finally, we have seen that the extension of religion and trade, by the foundation of new sanctuaries in distant, but suitable and convenient districts, was no uncommon circumstance.[1]

A general glance at ancient Egypt will suffice to convince the reader that these ideas are equally applicable to it, and that much happened there in just the same manner. Did not the whole civilization of the people also there depend upon a ruling caste of priests? And are not traces of this at all times visible, notwithstanding the numerous revolutions which have taken place? Does not Egypt exhibit, in the period of her highest civilization, the form of a complete hierarchy; in which every germ, that in a less fortunate soil must have perished, by favourable circumstances, in various ways shot forth?

History also adds its mites, which evidently extend and explain this view of the subject. Thebes, as well as the states in general of Upper Egypt, are called, in the proper annals of the priests, colonies from Meroë in Ethiopia;[2] and at Thebes the service of Jupiter Ammon, whose temple was the common centre of the state, gives of itself a striking proof that such was the case. Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. It lay just at the point where the river became navigable without interruption; and where navigation must have assumed a new shape, "as portable vessels were no longer required."[3] Memphis, whose situation was so remarkable from the dams and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes.[4] The other cities of Egypt, likewise, derive their descent—directly or indirectly—from Ethiopia, of which they

[1] I trust I shall be excused for referring here to the very remarkable circumstance, (of which Burkhardt has informed us, without thinking of antiquity, and therefore not at all with a view to confirm my opinion,) that there now exists, almost on the very site of ancient Meroë, a completely similar *priestly trading state*, in the small state of *Damer*, which is described above, p. 219, note. Can there well be a better commentary upon antiquity?

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 175, 176.

[3] The objection, that so small an island as Elephantis could not have formed a state, is very easily removed; as it is only said here, that it became by its sanctuary the central point, to which many of the neighbouring districts might have belonged. In the statements of Jomard, *Description*, chap. iii. p. 18, it is rendered probable, that the name Elephantis was only a translation of Philæ; as *Fil*, or *Phil*, in the Ethiopian language, is as much as to say, *elephant;* and this name might have included the small islands in general, which all together might have formed a state. I leave this undetermined, but it is important to remark, that what Herodotus, ii. 28, says of Elephantis is necessarily to be understood of *Philæ*.

[4] Diodorus, i. p. 60.

considered themselves as colonies, and of which their religion and institutions furnish abundant proof.[1]

From this body of evidence, then, we come to the conclusion, that the same race which ruled in Ethiopia and Meroë, spread themselves by colonies, in the first instance, to Upper Egypt; that these latter colonies, in consequence of their great prosperity, became, in their turn, the parents of others; and, as in all this they followed the course of the river, there gradually became founded a succession of colonies in the valley of the Nile, which, according to the usual custom of the ancient world, were, probably, at first, independent of each other, and therefore formed just so many little states.[2] Though with the promulgation of their religion, either that of Ammon himself, or of his kindred deities and temple companions, after whom even the settlements were named, the extension of trade was the principal motive which tempted colonists from Meroë to the countries beyond the desert; yet there were many other causes, such as the fertility of the land, and the facility of making the rude native tribes subservient to themselves, which, in a period of tranquillity, must have promoted the prosperity, and accelerated the gradual progress, of this colonization. The advantages which large streams offer, by facilitating the means of communication, are so great, that it is a common occurrence in the history of the world, to see civilization spreading on their banks. The shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, of the Indus and Ganges, of the Kiangh and Hoangho, afford us as plain proofs of this as the banks of the Nile.

This view of the subject is not only consonant to the nature of things in general, but there are other proofs, derived from the *political division of the land*, under the later government of Egypt, which confirm it.

The fertile portion of Egypt, for example, was divided into certain *nomes* or *districts*, which are found mentioned, upon various occasions, even under the Ptolemies. It was, however, a primeval institution, which had descended from the times of the Pharaohs,—for the Egyptians themselves imputed it to Sesostris;[3] and this division continued both during the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans.

It requires, however, but a passing glance at the history of

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 175.

[2] This outspreading, nevertheless, must not be understood to have taken place, step by step, in exact geographical order. That there was not, indeed, even a mutual movement, or reaction from Egypt upon Ethiopia, is by no means denied, I have already stated above, p. 220, to which I now refer

[3] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

Egypt, to perceive, that although this continued as a whole, it was yet subject to numerous alterations in particulars. Scarcely any two writers agree respecting the number of nomes; and the confusion becomes still greater when we attempt to compare their separate names with one another. D'Anville has collected together, upon his map, fifty-three of them, and yet this does not include all that are mentioned by Herodotus. Strabo[1] enumerates thirty-six; Pliny, and others, various numbers: differences which cannot astonish us when we consider the number of political changes which Egypt had experienced with regard to its boundaries.

I shall leave it to some future historian to trace out the extent of these changes. For the present discussion, the only material question is, how did this division arise, and what was its original form?

On these points Herodotus again becomes the only historian from whom we can expect any information. When he visited Egypt, many lesser parts of this system might very possibly have been changed; but it had not yet given way to a Greek or Roman division into provinces. Traces of what it had originally been must have been preserved, or were at least too easy to be obtained, to have escaped the observation of so minute an inquirer as Herodotus.

One fact, which a little attention to the subject alone places before us, and which necessarily leads to still further conjecture, is, that this division into nomes was, in a certain degree, connected with the objects and form of worship in various parts of Egypt. In this nome, he says, was this or that deity reverenced, were these or those animals held sacred; while in another it was otherwise. This remark at once leads us to adopt the idea, that in this, as well as in almost every institution, religion and state-policy were most intimately united. The following passage from Herodotus, conjoined with what has already been said upon the formation of the Egyptian states, will, I think, place the obscure question respecting the origin of nomes, which D'Anville held it impossible to solve, in its fullest light.[2]

"Those," says Herodotus, "who have founded the sanctuary of the Theban Jupiter, *or* belong to the Theban nomes, abstain from sheep, and slaughter goats; but those who have estab-

[1] Strabo, p. 1154. See also Diodorus, l. c.; cf. Plin. v. 9.
[2] D'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 34.

lished the sanctuary of Mendes, *or* belong to the Mendean nomes, abstain from goats and slaughter sheep instead."

This testimony of the historian seems to me so clear, precise, and certain, that I think no further doubt can remain upon the origin and earliest form of the Egyptian nomes. They evidently, at their origin, were appended to the temples. Every new settlement of the priest caste, with the territory that formed it, constituted one of these nomes. And every such nome was distinguished from the others by the form of worship introduced into it, which was every where modelled according to local circumstances.

At their first origin, therefore, these Egyptian nomes were just so many independent states of the priest caste; and this division into nomes could never become the general division of the country, till the whole of Egypt, or the separate states of which it was composed, should be united into one large kingdom. It is, therefore, in this sense that the Egyptian tradition ascribes this division to *Sesostris;* because he was sole monarch of all Egypt.

Thus, therefore, we here arrive, by another, and assuredly by a more certain way, according to history, at the same conclusion to which our foregoing researches have already brought us, namely, that "The most ancient states of this country were originally settlements of the priest caste, who, by accustoming the inhabitants to fixed dwellings, and to agriculture, by the introduction of a religious worship formed according to the locality, and supported by local circumstances, wove a political band by which they connected these rude tribes with themselves."

The central point of such a state, therefore, was always, in the first place, a temple, about which a city became formed. "A nome," says an Egyptian Father of the Church, "is a name given by the Egyptians to a city, with its surrounding territory, and the villages lying therein."[1] Even the names of the Egyptian cities afford a proof of this; as we know, from many examples, that such cities had two names, one sacred, which was given it by the priests, and taken from their protecting deity, the other profane, adopted from some accidental cause. Thus Thebes was also called the City of Ammon; Memphis, the City of Phtha; Heliopolis, the City of Rhé, or

[1] Cyrill. *ad Jes.* 19, 11. Νομὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἑκάστη πόλις, καὶ αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῆς, καὶ αἱ ὑπ' αὐτῇ κῶμαι.

Helios of On, etc.[1] Nevertheless, these double names, so far as I have been able to discover, were never conferred upon any cities, except the capitals of the nomes containing the chief temple, and consequently forming the metropolis of the state.

The particular fortunes of these little states, their rise and their fall, are quite unknown. In the common course of affairs, some would flourish while others declined, and the more powerful obtain a dominion over the weak; so that it is nothing extraordinary to find two of them, Thebes and Memphis, elevating themselves above the rest, and swallowing them up. It happened in Egypt as in Phœnicia, where the various cities, likewise colonies of one another, formed at the beginning so many small independent states; but the mighty Tyre, gaining at last a predominance, maintained, to a certain degree, an authority over them: without, however, suppressing entirely the other kings, whom she only held in dependence. But notwithstanding all this, some states must still have remained weak in proportion to the others, and this explains another circumstance connected with the highest events of Egyptian history: the tedious and often repeated *struggle with the neighbouring nomades*, by whose conquest the flourishing period of the Pharaohs was brought about.

The countries in the vicinity of Egypt were almost entirely inhabited by nomad hordes, and certainly, for the most part, by very powerful nations. Besides the African tribes of Libyan and Ethiopian descent, there were the Arabians close at hand, to whom the rich grazing districts of Lower Egypt must have been particularly attractive. Thus, as the civilization of the Nile valley extended farther north, an encounter with these nations became unavoidable, who, for their part, felt just so much more inclined for war as the opulence of the valley increased. It follows, from the nature and habits of these nations, who only flee to recruit their strength and renew their attacks, that these wars must have been very frequent and tedious. The more ancient Egyptian history, in which they are comprised under the name of *Hyksos*,[2] is, even in its fragments,

[1] Champollion, *Précis*, p. 337. The Greek names of these cities, therefore, were translations of those given them by the priests, according to the comparison of the Egyptian gods with theirs.

[2] The name Hyksos is explained by Manetho to mean shepherd-kings; as in the ancient Egyptian language *Hyk* signified king, and *Sos* shepherd; according to which it would not be the name of the people, but only of their rulers. After another interpretation, it is said to mean *captives*. Joseph. p. 1038.

full of accounts respecting them; and from these it is evident, that although Egypt was assaulted on various sides by these tribes, yet, those coming from the east, *the Arabs*, were by far the most formidable among them.[1] They overran Lower Egypt, and pressed forwards into Middle Egypt, where they took Memphis; they overthrew cities and temples, and built a strong place surrounded with walls, at *Avaris*, near Pelusium, at the entrance of Egypt, as a place of retreat in case of necessity. They thus founded a kingdom, which comprised the greatest part of Egypt, and which, governed by a succession of monarchs, whose names will be found in Manetho,[2] continued for a considerable period. The victors, as is almost always the case with nomad conquerors,[3] appear to have adopted many of the customs of the conquered. They established themselves in Lower and Middle Egypt; Memphis was the capital of their empire; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that their kings should be enumerated in the series of Egyptian dynasties. From the little that is said of them by Herodotus,[4] it is not altogether an improbable conjecture, that they were the builders of the pyramids, a sort of monument peculiar to Middle Egypt, where they ruled, and which, from their huge size, seem to betray the taste of a semi-barbarous people, who found, among the conquered mechanics and labourers, the means of prosecuting such stupendous undertak-

[1] The following accounts are taken from Josephus, *contra Apion. Op.* p. 1036, etc., who has here preserved us copious extracts from Manetho.

[2] Josephus mentions six of these kings, who reigned for one hundred and sixty years. The whole continuance of the Hyksos in Egypt, he states at five hundred and eleven years; but if this statement be adopted, there is no doubt but it must be understood to include the long and repeated wars which preceded, as well as those which followed their actual dominion. The proper dominion of the Hyksos in Egypt, from the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho, continued, according to his statement, only one hundred and three years. Euseb. *Chron.* p. 214. Manetho places the elevation of Joseph within this period; and the favourable reception of his family, leading a shepherd life, will be certainly most explicable during the sway of a shepherd dynasty.

[3] As, for example, the Mongols and Mantchues in China.

[4] The builders of the pyramids were represented by the Egyptians themselves, as oppressors of the nation, and enemies of religion. Herod. ii. 144. They would not willingly speak of them, and called the pyramids the work of the shepherd Philitis, who hereabouts fed his flocks. Should even this, as Zoëga (p. 389, note 8) has conjectured with much probability, be only a figurative representation, and Philitis signify the ruler of the lower world; yet this does not at all weaken the other reasons for this opinion. Various reports, however, were current in Egypt itself respecting the antiquity and builders of the pyramids; Diodorus, i. 75; a certain proof of their being then very ancient. Since we have become acquainted with the pyramid architecture in Meroë, since we observe there in miniature what was carried to such a wondrous extent in Egypt, can anything be more probable than that the Egyptian pyramids were also the work of Ethiopian conquerors, of whom, indeed, (Herod. ii. 100,) not less than eighteen are said to have ruled in Egypt, long previous to the flourishing times of Egypt, under the Sesostridæ. I shall leave it to others to do justice to this conjecture; and shall only now add, that, according to the passages cited from Diodorus, there was still another tradition in Egypt, which referred the building of the pyramids to the reign of a king Amasis, or Ammosis, who is described as a tyrant, but was overthrown by an *Ethiopian* conqueror, Actisanes.

ings. However this may have been, the power of the conquerors began to decline, probably from the same causes that have usually operated upon other empires of the same kind in the East; and, as they seem never to have been completely masters of Upper Egypt, where at least the kingdom of Thebes maintained itself during their dominion, though perhaps sometimes dependent, they became at last expelled by the rulers of that state; and Egypt delivered from their oppression. The glory of being the restorer of Egyptian independence, is attributed to Thutmosis, king of Thebes; the first who, in alliance with the *other* kings of Egypt,[1] attempted to shake off the yoke of the Hyksos. After a long struggle, the latter were at last driven to their strong-hold at Avaris; and, as this could not be taken by force, they were reduced to a capitulation by the second king after Thutmosis, by which they agreed to evacuate this and all Egypt.

This expulsion of the Hyksos became, by its consequences, one of the greatest events of Egyptian history.[2] As it brought the nation again to depend upon itself, it laid the foundation for the consolidation of the various petty states under one ruler, which, though perhaps not immediately, followed soon after, and led to the commencement of the brilliant period of the empire. How deeply the remembrance of these victories was impressed upon the nation, is plainly evinced in the remains of their annals; and scarcely anything was to be expected, from the nature of their monuments, but that these glorious deeds should be immortalized upon them. The few specimens, which

[1] This is the expression of Manetho in Josephus. That many small states existed during the dominion of the Hyksos cannot be strange: the victors, as is usual, might be satisfied with making them tributary.

[2] Although chronological disquisitions lie beyond the scope of this work, yet clearness requires that the *principal epochs* should be determined, so far as this is possible in a history where we are compelled to reckon by centuries instead of years. We shall distinguish four periods. The *first*, from before the year 2000 to 1800 B. C.: period of the colonization of the Nile valley and of Lower Egypt, where numerous small states were formed in the manner above described, and Thebes and Memphis already attained to considerable importance. Abraham, about 2000 B. C., found a kingdom in Lower Egypt; and, two centuries later, in Joseph's time, 1800 B. C., the state in which *he* acted so great a part, probably Memphis, was so powerful, that it comprised Middle and Lower Egypt. The *second*, from 1800—1700 B. C.: period of the *Hyksos*, who subjugated Middle Egypt. The native states, however, still continue to exist, (though more or less tributary,) especially the kingdom of Thebes. The victors mostly adopt the manners of the conquered, but gradually lose thereby their warlike character. Period of Moses.—*The third*, from 1700—700 B. C.: period of Sesostris and of the Sesostridæ, who, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, ruled over all Egypt. Hence this formed the *brilliant period* of the kingdom, in which the greater part of its mighty monuments were erected. Towards the close of this period, however, from about 800 B. C., the kingdom began to decline, partly through the conquests of the kings of Ethiopia and Meroë, and partly from intestine troubles; so that a dodecarchy became the consequence, till Psammetichus established himself at Sais as sole monarch of Egypt. The *fourth*, 700—528 B. C., from the reign of Psammetichus to the Persian conquest. The chronology of Egypt chiefly depends upon fixing the *period of Sesostris;* upon which I shall say more in the next chapter.

we have now obtained, of the historical representations upon the walls of their temples, seem, as I shall make manifest in the next chapter, to leave no doubt of this fact. Indeed, it is easily perceived that the reliefs upon one of the great temples at Thebes, namely, that of Karnac, are devoted to the history of this war; for the whole circle of events, from the moment in which the king obtains his weapons from the deity, in order to march against the enemy, till he again, as conqueror, delivers them back to the deity, is placed before us. The peculiarities of the people warred against, as well as the designation of the locality, and the manner of the fight, are all so many proofs of this fact. The hostile nation have a peculiar physiognomy, altogether different from that of the Egyptian. All belonging to it have long beards and long garments; every thing, indeed, pointing them out as Arabs. Still clearer proofs are given in the representation of the battle and flight. The slain and flying enemy is here portrayed as a nation, whose riches consist in its *herds* of cattle and horses, which are seen taking to flight with their armies. The circumstance of place is pointed out by a lotus flower and bush, a proof that it was a marshy region. In the back-ground is observed a long, strong-posted wall or fortification; which, in connexion with the other circumstances, obviously brings to our mind the strong-hold of *Avaris*, the point to which the shepherds had reached in this very district of Lower Egypt.

Although this important event laid the foundation of that national power and greatness which seemed immediately to follow, yet it also seems explained by the foregoing narrative, how these revolutions came to have so little effect in changing the national character, and the principal features of government. We know explicitly, that the state of Thebes continued during the foreign dynasty, as did probably many of the others, by paying tribute. The form of this state, therefore, remained the same; the dominion of the priest caste was shaken, but not overthrown; and if the sanctuaries, as the priest informed Herodotus, were closed for a hundred years, they were nevertheless reopened; the foreign dynasty was chased from Upper Egypt; independence was here re-established, the national spirit revived, and the various states were consolidated into one kingdom. Can we then be surprised to see in Egypt, thus united, the same principal form continued, and the kingdom in its most flourishing period assume the appearance of a vast hierarchy?

This brilliant period began, according to the most probable settlement of the chronology, between the years 1600 and 1500 B. C.; at a time when we have as yet heard of no great empire in Asia; when, as yet, Phœnicia possessed no Tyre, nor the commerce of the world; when the Jews, after the death of Joshua, remained without a leader, weak and inconsiderable; and when the obscure traditions of the Greeks represent that nation as but little removed from barbarism. There can be no doubt, therefore, but Egypt ranked, at this time, as the most civilized country of the known world, at least as far as the Indus; and for succeeding centuries no one could enter the lists with her, or cause her any dread; and thus, through a long period of tranquillity, she continually increased and prospered, till she attained that pitch of greatness, which is not only set forth in the narratives of antiquity, but displayed in her own monuments. The first symptoms of decay are discernible towards the beginning of the eighth century before the Christian era, the period at which a little light breaks into her history; and we therefore may conclude, with much probability, that this golden period lasted from seven to eight centuries. What I have to say respecting it will be reserved for the following chapter.

Egyptian tradition makes the departure of some of the foreign colonies, as, for example, that of Danaus for the Peloponnesus, to have happened during the revolutions, to which the expulsion of the Hyksos gave rise. How much the foundation of colonies, not only within, but also beyond the boundaries of Egypt, was in accordance with the notions of the Egyptian priests, may be gathered from the statements of Diodorus. According to their own traditions, Egyptian colonies were founded in the most opposite regions of the world: in Greece, Colchis, Babylon, and even India. But, in the foundation of these colonies out of Egypt, there was always a view to the extension of Egyptian civilization. Even the whole mythus of the expedition of *Osiris*, as found in Diodorus,[1] is nothing more than a figurative representation of the spread of Egyptian religion and civilization, by the planting of colonies; as was that of Hercules, as I have shown in its place, among the Phœnicians. It is the highly figurative language of eastern antiquity. No one will think of finding in it strict historical truth; nevertheless, it will plainly evince, that this extension by colo-

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 22.

nies of priests, as we have laid it down, was by no means a strange idea to the Egyptians themselves, but a well-known common circumstance.

It also seems pretty certain, that in this flourishing period, the *division into castes*, as a political institution, received its complete formation; and those strict boundary lines were fixed, to which difference of descent and manner of life had already laid the foundation. So long as the country remained divided into numerous small states, this institution, though certainly existing, could scarcely come to maturity. The priest caste was without doubt distributed through all the states, which were excellently formed and governed by them; but in each of these states there could hardly be found some of all the other castes. Thus a warrior caste could not possibly become important in small states, if they had already existed in some of the larger for any length of time. But after the consolidation into one kingdom, institutions of this kind, the ground having been laid for them before, must naturally have become extended. The more, therefore, this regulation formed the foundation of the whole government, the more necessary it seems that we should take a glance at the separate castes; as well the noble, (the priest and warrior castes,) as the others enumerated by Herodotus.

The difficulties of the inquiry respecting the *priest caste* are increased, because the writers, to whose testimony we must have recourse, did not live till a later age, when it must already have undergone great and essential internal changes. Every revolution must have reacted upon this body, or rather struck it first; as already that of Psammetichus, who by foreign aid had won the sole dominion of Egypt. This event, though it did not destroy, must have greatly diminished their political influence. By the changes which ensued in Egyptian policy, it is probable, that, without violent concussion, they became gradually reduced to what they appeared in the time of Herodotus, when little more seemed left of their former dominion and power than their documents. These changes were still further increased by the Persian yoke. These foreign conquerors were the natural enemies of the ruling caste, and it becomes a matter of surprise, that the repeated shocks which it had to endure did not entirely destroy it.

Herodotus, therefore, and still more the writers from whom Diodorus borrowed, saw only the shadow of their former glory.

Still, however, there were left many manifest traces of what had formerly been, and sufficient may be collected from what these writers tell us, to enable us to form, with tolerable certainty, some conclusions respecting the earlier state of this caste.

It was completely in accordance with Egyptian institutions, that branches of this great priest stock should be spread over all Egypt. In every Egyptian city this caste seems to have been native; but the great cities, which formerly had been the capitals of the Egyptian kingdoms, Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais, still continued their principal seats; it was likewise at these places that the great temples were found, which are so often mentioned in the narratives of Herodotus and others.[1]

Every Egyptian priest was obliged to enter into the service of some particular god; that is to say, he was obliged to belong to some particular temple. The number of priests for the service of any deity was never fixed; according to the whole system, it must have been a matter of chance, for, as the priesthood descended in families, its number must have varied. It was not, for example, merely the priest caste *generally* that was hereditary in Egypt; but again, *especially* the priesthood of this or that deity. The son of a priest of Vulcan at Memphis, could not enter, as member, into the college of priests at Heliopolis; nor could a son of one of the latter enter into the former.

However strange this regulation may appear to us, it is quite natural. Every temple had large estates, the revenues of which were drawn by the priests belonging to the same, whose forefathers had formerly built this temple, had formed the neighbouring tribes into subjects, and had made these fields arable. It was therefore a natural inheritance, which might become so much the more unalienable, as it not only referred to the income, but also to the territory of every priest colony.

The priesthood belonging to each temple, were again, among themselves, strictly organized. They had a high priest, whose office was likewise hereditary, and the disposition of the rest was made according to the state of affairs.

It scarcely needs to be mentioned, that these offices of high priest, in the metropolitan temples of Egypt, were the first and highest in the state. To a certain degree they were hereditary

[1] The proofs of what next follow will be found in Herod. ii. 36, 37, 42, compared with Diodorus, i. p. 48.

princes, who ranked next to the kings, and enjoyed nearly equal advantages. Both Memphis and Thebes had, at the same time, high priests and kings, so long as they flourished as separate and independent states. The Egyptian title was *pyromis*, which, according to Herodotus's interpretation, is equivalent in signification to *noble and good*[1] (καλὸς κἀγαθὸς); but which, perhaps, did not refer to the moral character, but to nobleness of descent.[2] Their statues were erected in the temple. Whenever they are mentioned in history, even in the Mosaic period, they are represented as the highest persons in the state. When Joseph became elevated in Egypt, the first step he took was to connect himself by marriage with the priest caste: he married the daughter of the high priest of *On*, or *Heliopolis*.[3]

The organization of the inferior priesthood was perhaps different in different cities, according to the size and wants of the locality. They did not continue the ruling race, merely because from them were chosen the servants of the state, but much rather because they monopolised every branch of scientific knowledge, which was entirely formed by the locality, and had immediate reference to the wants of the people. The reader must banish the idea, that their sole, or even their most usual employment, was the service of the gods, an idea which the few following callings of priests will much tend to expel. They were judges, physicians, soothsayers, architects, in short, everything in which any species of scientific knowledge was required.

It is evident from the whole course of Egyptian history, that every great city in this country had originally one principal temple of this kind, which, in succeeding times, always remained the high temple, and the deity who was worshipped therein the chief god, or protecting deity of the place. The priests of Memphis were always called (according to the Greek way of naming them) the priests of Vulcan; those at Thebes, priests of the Theban Jupiter; those at Sais, priests of Minerva; those at On, priests of the sun, etc. These temples were the earliest settlements of the priesthood at each place, and to each of these likewise was knit the whole dominion of the state, which grew up and increased around it; it scarcely needs to

[1] Herod. ii. 143.

[2] That this may be the sense of καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, is shortly set forth by Welker, in his introduction to *Theognidis Reliquiæ*, p. 24.

[3] Genesis xli. 43.

be mentioned, that this in no wise prevented the priesthood from founding numerous temples to other deities, in proportion as their body increased, and changes of time and circumstances wrought occasion for them. The number of deities, however, to whom temples were dedicated, seems, at least in Upper Egypt, always to have been very limited. We have only yet heard of temples here to Ammon, Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. In Middle and Lower Egypt this circle seems afterwards to have been extended; it was still, however, confined to deities of the family of Ammon.

It will now also be easier to answer another question not less important; that touching the *income* of the Egyptian priests. The erroneous idea has been long entertained, that these were a class of men *paid* by the king or state; an idea which even those writers who have most raised themselves above the common notions respecting this remarkable caste seem still inclined to favour.

From what has already been said upon the colonies of these priests, it naturally follows, that they must have been the first proprietors of lands within their territory. It surely cannot, therefore, seem strange, that they are represented by Herodotus as being the *principal landed proprietors* in Egypt, a privilege which, according to Diodorus, was only possessed besides by the kings, in respect to their domains, and, though only under certain restrictions, by the warrior caste. It is, however, contrary to probability and to history to represent this latter regulation as uniformly and uninterruptedly existing in all the states of Egypt; to probability, because it would be difficult to conceive that the priest caste, where a state became greatly augmented, could preserve in its full extent, and exclusively, the proprietorship of land; to history, because as early as the time of Joseph, there appear to have been proprietors of land in the state over which he was governor, besides the priest caste and king, who, when compelled by the famine which then distressed them, could part with it to the king for corn.[1]

But whatever changes may have taken place, it is still certain that a considerable, perhaps the largest and fairest, portion of the land always remained the property of the priests. Ac-

[1] Genesis xlvii. 18—26. A very remarkable passage, which, besides showing us the power of the priests at that time, likewise gives us an example of the increase of the royal power in an Egyptian state!

cording to Herodotus and Diodorus, it was managed in the following manner:

To each temple, or to every settlement of priests, were attached extensive estates: these formed the original territory of the settlement, and therefore belonged to the whole body in common. They were accordingly farmed out at moderate rents, and the revenue which they produced formed the common treasury of the temple, which was under the charge of a person, or steward, appointed to manage it, who likewise appertained to the priest caste.[1] Out of this common fund the necessaries of life were supplied to the priests and their families belonging to each temple; they and their households living at free tables. "So many dishes," says Herodotus "were furnished daily, of those kinds of meat of which by their laws they were allowed to eat, and with them a certain quantity of wine (for they had the privilege of enjoying this luxury, which was forbidden the lower castes). Thus there was no need for them to contribute anything from their private means towards their support."

That besides these public and common benefits, each priest, or family of priests, (for it need scarcely be remarked that they married,) possessed also, or might possess, their private means, and consequently private estates, would be sufficiently evident, even if Herodotus had not expressly said as much in the passage just quoted. The families of priests were in reality the first, the highest, and the richest in the country! The priests had, indeed, exclusively the transacting of all state affairs; and carried on besides many of the most profitable branches of business. They formed, in fact, to a certain extent, a *highly privileged nobility.*

The highest degree of cleanliness in their person and clothing, was a very peculiar trait in the character of the Egyptian priests. There is no doubt but the nature of the country and climate had a great influence in this respect, as well as in determining the whole of their diet; but they seem likewise to have known very well the decided influence that external cleanliness has upon the civilization of a people.

They not only themselves set a most perfect example in this respect, but also deeply impressed it upon their subjects. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "are in nothing so careful as in always wearing clean linen clothes."

[1] Herodotus expressly mentions the steward of the college of priests at Sais, ii. 28.

The other classes throw woollen garments over these; the priests, on the contrary, clothe themselves entirely in clean linen,[1] and wear shoes of *byblos*. They shaved carefully their head, in order to secure themselves from vermin, and bathed twice a day. Could the higher classes in any country easily distinguish themselves by their clothing in a more simple and judicious manner?

Among the writers and Fathers of the Church who flourished in the first centuries, many accounts are still to be met with concerning the Egyptian priests; mostly, however, relating to the internal regulations of this caste.[2] They are there divided into *prophets*, *pastophori*, *neocori*, etc. These divisions are certainly confirmed by what is found upon the monuments, and by the Rosetta inscription; in other respects but little critical value can be placed upon these later accounts, where the question refers to the government of the *ancient* Egyptian priests. This class of men, once so respectable, and so active in the cultivation of the nation, had degenerated into charlatans; they nevertheless still continued to live upon the income derived from the temple property, and had become proportionately pompous in external dignities, as their power and influence had decreased.

Next in rank to the priest caste, was, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, the *soldier caste*,[3] or the race of Egyptian warriors. An object of inquiry not at all less interesting, but respecting which the difficulties are still more appalling.

It seems reasonable to suppose, that, in the political changes which took place in Egypt, and more particularly in its transformation into one kingdom, the effects upon the internal organization of this caste must have been as great, or greater, than upon the priests. The question naturally presents itself, whether in the earlier periods each state, or the greater part of the separate states, had their warrior caste, and if they had,

[1] Under which, however, it seems probable that *cotton* is to be understood as included. Conf. De Schmidt *de Sacerdotibus Ægypt.* p. 26. This fashion in dress seems to me also to argue for a southern descent. But, not to dwell upon this, the account given of them is completely confirmed by the representations of the priests upon the monuments. They always are portrayed here in long garments, and with heads closely shaved, where they have not a particular head-dress on. This head-dress seems to mark the distinction of ranks, but probably had as well some other religious reference. A more accurate study of the clothing and ornaments of the head would perhaps give a key to the great variety of representations of them in Egyptian antiquity.

[2] The most complete collection of them will be found in the learned treatise, De Schmidt *de Sacrificiis et Sacerdotibus Ægyptorum*. Compare with them Zoëga *de Obeliscis*, p. 513, etc.

[3] Herod. ii. 164, 166. Diodorus, l. c.

how they afterwards became transformed? Here again, unfortunately, our accounts only reach to the later periods. I will sketch a picture of them as accurately and fully as I can from Herodotus and Diodorus; and afterwards add what I think I may call probable conjectures.

The Egyptian warriors, according to Herodotus, were a race, and, certainly, as well as the priest caste, one of the most distinguished races of the nation. They were subdivided into the *Hermotybi* and the *Calasiri;* and both these possessed certain nomes or districts, which are mentioned by name in Herodotus. The *Hermotybi*, at the time of their greatest power, were 160,000 men strong; the *Calasiri* 250,000. Neither one nor the other durst carry on any trade; they were destined to war alone, and this destination descended from father to son. Their pay consisted of the produce of their estates; for they, as well as the kings and priests, were large landed proprietors. Each man had twelve acres of land, the acre being reckoned at one hundred Egyptian ells.[1] One thousand of the Calasiri and one thousand of the Hermotybi, were appointed every year for the king's body-guard; and these obtained, in addition to their estates, a certain allowance of meat, bread, and wine. They are made landed proprietors, adds Diodorus, in order to induce them to marry, and thereby to insure an increase of their number, and to give them a greater interest in the protection of their country.

According to these accounts of Herodotus, therefore, the Egyptian warriors were a native Egyptian tribe, settled in a particular province, and to whom, by an accurate admeasurement of the soil, a certain portion of landed property was given. This is evidently the notion which, from the whole, must be formed of them.

Respecting how far the two classes, the Calasiri and the Hermotybi, differed from one another, and in what relations they stood, history is silent; the answering of this question is a matter of mere conjecture. It seems, indeed, most probable that they were originally different tribes. Had they still in different provinces of Egypt their separate dwellings?

Herodotus has expressly named the Egyptian nomes in which both of them were quartered. It is evident, from his statement, that nearly the whole of the Egyptian forces were

[1] The Egyptian ell, according to D'Anville, makes twenty-one and a half Paris inches. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, p. 27.

concentrated in Lower Egypt: four nomes and a half were possessed by the Hermotybi within the Delta, and twelve others by the Calasiri; while each of them had only one single one in all Middle and Upper Egypt; namely, the districts of Chemmis and Thebes.

This striking fact is easily explained by Egyptian history. From the time of Psammetichus downward, Egypt was in almost continual dread of powerful attacks from Asia, and from that quarter alone; thence, indeed, she was several times invaded. Probably, therefore, this settlement of the Egyptian warrior caste was the work of later monarchs, who had absolute power, though the earlier wars with the shepherds might also have occasioned it.

Should the reader, however, prefer the other way in which this is accounted for, and rather consider these tribes as originally native in the nomes in which they dwelt in the time of Herodotus, there is no want of probability in this view of the subject. In the Mosaic period the warrior caste first appears in Lower Egypt. The rapidity with which the Pharaoh there mentioned, probably a ruler of Memphis, could assemble the army with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them.

Of their internal organization, of their officers, of their military tactics and discipline, and so forth, we know but little. Something is said upon these matters in the following chapter.

They must have undergone great changes in consequence of the number of canals made in Egypt.[1] The Egyptian forces consisted principally, in early times, (as in the period of Moses, for example,) of cavalry and war-chariots;[2] but these could be but of little service when the country was every where intersected by canals.

Further, it scarcely need be noticed that they were by no means the *only* inhabitants of the districts in which they resided. It is equally erroneous to suppose that they durst transact no other business whatever except military. Handicraft trades were forbidden them, because they were considered debasing; but there is no proof that they were interdicted agriculture, and particularly the cultivation of their own estates; although, according to the statements of Diodorus, these were

[1] Herod. ii 108; Diodorus, i. p. 67. [2] Exodus xiv. 9.

certainly, in general, as well as those of the kings and priests, farmed out.[1]

They must, however, have been called upon duty in the interior of the country at a distance from their places of abode. There were establishments of them at the places upon the frontiers, as at Syene and others, which were from time to time relieved. They formed, moreover, as we are told by Herodotus, the body-guard of the king; every year, a thousand from each class—the Calasiri and Hermotybi—went to court, and there enjoyed free quarters.[2] The neglect to relieve these as usual, was, according to Herodotus, one of the causes which led to their migration into Ethiopia.[3]

According to the opinion of a modern writer,[4] there could have been no soldier caste at all in Egypt, after the time of Psammetichus; for he believes that at that period the *whole* caste migrated into Ethiopia. This view of the subject is not only entirely destitute of proof, but is very easily contradicted. Herodotus speaks of them as a caste *still existing*, during his abode in Egypt; though he at the same time gives us to understand, that they were not then nearly so numerous as they had been; and in the wars of the later Pharaohs they are expressly spoken of.[5]

All writers agree, then, in making the priest and warrior castes the two highest in rank; in the enumeration of the others there is no particular order observed by Herodotus; it is not indeed known whether there was any or not; except that the shepherds, or herdsmen, were placed in the lowest rank. It is, therefore, quite indifferent how we range the remainder.

Let the first, then, be the caste of *trading citizens;* for so I translate the Greek expression of Herodotus, κάπηλοι, a word to which lexicographers have already given the same meaning. It must, therefore, have been one of the most numerous castes, comprising the mechanics, (handicraftsmen,) artists, chapmen, and merchants; and in this way Herodotus himself seems to explain it in another passage.[6] It lies in the nature of things, that this caste could only be formed by increasing cultivation; the tribe, or tribes, which belonged to it, could not have a capacity for these affairs till after they had made a manifest progress in civilization.

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 85. [2] Herod. ii. 168. [3] Ibid. ii. 30.
[4] De Pauw, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, ii. p. 331.
[5] Herod. ii. 169. Also Zoëga, p. 570, thinks it very probable that the migration into Ethiopia is much exaggerated; nevertheless it must, from the cities they founded there, have been very considerable. [6] Herod. ii. 141.

It is a doubtful and obscure question whether these separate trades were again hereditary, and thus this caste included a great number of subdivisions; or whether each individual was at liberty to follow any one that might be considered a citizen's business, or handicraft. Although I have elsewhere declared myself in favour of the latter opinion, yet there certainly seems to me now many reasons to strengthen and confirm the former. The statements of Diodorus, whether the result of his own inspection, or copied from earlier accounts, can in no other way be understood. He states expressly, that the son was bound to carry on the trade of his father, and that one alone.[1] It must, therefore, be assumed, that the trade caste contained a great number of subdivisions, which is also the case in India, and that each under-caste had its particular branch of trade. The Egyptian documents, which have lately been discovered in Upper Egypt, and published, seem to confirm this opinion; as the guild, or company, of curriers or leather-dressers is found therein.[2] The Egyptians considered this regulation the cause of the high perfection to which the different branches of trade had attained among them; whether they were right or not we cannot pretend to decide.

The most important difference between Herodotus and Diodorus in the division of the castes, consists in the latter making a separate caste of the husbandmen, which the other does not mention. Must we suppose that he comprised them under the trading caste? This is a very difficult question, and is connected with the inquiry respecting the manner of holding landed property in Egypt. According to Diodorus, all landed property was in the hands of the king, the priests, and the warriors.[3] According to Herodotus, Sesostris is said to have divided all Egypt, giving to each individual an equal quadrangular portion, determined by lot, and from these allotments his own revenue proceeded.[4] The idea of landed proprietorship, however, is very ambiguous. There is full proprietorship, and there is, as in the case of vassalage, a conditional proprietorship. In the East the kings are usually regarded as the lords paramount of the land. In the state where Joseph lived, it became the king's by his management. Previous to that time, the possessors seem to have been full

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 86. So also Plato, *Op.* ix. 294. Bipont.
[2] Boeckh, *Explanation of an Egyptian document upon Papyrus.* Berlin, 1821, p. 25.
[3] Diodorus, i. p. 84. [4] Herod. ii. 109.

proprietors.[1] If indeed Sesostris, at a later period, divided all the lands of Egypt, according to a strict measurement, it follows, as a matter of course, that he considered himself as chief proprietor. It is certain that Sesostris might have had the distribution of a good deal of land, because he completely expelled the Hyksos who had appropriated it to themselves. And that the account which the priests imparted to Herodotus was limited to this, seems most agreeable to the nature of the thing altogether. It seems also evident, that he left or restored again to the temples and priests, the land belonging to them. Diodorus's account, that all the land was the property of the kings, priests, and warriors, cannot well be taken in the strictest sense,[2] as from the merchants' contracts, lately discovered, (certainly, however, not older than the period of the Ptolemies,) it appears that the cities had their land-marks.[3] All then that we can conclude with certainty is, that if not all, yet at least the best and largest portion of the land, did belong to the three proprietors above mentioned. It is, moreover, certain that these estates were cultivated by farmers; but by what tenure these held their lands, whether as copyholders, leaseholders, or yearly tenants, it is impossible to determine. Their condition may perhaps have been similar to that of the present Fellahs,[4] who are by no means independent landed proprietors. There can, however, be no doubt but that the cultivation of the soil, if not altogether, yet principally, was carried on by farmers. These consequently formed the Egyptian peasantry, of whose manner of life Herodotus has furnished us with an accurate description, to which I shall presently return. Many of the other classes of the trade caste, however, might cultivate land; and the husbandmen in general could not form a distinct caste, because, according to the ruling maxim of the priests, this employment was, as far as possible, to be common to all the citizens. They, therefore, in general belonged to the caste of tradesmen.

[1] Genesis xlvii. 18—26.

[2] A remarkable account of the landed property in Egypt is preserved in Stobæus from Aristotle (*Eclog. Phys. et Eth.* ii. 1, p. 332, my edition). It is there stated, that among the Egyptians the lands of private persons (τῶν ἰδιωτῶν) were so distributed, that every one had one portion of his property in the neighbourhood of the city, the other at a distance from it. This shows that every city had a certain extent of territory belonging to it, which was distributed among the citizens according to the principle described above. The statement is borrowed from Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 10. It is only doubtful, then, whether it likewise refers to the Egyptians alluded to before; but from the context it appears very probable.

[3] Boeckh, l. c. 27. Compare St. Martin, *Notice sur quelques Manuscrits Grecs, apportés d'Egypte*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1822, Sept.

[4] Compare the charming account of them in Reynier, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 24. And in the same *Economie politique et rurale des Egyptiens et des Carthaginois*, p. 97.

A caste of navigators has greatly embarrassed some writers, because it is generally known, that in ancient Egypt, previous to the time of Psammetichus, there was no navigation; for what is said respecting the fleet of Sesostris cannot be brought into consideration, when the question relates to a constant, lasting division of the people. These doubts arise, however, merely from an ignorance of Egypt; for if this country in these early periods had scarcely any sea, it had, for that very reason, the greater *river navigation*. It will be our object to speak of this more fully, and of its extent and its importance to Egypt, in our inquiries into the internal trade of this country. This caste was not composed of seamen, but of the *navigators of the Nile*. Herodotus gives us no particular account of the tribes belonging to it; but it is very probable that they were the primitive inhabitants of the banks of that river, who, according to the traditions of the Egyptians themselves, had formerly, before the formation of any states in Egypt, lived there upon fish. The innumerable quantity of passage-boats, and ships of burden, which covered the Nile from Syene to the Mediterranean, may give us some idea of the number of this caste.[1] There were certain feasts, at which nearly every inhabitant of Egypt was upon the river.[2] When Amasis wished to remove the rock-temple of Minerva (a single excavated rock, one and twenty yards long, fourteen high, and eight broad) from Elephantis to Sais, two thousand of these sailors were employed in the transport, which Herodotus states to have occupied three years;[3] a distance which would otherwise be performed, with a common passage, in less than twelve days. It will, however, be easily perceived that this caste also owed its existence to local necessity. During the periodical flood, navigation is the only means of communication;[4] and besides, at this time the connexion with the interior of the land is rendered easy by the numerous canals.

The caste of interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς) is, in several respects, remarkable. It arose in the period of Psammetichus, and is the only one of whose origin we have any accurate historical account. Psammetichus, wishing the nation to adopt the Greek manners, left a considerable number of Egyptian children in Greece to have them instructed in the Greek language and manners. Their posterity, according to Herodotus, formed the caste of interpreters.[5]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 52. [2] Herod. ii. 96. [3] Ibid. ii. 175.
[4] Ibid. ii. 97. [5] Ibid. ii. 154.

All that is extraordinary in this event becomes immediately accounted for when the national dislike to these innovations is considered, and especially that of the higher castes, one of whom almost entirely emigrated in consequence of them. The children who thus received a Greek education were no longer regarded as forming part of the nation. No one afterwards would reckon them to any native caste; and thus nothing was left for them but to form a separate caste of themselves, to which the name of the business that they usually followed became attached. After this period Egypt swarmed with Greeks; not merely with strangers who came to satisfy their curiosity, but with merchants who settled in Naucratis and other places.[1] A class of men therefore, who, like these, understood both languages, who managed the affairs of the Greeks, and who might effectually serve strangers as interpreters, became indispensable, and must have grown very numerous. These interpreters were all this, and probably many of them brokers, and even merchants; nevertheless, having been once excluded the nation, they could never find admittance again into one of the other castes.

The *herdsmen* still remain to be noticed; Diodorus reckons them one caste, while Herodotus divides them into two, which may perhaps be considered a subdivision of the former.

In this way Herodotus and Diodorus will be made to agree, especially if the classes of agriculturists and artificers of the latter may be considered the same as Herodotus's class of tradesmen. Though Diodorus will always be subject to the reproach of omitting altogether the castes of navigators and interpreters.

However this may be, Herodotus is our guide; but he unfortunately is extremely short and unsatisfactory respecting these castes. The *neatherds*, the most numerous among them, he scarcely mentions; and upon the others we cannot but perceive the want of accurate information.

I have already frequently remarked, that a portion of the inhabitants of Egypt must always remain nomades; those who dwell, for example, in the mountains and marshes, where the land is unfit for tillage. But even of those who had subjected themselves to fixed abodes, many still made the tending and breeding of cattle their principal, or perhaps their sole business. This was the case with those dwelling on the

[1] Herod. ii. 178, 179.

east border of the Nile valley, at the foot of the Arabian mountains, which regions still abound in excellent pasturage, and are now covered with villages and numerous herds of cattle. I here present the reader with a picture which a modern traveller has drawn, as well of the country as of its inhabitants; a picture to which I am the more desirous of engaging his attention because it is evidently applicable to ancient times.

"From the banks of the Nile to the mountains," he says,[1] "which bound the fruitful plains of Egypt, one often meets with nothing, for many days' journey together, but green meadows. These plains are every where covered with large townships and villages, most of which are adorned with public buildings, and do not contain less than from two to three thousand inhabitants."

"Besides these Egyptian inhabitants, with settled abodes, there are, on the plains bordering the desert, wandering tribes, dwelling in tents, who change their station according to the seasons and the supply of pasturage. Some abide in the mountains, far from villages and cities, but always in places where they can conveniently obtain a supply of water; others pitch their tents in the vicinity of inhabited districts, where, for a trifling tribute, they obtain permission to graze their cattle. The inhabitants even give them a little land to cultivate for their own use, in order to remain at peace with them. For, in fact, they have only to march a day's journey into the wilderness to secure themselves from all retaliation; where, by frugality and their knowledge of the springs, they find no difficulty in living for some months. There can be no finer prospect than to see, in the months of November, December, and January, these vast meadows,—in which the grass grows nearly as tall as a man, and so thick that an ox can lie down the whole day and graze without rising,—covered with villages, tents, and herds. About this time the nomad hordes advance a few hundred miles, in order to let their herds of camels and horses graze, for which they pay a trifling tribute in wool, or a few sheep, or young camels. After some time they retire again into the desert, where they journey, by ways known to them, towards other districts."

This distinction of the Egyptian *husbandmen*, who dwelt in villages and open places, and made the tending of cattle and agriculture their business, and the *nomad herdsmen*, was the

[1] Maillet, p. 54.

same in antiquity. Herodotus describes the manner of life, and the state of each of them ;[1] according to his account, they were a strong, healthy people, who observed that mode of life which had been prescribed to them by the priests. They lived upon the flesh of those animals not considered sacred, on fish, on bread made of bran and beer.—The nomad herdsmen are merely mentioned by Herodotus incidentally ;[2] but Diodorus assures us that they continued, in his time, unchanged, the same kind of life which they had always led from the earliest ages.[3]

The caste of neatherds naturally included those Egyptian tribes who possessed landed property, and made the breeding and tending of cattle their principal business. Whether the nomad herdsmen were also reckoned among them is a question which can scarcely be answered in the affirmative. They did not in general belong to the Egyptian nation, as they were of Arabian or Libyan descent. The extensive table lands, which they inhabited, were seldom subject to the Pharaohs, probably never ; and the dominion over nomad hordes, from their very nature, must at all times be very uncertain and variable.

From their whole manner of life, they can scarcely be considered otherwise than as natural enemies, which must be borne with, because they cannot be got rid of. To this, therefore, we may attribute the hate and scorn in which they were at all times held, and which the ruling priest caste carefully strove to nourish. "The neatherds are to the Egyptians an abomination," was said in the Mosaic period,[4] and traces of the contempt with which they were regarded are found in Herodotus.[5] There is no proof, however, that this disgrace attached to those cultivators, who, being proprietors of land, made the tending and breeding of cattle their business. Black cattle were by no means unclean in Egypt; the cow was sacred to Isis, and oxen generally served for food and sacrifice; it is not, therefore, likely that the management of them should have caused defilement. It was not so much the keeping of cattle,—which in fact was equally indispensable with agriculture,—as the nomad life, which was directly opposed to the views and policy of the ruling caste.

Besides, to this caste seems to have belonged the tribes which had taken up their abode in the *marshy plains* of the Delta. According to Strabo,[6] these were especially assigned

[1] Herod. ii. 77. [2] Ibid. ii. 128. [3] Diodorus, i. p. 52.
[4] Genesis xlvi. 34. [5] Herod. ii. 128. [6] Strabo, p. 1142.

by the ancient Pharaohs for the abode of the neatherds. The tribes which dwelt there had nevertheless, as we are told by Herodotus, adopted Egyptian manners;[1] but they still remained half barbarians, and even robbers, for the thickets of reeds not only supplied them with the materials for their huts, but likewise protected them from the approach of strangers.[2] Heliodorus draws a similar picture of them.[3]

On the other hand, the caste of *swineherds*, which Herodotus expressly distinguishes from the neatherds, were despised, and held as unclean.[4] They consisted, according to his account, of a native tribe, who were strictly interdicted all communication with the others, and against whom even the doors of the temples were closed. Swine were not less an abomination in the eyes of the Egyptians, than they were to the Jews; a superstition which no doubt had its rise in some local circumstance with which we are unacquainted, or at least cannot account for with certainty. An ancient custom, however, followed from it, which was, that at a certain feast a hog was offered up in every house to Osiris;[5] the Egyptians, moreover, were accustomed, when they sowed their lands, already soaked by the Nile, to drive a herd of swine over the fields, in order to tread the corn into the earth.[6] This race, therefore, however despised, was indispensable to the Egyptians; but must have lived in a state of degradation, not very unlike that of the *Parias* in India.

Such were the castes into which the Egyptian nation was divided. It is often objected to this complete classification of the people, that it obstructs the progress of those among whom it is introduced, and must make it impossible for them to advance beyond a certain point. For the founders of an institution, which evidently was formed in the infancy of policy and civilization, this is not a very grave charge; but an impartial development of its advantages and disadvantages, can perhaps only be made by one, who has fairly considered its consequences upon a people among whom it still exists, as among the Hindoos. So long as the *learned sciences* are made exclusively the property of a certain caste, scientific information cannot so easily be spread among the great body of the nation as elsewhere; this extension, however, must always be limited; and in the caste itself, the scientific cultivation which has once

[1] Herod. ii. 92. [2] Diodorus, i. 52. [3] Heliod. *Æthiop.* i. 5.
[4] Herod. ii. 47. [5] Ibid. ii. 48. [6] Ibid ii. 14.

been admitted, can scarcely ever decline, or be altogether lost, as is seen by the Bramins and Parses. But it may seem more problematical how far such an institution could promote the improvement of all mechanic skill, as in handicraft, trades, and arts, where all these callings are hereditary; although the Egyptians, according to Diodorus, securely referred to it as the cause of their perfection.[1] However this may be, there can remain no doubt, that the handicraft and mechanic arts were brought to a degree of perfection by the ancient Egyptians, which was never surpassed, perhaps never equalled, by any nation of antiquity. They themselves have transmitted us the proofs of it in the paintings in their sepulchres, in which are represented all their household utensils, their couches and chairs, their vases, their cupboards, their musical instruments, etc.[2] In elegance of form these are like the Greek: in many there is much display of talent in the design, and a high degree of luxury; we are assured by Denon, that Indian wood can be plainly perceived in the seats and wooden furniture.[3] How much reason then is there to be cautious in judging of the effects of an institution which we only know so imperfectly!

But the most important consequence of this organization of society, was, beyond dispute, the limitation of the kingly power by the priest caste. The relation in which these stood to one another, the portion which the priest caste had in the government, the manner in which they exercised it, furnish the groundwork of the Egyptian government, and demand, above all, an ample and circumstantial inquiry.

It is evident that the kings of Egypt for the most part did not belong to the priestly caste,[4] any more than are the Rajahs from the caste of Bramins. Probably the royal race, in which the dignity seems always to have been hereditary, belonged originally to the warrior caste; for what could be more natural, than that the leader of the army, to whom was confided the defence of the land, should be taken out of it? That the command of the armies was a royal privilege, is evident from the testimony of all historians, as well as from the scenes portrayed upon the public monuments. And from this it again becomes clear, that the power of the kings, however determined by custom and law, could not be always the same. The va-

[1] Diodorus, i. 86.
[2] See Denon, Tab. 135, and numerous engravings in the great *Description de l'Egypte*.
[3] Denon, ii. 276.
[4] Sethos, the priest of Phtha, who obtained the throne, was considered an usurper.

liant and fortunate conqueror, the active and ambitious ruler, will always become more powerful than a quiet sluggish prince, even though they change nothing in the form of the constitution. But only thus far, more or less, was subject to variation; the power of the priests was established upon impressions far too deep to be erased; and even upon necessities too much felt to be done without.

The priests were the proprietors of all learning and science, for they were in possession of the writings and sacred books which contained them; they were the best informed and cultivated part of the nation. Considered in this point of view, they were indisputably best fitted to govern; for it is right and just that the more experienced should rule over the ignorant, and not that the strong should domineer over the weak. Let it be admitted, that a portion of their knowledge consisted of error and superstition, and it would still be unreasonable to contend that the whole mass contained nothing better; for it is impossible that the whole civilization of a nation should be founded in error; at least where everything, as in this case, is conformable to the locality, and so well adapted to it. There is nothing wanting but a little knowledge of the East, in order to see the whole in its true and proper light.

Religion is here, universally, the mainspring of scientific education, and it was the same in Egypt. Philosophic systems are also systems of theology; laws, and the administration of justice, are preserved by its sanction; astronomy and mathematics, in general, are closely connected with it; medical science springs immediately from religion. All these, as well as many other branches of knowledge, bear an immediate application to practical life, either in the affairs of state, or private ranks; it follows therefore, of course, that those who possessed this knowledge, and who, consequently, were anything rather than a mere speculative *literati*, must have exercised an influence over both, not easily to be shaken, and which made them indispensable.

The religion of the Egyptians consisted in the rites of certain deities, who, with the exception of Osiris and Isis, were only local gods, and were worshipped in the high temples of the cities and districts.[1] Notwithstanding a difference observable in particulars, there is a uniformity in the whole which cannot be mistaken. If they were not the same deities, they

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

were yet very similar, probably mere modifications of the same principal gods; and the religion of Egypt preserved a certain general impress, which was very naturally stamped upon it by the general spread of the priest caste. But this worship was every where connected with a number of ceremonies, which not only the priests, but the kings likewise, had to perform, and which are partly represented upon the walls of their temples. By this means the priests held the kings almost entirely in dependence; as a strict ceremonial was formed, by which were prescribed daily regulations (accurately described by Diodorus[1]) for their whole life. None but the sons of the chief priests, according to his account, could be about the king's person. The time for the affairs of state, for sacrifice, the regulation of the royal table, and other matters of private life, were all precisely fixed. But they were especially careful in limiting the judicial authority of the monarch; as he could not sentence to punishment according to his own will and pleasure, but only according to law. What is to be gathered from all this, but the early struggle of the people to oppose a barrier to despotism? If this barrier was not exactly of *that* kind which matured judgment would desire, can we cast that as a reproach to so early an age?

The inquiry respecting the religion of Egypt has by nothing been so much entangled and rendered difficult, as by the not making a distinction between the religion of the priests and that of the people. Although common sense seems to tell us, and especially judging from the manner in which the formation and progress of the Egyptian nation took place, that, without denying the reaction of one upon the other, such a difference must have existed. If this nation, as it appears in its flourishing period, had grown up by the union of rude and civilized tribes, does it not stand to reason, that these rude tribes must have retained a portion of their original superstitions, of their deities, of their opinions and customs, which by this union, though certainly much modified, could not be annihilated? I shall return again to this subject; let me here be allowed to dwell a little longer upon the religion of the priests:

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 81, 82. Early in the morning state affairs were first transacted. The king then attended the sacrifices and the public prayers. After this the praises of the king and his virtues were proclaimed, not in order to compliment and flatter him, but in order, in this way, to remind him of his duties. For the same purpose the history of the great men of earlier times was read from the sacred books. The remaining, private life of the kings was so settled, with regard to amusements, meats, and drinks, that nearly the whole was prescribed.

that is, upon the extent of the knowledge they acquired by education, which, by its immediate application to practical life, was the foundation of their dominion.

Astronomy has been by many considered, and with some justice, as the most important part of their learning; some, indeed, have carried this notion so far as to believe, that their whole system of theology was nothing more than a symbol of this science. What advance they had really made in a knowledge of the stars, is a question I must leave to astronomers; but its importance is evident from the application which was made of it, both to astrology and to the formation of a calendar for the regulation of agriculture. Astronomy and astrology were likewise inseparably connected by the other eastern nations; but it would be exceedingly difficult to find another nation upon whom it exercised so great an influence in practical life.[1] Upon the birth of a child, its horoscope was immediately taken; it was then foretold what its fate would be; when and how it would die; and what would be its temper and disposition.[2] No public affairs, therefore, nor even private undertakings, could be begun until the stars had been first consulted. Conceive, then, the amazing influence which a caste must possess under such circumstances; and observe that at the outset they thereby secured themselves the direction of affairs? Whether this belief in astrology was, in the eyes of those who delivered the oracles, mere superstition or not, is a matter of no importance; the political object,—the limiting the power of the king, and insuring the dependence of the people, was, in either case, equally attained.

Still greater advantages indisputably accrued from the application of astronomy to the settlement of the seasons, and to the regulation of agriculture, so far as it depended upon them. Nothing seems more evident, from the whole tenor of Egyptian antiquity, than that it was perceived here in very early times, that agriculture was the foundation of all political culture, and that the ruling caste had, therefore, made it the leading principle of their policy; this is discovered, again and again, in almost every one of their institutions,—in every part of their religion and mythology. How could it be otherwise

[1] From what is said by Gatterer, *Commentat. Soct. Gött.* vol. ix. p. 60, etc., it appears probable, that the Labyrinth, with its twelve palaces, was nothing more than a symbolic representation of the yearly course of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, and wholly appropriated to astrological observations.

[2] Herod. ii. 82; Diodorus, i. p. 91, 92.

in a country where nature, in the features of every part of it, so loudly called it to their attention!—in a land where the highest degree of fertility was immediately followed by complete sterility!—where, in the fruitful valley of the Nile, states were seen to rise and prosper, while, only just beyond, lawless hordes were wandering about the desert! The first founders of the Egyptian states, therefore, must soon have perceived, that it was only in this way that a lasting dominion could be established; hence they left no means untried that religion and policy afforded them, to stamp the love of agriculture as deeply as possible upon the national character.

There is scarcely a single Egyptian deity who bears not some relation to this object. The sun, the moon, the earth, and the Nile, which, as so many various parts and powers of nature, became, under the veil of divers symbols, objects of worship, became so scarcely at all on their own account, but only so far as they promoted increase and fruitfulness. Osiris is a representation of the Nile, when he steps forth and manures the earth; in like manner, the representation of the sun, so far as he returns yearly to bring back fecundity to the land; and becomes thus, in general, the symbol of civilization, so far as it is founded upon agriculture; Isis was the image of the fruitful earth; and it would be easy to enumerate a series of other symbols, if their further explanation and unveiling did not lie beyond the scope of my subject.

This design is no less visible in the ruling political notion of the people. How deeply rooted was their national antipathy to the pastoral life, which, even in the time of Jacob, is exhibited in its whole strength,[1] and still, when Herodotus lived, continued in equal force, at least with regard to the swineherds.[2] They were considered unclean; no intermixture with them by marriage could take place; they were constrained to remain a distinct race, and were held in about the same state of degradation as the lower castes now are in Hindostan. A very natural, and, to a certain degree, necessary policy, if the founders of the Egyptian states wished to remain true to their principles.

Traces of this are not unfrequent in the history of the Egyptians. We have only to remember the adventures of the Israelites in Egypt. They had entered Egypt by a special licence, and obtained, not without difficulty, permission to live

[1] Genesis xlvi. 34; compare xliii. 32. [2] Herod. ii. 47.

there as nomad herdsmen. But after the very first change of ruler, the Egyptians wished to retract this permission, and to compel them to build cities, whereupon their natural antipathy to this change of life made them resolve upon emigration.

The promotion of agriculture, then, and the accustoming the nomad hordes to fixed dwellings, was the natural object which the founders of the Egyptian states had at heart. This object was greatly promoted by the fact, that nature had here, more than in any other part of the world, relieved them of the labour and pains it required to attain it. However difficult it may be to explain the passing from the nomad life to the agricultural in other parts, it could at least be no where more easy than in Egypt, where the labours of the field are scarcely required, and man has little more to do than to scatter the seed in order to obtain a harvest.[1]

Again: In a country where the fertility of the soil depended upon the periodical overflow of a river; where it therefore was of consequence to know the exact epochs at which this would take place, in order to prepare for it beforehand; where in general the business of agriculture mostly turned upon the knowledge of the seasons, and the correct determination of the year and its parts, the construction of a correct *calendar* must have been of the greatest importance. It was the foundation of husbandry, and, with that, of political civilization and the dominion of the priest caste. The extraordinary assiduity which they bestowed upon it; their efforts to determine precisely the solar year; all the observations and research which this led to; indeed, even the foundation of many of the largest and most costly buildings, which, there is reason to suppose, were nothing more than figurative representations of certain astronomical cycles, and are said to have been a means of preserving the knowledge of them,[2] cannot therefore excite any astonishment. In this way their astronomy became intimately connected with

[1] Upon the management of agricultural affairs in Egypt, some most interesting particulars have been obtained by the French expedition into Egypt. See in particular the treatise of Girard, in *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. p. 13, etc. The ancient manner of scattering the corn over the irrigated soil, and then causing it to be trodden in by cattle, still exists in the province of Siouth, p. 37. It is quite certain, however, that in ancient Egypt the state and manner of husbandry was not every where the same. The *plough* and other farming implements are found clearly exhibited in their pictures. Denon, plate cxxxv. It seems extraordinary to me, that, upon the Egyptian monuments, the sower should walk along before the plough, instead of behind it. See *Descript. d'Egypte Antiquités*, vol. i. plates lxix. lxxi. It seems, therefore, that the use of the plough here was the same as that of the harrow is with us, namely, to cover the strewed seeds; as is still the custom in Egypt, by *under ploughing* (a way of covering with earth by ploughing). Minutoli, *Travels*, p. 242.

[2] As in particular the Labyrinth and the Memnonium. The golden circle of Osmandyas, Diodorus, i. p. 59, was evidently nothing more than a calendar, representing the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days.

the physical history of their country; and very naturally occasioned the names even of the deities to indicate the original parts and powers of nature, as symbols of astronomical divisions of time. Modern writers,[1] to whom I must here refer, have further developed this subject with much acuteness and learning, and have shown that the names of the Egyptian deities were made use of to denote the years, months, weeks, etc. From this they wish to draw the general conclusion, that the *whole* Egyptian mythology was *nothing* more than the Egyptian calendar. But however undeniable it may be that such an application of the names of Egyptian deities has been found, and that the Egyptian mythology was adopted to denote the signs in the calendar, it is equally certain that it does *not* thence follow that it was *only* used for that. Since Heyne has taught us to take deeper views of mythology, every interpretation which would limit it to *one* object, will appear, if not absolutely false, always very partial. Did not the mythology of a nation comprise the whole mass of knowledge which it possessed in its infancy; though, from poverty of speech and writing, it could only set it forth in figurative language, probably only in pictorial writing, and perhaps not always even in that? Is it conceivable that this mass of knowledge was strictly confined to astronomy? is this, in particular, conceivable of the Egyptian priest caste, who we positively know prosecuted the study of other sciences? Had they not also their systems; did they not require a separate *terminology?* Surely, then, the names of these deities, which were adopted into astronomy to signify astronomical objects, might have served a similar purpose in other sciences. If it be granted, therefore, that in the astronomical system of the Egyptians, Osiris signified the year, Mendes the week, Theut the first month, it does not necessarily follow, that, out of this system, they might not signify something else quite different. This, in fact, is indisputably manifest of several of them. Can it be doubted that this same *Theut* is, in another sense, the symbol of human understanding, as the discoverer of writing; that this very *Mendes* is the symbol of the universe; and this very *Osiris* the symbol of agriculture and civilization?

[1] See, above all, Dornedden, *Introduction to a new theory, according to which Egyptian science and mythology may be satisfactorily explained; in his new Explanation of Greek Mythology*, p. 70, etc. As I think I have explained myself sufficiently clear in the text.—I regard this treatise as one of the most acute, and sensible, and learned, upon Egyptian antiquity, but can only conditionally agree with the author.

Geometry was the daughter of husbandry, and born in Egypt, where the overflowing of the Nile frequently made new measurements of the land necessary.[1] This study, therefore, arose from the nature of the country; and while, on one hand, it induced the priests to extend their mathematical knowledge, it was, on the other, the indispensable arbitrator of disputes, which must frequently have occurred respecting the possession of lands.

The medical science of the Egyptians, which was likewise in the hands of the priests, was closely connected with their astrology; because they believed that the different parts of the body had a reference to the astronomical deities, and to each of them a particular member was dedicated. In this way, probably, the regulation took its rise, which also affords us another proof how rigidly the subdivisions in the castes were kept separate, that there should be physicians for particular members of the body, and for the diseases to which these were liable.[2] However, their medical practice consisted generally rather in dietetics than in medicine. Even among the lower classes, especially the peasantry, a certain prescribed form was observed in eating and drinking, and in the use of purification,[3] of which, without a most accurate knowledge of the place and climate, it is impossible to say how much arose from mere prejudice, or was founded on actual experience. That the whole, however, answered well the end desired, is plain from Herodotus's assertion, that the Egyptians, next to the Libyans, were the *most healthy* of the nations that he had seen.

It may be readily inferred, from what has been previously said, that the study of the law, and the possession of all the offices connected with it, was entirely confined to the priest caste. Where religion and legislation were so inseparably interwoven, where the latter derived its authority from the sanction of the first, and where the former, in its whole form, is a ceremonial law, what could be expected but that it should be found in the hands of the priests; that they should become the administrators of justice, and occupy the chair of the judge? The joining together the judicial and executive power in the person of the king, was one of the earliest sources of despotism, which, after a little reflection, would scarcely be tolerated; hence it seemed almost a necessary consequence, that attempts should be made either to separate them entirely, or at least to

[1] Herod. ii. 109. [2] Ibid. ii. 84. [3] Ibid. ii. 77.

limit one of them. From everything we know of Egyptian antiquity, there can remain no doubt but that the principal branches of legislation had attained a high point of perfection in Egypt, perhaps higher than in any other country of the East. There requires no further proof of this, than the fact that the Mosaic legislation, which took place prior to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs, was (without questioning how much or how little might have been taken therefrom) formed upon the Egyptian model. Some of their kings, Bocchoris in particular, are celebrated as great legislators;[1] and though it may have happened that the work of many centuries and many philosophers was unjustly ascribed to individuals, it does not the less prove that it existed. I shall return to this subject in the following chapter.

Finally, the historical learning of the priests was, as I think I have already sufficiently proved, principally founded upon public monuments, and it must on that account have been esteemed. It depended therefore upon art; and this leads to another very interesting question in the political antiquity of Egypt, which requires at least a few observations—What was the state of the arts?

Even a mere glance at the various kinds of artificial labour which they have left behind, leads to the conjecture, that art with them was of a different nature from what it was with the rest of mankind. The same glance almost leads to the general conclusion, that art here stood in a much closer relation to practical life; and that though it often assumes a massive and majestic character, representations of the *beau ideal* were not, or could not be, its aim. This, indeed, could not be possible in a nation that made art, from its origin to its highest perfection, the foundation of their policy and learning; among whom, therefore, it must have attained a high importance; such an importance, that if we were in a condition to write their history, with it must be given, to a certain degree, the history of the higher cultivation of the nation, which, in a great measure, was founded upon it; but which, on this very account, could not have the same scope as among other nations, where it remained entirely unfettered, because *it was carried on for itself alone*.[2]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 90. To Bocchoris, in particular, are ascribed the laws relating to trade and commerce.

[2] I say nothing here of Music; though, as among the representations, musical instruments, especially the harp and guitar, are conspicuous, *Descript. d'Egypte, planches* ii. 44,

There were only *two great branches* of art in Egypt, *Architecture* and *Sculpture*. These were not only branches of the same stem, but were so intimately connected, that it would be scarcely possible to speak of one without the other; and it remains doubtful whether sculpture was the mistress or handmaiden of architecture. The whole sum of the history of Egyptian art may be compressed into a simple sentence: "The pictorial arts in Egypt depended upon hieroglyphics; these were portrayed by sculpture; but again, sculpture required the public monuments as a fitting place for its representations; and these public monuments, partly in themselves, and partly by the labours of the sculptor, formed the basis upon which the fabric of religion and the state equally rested."

I believe that the foregoing researches do not fall short of proving, that the Egyptian architecture, from its beginning to its completion, on its own account, without any reference to the sculpture which covered its walls, stood in the closest connexion with the state. If the earliest states which were formed in Egypt were priest states, whose central point was a temple or sanctuary; if they preserved this character not only during their growth, but also after their union into one great empire, —braving all previous revolutions;—must not these edifices, by this alone, have obtained a great importance? The existence of the state, in a great measure, depended upon them; because everything within it referred to them, and to the religion to which they were dedicated. If even the Jew knits the idea of the continuance, the decline, and the restoration of his state, with that of the stability, overthrow, and rebuilding of his temple, how much more must this have been the case with the Egyptians, where the priest caste had even still greater influence than it had among the Jews! Ought we then to wonder that the building and preservation of these monuments were so much attended to? Besides, let it be borne in mind, that the whole architecture of the nation must, to a certain extent, have been concentrated in their erection and enlargement; as the climate, particularly in Upper Egypt, left but little necessary with regard to private dwellings. Architecture, as a fine art, could scarcely be applied to these in Egypt, where they were built far too lightly for any part of them to be preserved; hence its application only to public edifices, temples, and pa-

91, as well as flutes, and even a double flute, i. 70, it is certain the Egyptians did not neglect it. See the treatise in *Descript.* vol. i.

laces. They were destined for very numerous purposes; and even the temples, from their whole arrangement, could not well have been intended, exclusively, for religious worship. The proper sanctuary is only a kind of chapel of moderate extent;[1] but this chapel is surrounded by stupendous buildings of different sorts, colonnades, courts, saloons, etc. Upon their use history affords us no precise information; yet who can doubt, but that in them the assemblies of the priests and state officers took place; that they formed the palaces, though not the mere dwellings, of the kings; the places also for the reception of the people bringing tribute, for the audience of ambassadors, for the tribunals of justice, for the holding of banquets given by the kings, etc. etc.? Can there be any doubt that the whole public life of the Egyptians was connected with these state buildings and temples?[2]

Formerly these Egyptian monuments were known by little more than dry descriptions; since the appearance of the great French work upon Egypt, however, they are placed as it were before our eyes. In great works on architecture, it pre-eminently happens that the impression they excite depends very materially upon the size of the plates in which they are portrayed; the colossal, therefore, to be effective, must appear in colossal representations. How much our ideas are raised by these engravings respecting the opulence, means, knowledge, and taste of the nation who could erect such monuments,—just as highly finished as they are stupendous! To what inferences will they not lead upon the early history of the world; upon the splendour and might of ancient nations; and the relations and connexions of states! According to these should the nation be judged of by posterity; and however numerous the problems (perhaps unsolvable problems) which may still remain, we cannot easily err very widely respecting the whole: too many inlets are open, by which we may penetrate into the interior of their character, of their knowledge, and of their whole existence.

The architecture itself has undergone a close examination, both with regard to its mechanical and æsthetic qualities, by many who are capable of criticising it, and of forming a correct judgment respecting it; and certainly by such as from their early education were rather prejudiced against it than

[1] Denon, ii. p. 164.
[2] Compare the statements of Denon, ii. p. 255, upon the great temple of Karnac.

prepossessed in its favour. It has not only stood this test as a whole, but appears more correct, and richer, and more perfect, in proportion as the examination is carried into its details.

That a theory, whose rules were invariably followed, must have formed the groundwork of this architecture is manifest. How else shall we account for everything about it being so well adjusted, so nicely adapted to the end proposed? The plan once laid down at the foundation, seems to have been invariably followed in every temple, for each forms a finished whole, though the building of it perhaps took up centuries. By this means this architecture always preserved the same character, and perhaps underwent less change in the course of a thousand years than that of the Greeks in a century.

The plan and the regulation of these sanctuaries seem, notwithstanding the differences in their size, and some lesser matters, to have been in their main points so much alike, that the general rules are easily recognised in them, by which public architecture in Egypt was indissolubly bound. The first entrance was to be composed of masses, filling the mind with awe and veneration by their magnitude; hence those immense pylones, or blunted pyramids, peculiar to Egyptian architecture, between which the entrance was placed.[1] Through this they passed into an open court surrounded with columns, which had partition walls, half or two-thirds of their height. These courts, with columns, seem to have been intended for the congregation of the people, in order that they might see the holy ceremonies and processions from a certain distance. Everything, therefore, was so regulated and calculated, that this might be done conveniently. To this court followed the great portico, supported by three or four rows of immense columns, to which a second portico very often succeeded. From these was a way into the saloons, of which there were three or four behind one another, probably intended for processions, as they are often portrayed on the walls, and other ceremonies; the last of these saloons formed the proper sanctuary. This consisted of a niche of granite, or porphyry, in one piece, which contained the sacred animal, or even the statue of the deity, who was here worshipped. On both sides of the saloons, as well as behind, were corridors, which led into chambers and apartments, the dwellings or abode of the priests. The whole was again surrounded by an enclosure; so that the

[1] See above, p. 283, sqq.

number of walls effectually prevented the entrance to the sanctuary from being violated by the profane. All here was of stone, without cement; everything, therefore, was estimated to endure by its own massiveness, so that even time could do but little against these edifices. What still remains standing, stands fixed and immovable; man and fire have here and there expended their fury upon them; the shock of earthquakes is unknown in Egypt.

The most imposing of the separate members of this architecture, are those huge entrances, and the prodigious masses which help to form them. They have been examined within as well as without; and seem to have served not only to increase the general magnificence, but to have had a particular end; and a very probable conjecture has been started, that their terraces were made use of for astronomical and astrological observations.[1]

But above all, it is the pillars and their capitals which most excite astonishment. It is in these that the great magnificence of the Egyptian architecture displays itself, notwithstanding its simplicity, in so wonderful and admirable a manner. The ornaments of the capitals are evidently borrowed from a few native plants,—the lotus, the palm, and some others. Who would have believed that fancy could have found a sufficient field in these for the production of such an astonishing and endless variety? The Egyptian pillars are in this respect unlike the Grecian, as the capital of every pillar has its own peculiar ornament; though not without reference to the dimensions of the other parts, so that the effect of the whole is not thereby injured. The monuments, moreover, lead to enlarged views respecting the history and antiquity of the architecture. The cursory inspection of the temples of Thebes, Philæ, and others, by Denon, enabled him to mark the progress, and to trace the gradations of architectural science;[2] and his views have been confirmed by the minute examinations of Gau and others. Though some of the temples at Thebes may betray even the infancy of the science, yet those of Apollinopolis Magna and Tentyra display it in the highest perfection which it ever obtained in Egypt. It might perhaps have taken centuries to bring it to this maturity; and even the few fragments,

[1] This seems confirmed by the modern discovery, that the windows in the pylones are so arranged that a person can only look upwards and view the heavens, they do not allow one to look upon the earth. Minutoli, p. 44.

[2] Denon, ii. p. 91, 107, and particularly 161.

which may be gleaned of Egyptian history, strengthen the belief, that the erection of one of those stupendous monuments was not the work of *one* but of *many* generations. How many kings were there, according to Herodotus, who added to the temple of Phtha at Memphis before it was fully completed? But what will be our ideas of the antiquity of this art, when we are informed of the discovery made at Elephantis, Edfu, and other places, that even these ancient monuments were, in part, built of the materials of other monuments, which were then just as ancient?[1] What a long succession of centuries must have passed away, during which Upper Egypt remained the central point of the civilized world!

But in Egypt, the sister art, *sculpture*, is almost inseparably connected with architecture, a science which, though naturally dumb, speaks with the tongue of her sister! A passing glance at the Egyptian monuments teaches, beyond contradiction, that the principal application of sculpture was to portray hieroglyphics and the subjects to which they refer, was the representation of sacred rites, adorations, offerings, and processions. But as it is undeniable that hieroglyphics continued the principal support of sculpture, and with it of all the pictorial arts of Egypt, this explains, in my opinion, in a great measure, the course which the art took in this country.

Hieroglyphic writing borrowed its characters from the objects of nature and art which it portrayed. If in these representations the artists aimed to attain merely perspicuity, it was necessary that the objects they represented should be immediately recognised. Accuracy and precision of outline, and mechanical skill in the detail, would effect this; and in these respects the pictorial arts of Egypt excelled, even when not applied to hieroglyphics. They portrayed subjects at rest rather than in motion,—military pieces excepted;—expression of the passions was completely beyond their sphere. If, however, the representations of objects at rest rather than in motion be acknowledged to be the proper end of sculpture, then it will appear that it remained in Egypt true to its character; but as it was so little anxious to give expression to the *beau ideal*, it must, upon that account alone, notwithstanding the great perfection it attained to in other respects, be ranked a grade below the highest efforts of the art.

The immense number of sculptures with which the partitions

[1] *Description d'Egypte*, cap. i. p. 59.

and walls are decorated, is the first thing to excite the astonishment of the beholder. After all that the united industry of the French artists have given us in their engravings, they still remain no more than so many specimens. It formed part of the completion of an Egyptian temple, that its walls, its columns, as well as the ceilings, should be *wholly* covered with sculpture; the long narrow reliefs of the cornices alone excepted, which always remained clear. They were so disposed, however, according to settled rules, as not to interfere with the general appearance of the building, neither were they allowed to interrupt the massive forms of the architecture. According to these rules were regulated the size and order of the reliefs; and, consequently, nothing here seems overcharged, though all is covered with sculpture. But when it becomes manifest, by the more accurate examination of the stone, that the facility of working upon it with the chisel was very great, this opulence becomes in some degree accounted for.—What a number of artists, therefore, must ancient Egypt have contained, in order to perform all this labour!

Upon the subjects of these sculptures a tolerably clear light has lately been shed; so much so, that we can at least now judge of them in a general way, although but little advance has been made in the explanation of particulars. Proper hieroglyphics form but a small part of them; the principal are the great reliefs, or pictures, which represent religious rites, the deities, and their worship. These consist, in a great measure, of offerings of various kinds; sometimes also sacrifices, among which human victims are scarcely to be mistaken. I have stated, in the preceding part of this volume, that I do not by any means consider these works of art as merely ornamental, but that I believe them to have an historical sense, as representations of offerings made by the Pharaohs in homage to the priests, who, in return, conferred upon these monarchs honourable distinctions and privileges.[1] But as similar, or even the same, pictures are so often repeated, one would suppose the pictorial art to have been limited by law to certain subjects. Besides these, there are representations of processions, among which those of the sacred ark, already described, are most frequent, though with many variations.[2] In the following chapter it will be seen, that sculpture was by no means confined to

[1] See p. 193, sqq.

[2] See in particular the one portrayed upon the temple of Karnac at Thebes, *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plates xxxii. xxxvi.

these religious subjects, but that the chisel was sometimes employed, at least on the palace walls of Thebes, to portray and perpetuate pages of history. Near the religious representations are found inscriptions, wholly composed in hieroglyphics, which evidently refer to them; but nothing similar has yet been discovered near the historical reliefs.[1]

But what must have heightened in a wonderful manner the effect of these sculptures, and the general appearance of these temples, was, that all these sculptures were likewise paintings. Probably all those on the outside were painted as well as those of the interior.[2] In this operation only four, or, reckoning the white, only five colours were made use of, that is, yellow, red, blue, green, and the white, but no intermixture of them. The application of these colours to the various objects was subject to fixed rules. The same gods were represented in the same colours; as, for example, Ammon usually blue. It is difficult to imagine the impression made upon the beholder, by this display of colours upon these huge buildings; eye-witnesses affirm, that what they have seen of it completely harmonizes with the general character of the whole.[3] But we can easily conceive, that this use of colours might have a striking effect upon the great mass of the people. Besides this, these paintings were made use of for embellishing the walls of the rock-sepulchres; and these representations are, as near as possible, exact copies of the objects and affairs of common life, and are highly finished. Precision and correctness of outline seem to have been duly observed; but what they are most distinguished

[1] Besides the accounts which have been published by the French literati and artists, the narrative of the British Captain Burr, who was attached to the Indian division that was sent to Egypt, is deserving of attention; it will be found in *Bibl. Britannica*, vol. xxxviii. *Literature*, p. 208—221. He certainly visited only the temple of Denderah; but it cannot be uninteresting to hear the observations of a British traveller, more especially when just come from India, upon the same object which had just been examined by the French, as it will, at least, serve to convince us of the credit due to the statements and observations of the former. In the drapery of the figures he recognises the costume which still prevails in India. "Often," says he, "have I conjectured, and this conjecture was never so much strengthened as by the view of this temple, and the sculpture with which it is ornamented, that a greater resemblance in manners, and consequently a closer friendly connexion, must formerly have existed among the nations of the East, when they were yet united by the same worship." It is, therefore, *only* a resemblance, and not an exact likeness; it is not of mutual descent, but of mutual intercourse, of which he here speaks. "The Indians who accompanied us," he adds, "regarded these ruins with a mixture of wonder and veneration; the effect of a resemblance which many of the figures they saw here bore to their own deities; and still more of the opinion that this temple was the work of a Rakschah who had visited the earth." In confirmation of what is stated (p. 239) from Alvarez respecting the statues of lions, as fountains, at Axum, I see that Burr mentions the same at Denderah; namely, couchant lions, whose jaws serve for water-spouts. This therefore is ancient Egyptian taste; and confirms what is said upon the antiquity of Axum, if indeed that requires any confirmation.

[2] The illuminated leaf, with the temple of Karnac, affords a lively impression of this remarkable sight. *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plate xxxiv.

[3] *Description d'Egypte*, cap. v. p. 18.

by, is the freshness and durability of the colours; in this respect the Egyptians seem to have surpassed all other people; but of the intermixing of colours they do not seem to have had the slightest idea.[1]

If under these circumstances the application of painting became necessarily limited, that of sculpture was, in an equal proportion, extended. As by this, especially, hieroglyphics were portrayed, it consequently occupied, to a certain degree, the place of writing; at least in all those affairs which would have been written down for posterity; and since this was done upon the public monuments, architecture and sculpture became here so closely connected, that it may be doubted which of the two was formed for the other. There was scarcely any where in ancient Egypt, a temple whose walls were not covered with inscriptions and reliefs; and if it should not be absolutely established, that these buildings were erected to receive these inscriptions, that certainly formed one of their principal objects. However difficult our situation may make it for us to explain these inscriptions and representations, yet it is clearly manifest, that they relate in part to astronomical, historical, strictly religious, and perhaps moral subjects. Since architecture and sculpture, in this manner, walked hand in hand among the Egyptians, their public monuments and edifices preserved thereby a new and important consideration, greater than what they ever could have done among any other people. "An Egyptian temple," says a modern traveller,[2] "is, as it were, an open book, where science unfolds, where morality teaches, where the useful arts are set forth. Everything seems to speak, all seems animated; and all in the same spirit.[3] The door-posts, the most secret corners, give a lesson or a rule; and the whole in most wonderful harmony." Thus, then, these majestic buildings became, in a manner, living archives of the science and knowledge of the nation; after this, can we be at all surprised at the great importance which they had in the eyes of the Egyptians?

The arts in general, perhaps, with the exception of the

[1] [It is very difficult to believe this; for it seems almost impossible that a painter could be long in the habit of using colours without accident making him acquainted with the effect of compounding them. Ought we not rather to suppose that its practice was on some account forbidden rather than unknown? *Trans.*]

[2] Denon, ii. p. 16.

[3] [I cannot withhold the following similar animated description by one of our own countrymen: "Everything seems to speak and move around you, and is so different from what a person meets with in any part of Europe, that the mind is astonished, and feels as if absolutely introduced to beings of olden time, to converse with them, and to witness the ceremonies with which they delighted to honour their god." Dr. Richardson's *Travels*. *Trans.*]

mere laborious part, formed in Egypt a portion of the learning of the priests. What a large portion of mechanical and mathematical knowledge, which only the priests possessed, was required for this architecture, even allowing them to have availed themselves of the assistance of artists and overseers in their erection![1] and scarcely could it have been otherwise with sculpture, as by this their knowledge was preserved.

Having thus taken a brief survey of the whole circle of priestly literature and science, or priestly religion, let us now proceed to the *popular* religion, which must necessarily be distinguished from it. It is unquestionably true that a close connexion existed between the religion of the people and that of the priests, namely, in the worship of the same deities; but it is equally certain, that, though in particular points they may be found to agree, they could not throughout be the same. The learning of the priests neither could nor should be made the business of the people; it belonged, indeed, exclusively to the higher castes. The popular religion consisted, in Egypt as well as elsewhere, in the worship of the gods; in the feasts connected with it; and in certain religious opinions, which, in part, had an important influence upon practical life.

Notwithstanding, however, that the same deities which were the object of the priestly religion were worshipped by the people, let it not be supposed that their names had the same ideas attached to them in the popular belief that they had in the learned system of the priests. It is certain, that the notions of the vulgar respecting the gods were as rude among the great mass of the Egyptians as among any other nation; perhaps even ruder, as their worship of animals seems to render probable: a phenomenon which has caused the learned in Egyptian antiquities an amazing deal of trouble. Among the Egyptians, for example, there were not only various kinds of animals held sacred, and which a man durst not kill without incurring the penalty of death; but there were particular individuals of them housed in the temple, where they were tended with the greatest care; offerings were made to them, and the honours of divine worship paid them; indeed, even at their death they were embalmed, and laid in a sacred sepul-

[1] The highly interesting representation of the removal of a colossus, for which we are indebted to Minutoli, plate xiii., certainly proves that human strength was the moving power; but though this might be the case in the transport of the colossus, yet the labour of man would be quite unequal to the task of rearing it up, as well as for the upraising of the immense blocks of stone which formed the ceilings of the halls of columns. Mechanical aid, in these cases, *must* have been brought into operation.

chre.[1] General as this animal idolatry was among the Egyptians, it varied in different districts. There were only a few kinds of animals to which all the Egyptians paid divine honours. Of the rest, some were in one place holy, and in another unholy; in one nome a man might kill and eat that, which in another he would himself be put to death for injuring.[2]

From all that we know of the history of the human race, animal idolatry had its origin in the first and rudest periods of nations. It flowed, without doubt, from the same source as the worship of other natural objects; but I hold it to be very difficult, if not impossible, to explain its origin beyond this: and the insufficiency of all hypotheses, ancient and modern, which have been adopted, sometimes on account of the rarity of the animals, at others from their utility, or their noxiousness to man, sufficiently prove it. Man must become himself a savage before he can be able to judge of the relation in which a savage feels himself towards the brute creation. He will not till then be able to point out the course of perceptions, by which he was brought to regard animals as objects of adoration. The causes before mentioned confer, in my opinion, a power of reasoning upon the savage of which he is not possessed. A mere childish delight in this or that particular kind of animal was most probably the cause, though I by no means hold it for the only one.[3]

Let the reader take a rapid survey of the vast regions of Africa, and almost in every part, from the Ethiopian coast to the Senegal, he will find animal idolatry introduced;[4] he can hardly then doubt that it also existed among their brethren, the Egyptians, in the infancy of society. If, therefore, we reason from the analogy of other nations, we must conclude that it was also the religion of the earliest rude inhabitants of Egypt, which in the progress of civilization underwent, designedly or accidentally, certain modifications; but certainly could not then have been first introduced.

The great variety in the animal worship seems most naturally explained by the great number of different tribes which in-

[1] See the disquisition of Meiners, upon the animal idolatry of the Egyptians, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, b. i. p. 204—224. [2] Herod. ii. 65, etc.

[3] See especially what Bossman relates of the worship of serpents at Fida in Guinea (p. 446, etc.). It is not there merely the *species* of the serpent that is sacred and inviolable, but some of them are in a particular building preserved and honoured as gods; exactly as among the Egyptians.

[4] Some very learned remarks are made upon this subject in Bowdich: *An Essay on the Superstitious Customs and Arts common to the ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and the Ashantees*, Lond. 1821; especially upon animal idolatry.

habited Egypt. A similar alteration is found among the nations of the rest of Africa. What *animals* were held for holy or unholy, seems, in the infancy of the nation, to have depended upon such very trifling and unimportant circumstances, that it is impossible now to ascertain exactly which they were. Why, therefore, the crocodile was holy in one part of Egypt, and the hippopotamus in another, it is now impossible to determine any further than that it was the primeval religion of this or that race.

But in looking to the nature and variety of the animal worship of Egypt in later times, it appears evidently to have stood in a closer relation to the political formation of the people; and to have been made the means in the hands of the ruling priest caste, at the foundation of their colonies, of alluring the neighbouring savage tribes, and of bringing them into a political connexion with themselves. The animal idolatry of Egypt differed, as is evident from many passages of Herodotus, according to the nomes. Is it not fair, therefore, to conjecture from this, that it was a custom of the Egyptian priests, in the places where they founded colonies, to gain over the rude inhabitants by the adoption of their worship; and by the appointment of apartments in their temples for the animals which these held sacred, to make these temples the common sanctuary of the tribe?

It is probable, however, that this worship became much changed by political revolutions. For example, the sacred steer of Memphis became the national god of all Egypt, and may we not suppose this to be owing to Memphis having been the capital of all Egypt?

But let us turn now from this animal idolatry, considered as the popular religion, to the very different application which the priests made in their literature, of the animals held sacred by the vulgar. In the first place, they borrowed many of their written characters from them. As hieroglyphics in general were pictures of objects of nature and art, it cannot appear strange that pictures of animals should form a large proportion of these characters. Further, as these animals were held sacred by the popular superstition, they became pre-eminently adopted, by a very natural association of ideas, as representatives of divinity. Thus, for example, the sparrow-hawk, whose form is seen upon the entrance of the temples, and in so many other situations, signified in general divine, sacred, consecrated.

Thus the beetle signified the universe; and so on. But since these people likewise expressed certain attributes of the gods by certain animals, it seems very probable that in this way arose the custom, to us so absurd, of representing the deities, which in other respects are imagined to have the human form, with the heads of animals; specimens of which are so frequent upon all the Egyptian monuments. And when we discover the constant endeavour of the priest caste to copy, to a certain degree, the deities whom they serve, in their bearing and in their whole exterior deportment, it becomes very apparent, why the priests are so often portrayed with animals' heads or masks; although without knowing the ritual of the priesthood, which we do not possess, the explication of particulars must always remain dubious and obscure.

The *sacred rites* and *popular feasts* of the Egyptians are so accurately described by Herodotus,[1] that a very just notion may be formed of them without any distrust; and his descriptions are so much the more valuable, because they not only bring us acquainted with the priest caste, but also with the character and manner of thinking of the lower classes. From all that Herodotus says upon this subject, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion, than that the latter, notwithstanding the teaching of the ruling caste, and notwithstanding the influence which the use of agriculture and the arts of peace must have had upon them, still constantly preserved in their character features of their earliest rude state, above which, in a moral point of view, they seem to have been but very little raised. How could this be otherwise in a country where every branch of scientific knowledge, and every higher part of education, was confined, exclusively, to the upper classes?[2] Their feasts and holy rites were nearly, without exception, made up of superstition and enthusiasm, in which they gave themselves up to savage pleasure, or extravagant penitence and atonement for their real or imaginary sins. The latter were much more

[1] Herod. ii. 40, 42, 60, 63.

[2] Although, according to the remarks made in the introduction, (p. 260,) upon the knowledge of hieroglyphics, so far as the demotic writing was derived from these, they could not be wholly hidden from the people, yet the *symbolic* and *enigmatic* writings still remained unknown to them; and though they saw the inscriptions on the monuments, yet, as far as I know, no proof exists that they were able to read the sacred books of the priests, and understand them. That the priest caste, as well as the Bramins, kept this locked up from the nation, in order to preserve in their own body the exclusive possession of knowledge which the people could not do without, does not require, in my opinion, a single proof, because it seems to spring from the spirit of the caste. I cannot agree in opinion with Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 482, that the knowledge of hieroglyphics was peculiar to the priesthood, merely because it was too difficult, and required too much time in learning, to be attained by the great body of the people.

frequent and excessive among the Egyptians than the former: few of their feasts were without penances; and most of their offerings to the gods were expiatory sacrifices. Others, on the contrary, were accompanied by violent expressions of joy, particularly their processions, which always bore the stamp of that rude age, in which moral sentiments, and refined notions of decency and good manners, were but slightly developed.[1]

Among a people, that from the earliest times had been governed by priests, oracles are the first things that would be expected; the strongest band by which rude nations, in the infancy of society, can be chained to a certain degree of civilization! In the cases of Meroë and Ammonium, examples have already been offered of states, in which oracles were the mainspring that regulated all their movements; and from what is known of Egypt in later times, they do not seem to have exercised less influence in the formation of the earlier Egyptian states. Whether each settlement of priests had an oracle originally connected with it, is not known; but in the time of Herodotus, they are found, though not in all, yet certainly in many of the principal cities and temples of Egypt. Thus the oracle of Ammon at Thebes, of Hercules, of Orus, or Apollo, of Bubastis, or Artemis, of Mars and Minerva, each in the city in which they had their seat, are expressly mentioned by him; but the most famous of all, from some cause now unknown, was the oracle of Latona in the city Buto.[2] The way in which the oracles were delivered was not every where the same; that of the oracle of Ammon by the sacred ship, has been already explained in the former part of the volume.[3] According to the direct testimony of Herodotus, they were only given by the gods, and only by certain of these to whom it was appointed: a regulation by which the priest caste kept them more securely in their own hands.

Of all the religious opinions of the Egyptians, there was no one that exercised so great an influence upon their private life and public deportment, as their belief in an *existence after death;* which, therefore, in a description of the political state

[1] Herod. ii. 48. Proofs of this might also have been expected to be found in the sculpture, which so often portray offerings and sacred rites. But the art here again seems to have had its fixed prescriptions, since it keeps itself so closely within certain boundaries. Frequently is the offering of the king, known by his head-dress, with his suite represented: when the people appear, they are represented by single figures placed exactly in a line, one after the other, in respectful order. The greater number of figures, however, are priests, shown by their *clothing and head-dress.* [2] Herod. ii. 83, 154.

[3] Page 211. It will be found again represented in the temple of Karnac; *Descript. d'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. xiv. plates xxxii. xxxvi.; also at Elephantis, vol. i. plate xxxvii.

of the nation, it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence. That this belief prevailed in Egypt all writers agree; it is only when we ask how it was formed, that the difficulty begins; as upon this point there reigns a diversity of opinion, which cannot be easily reconciled. The plainest and most credible account seems that preserved by Herodotus, when he says:[1] "According to the opinion of the Egyptians, Bacchus and Ceres are the rulers of the lower world. But the Egyptians are the first who have asserted that the soul of man is immortal; for when the body perishes, it enters the body of a newly-born animal; but when it has passed through all the land animals, sea animals, and fowls, it again returns to a human body. This transmigration is completely performed in three thousand years." From this passage it is evident that the Egyptians believed in the transmigration of souls, so that the soul in a destined cycle wandered through the bodies of every species of animals, till it again returned to a human body: not to the one it had formerly occupied, but to a new one. But another question naturally arises here, how do the regulations which were made in Egypt, as well with regard to the preservation of the corpse by embalming, as the secure lodgment of it in an elaborately built tomb, agree with this description? How can the notions respecting the lower world, *Hades*, or, as it was here called, *the Amenthes*, which, from certain evidence, even from that of Herodotus, are known to have prevailed in the nation, be made to agree with this? These two ideas are so directly opposed to each other, that the impossibility of reconciling them must be allowed by all.[2]

This difficulty can only be accounted for, in my opinion, from the difference between the vulgar religion and the learned religion of the priests. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, in the way it is imputed to the Egyptians by Herodotus, could not possibly be the popular belief: it bears about it too clearly the marks of having been formed according to a scientific system. Is not this evidently betrayed, in the opinion that the soul must pass through *all* species of animals, till it again becomes united to a human body; and again more especially by the belief, that this happened in a fixed cycle of time, which

[1] Herod. ii. 123.

[2] Zoëga, who has discussed with much learning the notions of the Egyptians respecting the lower world, (*de Obeliscis*, p. 294, 310,) understands Herodotus as follows: the soul descends with the body into the lower world, and first commences its wanderings when the latter is decayed. But we very naturally demand, how could this opinion prevail among a people who so embalmed the corpses, that they *never decayed at all?*

was, without doubt, determined upon from astronomical and astrological observations?[1] I think myself therefore justified in considering the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as a philosophical system of the priests, and by no means the religion of the vulgar.

Completely different from this were the faith and notions of the people, as they are clearly and concisely described to us by Diodorus.[2] "The Egyptians," he says, "consider this life as of very trifling consequence, and they therefore value in proportion a quiet repose after death. This leads them to consider the habitations of the living as mere lodgings, in which, as travellers, they put up for a short time; while they call the sepulchres of the dead everlasting dwellings, because the dead continue in the grave such an immeasurable length of time. They therefore pay but little attention to the building of their houses, but bestow a cost and care, scarcely credible, upon their sepulchres." Although these words may require some further explanation, yet it is evident, at the first glance, that they offer the key to the most interesting part of Egyptian antiquity.

According to this authority, the belief in a *continuance after death* was not only entertained by the people, but had also an important influence upon practical life. What the ideas of the Egyptians were respecting this *continuance* Diodorus does not exactly inform us; but if we consider their whole proceedings with regard to their dead, a doubt can scarcely remain upon the subject. It was closely connected by them with the *continuance of the body*, and was therefore, for the most part, a coarse, sensual kind of notion. The identity of the body was never laid aside; upon its preservation depended the continuance of existence. It is possible that certain philosophical ideas may afterwards have been joined to this notion, but they can be no further developed, because it was a rude, vulgar superstition; and, besides, we should infallibly be led to impute ideas to the Egyptians which they never had. But if this be taken as the foundation, and the peculiarities of the country and climate are duly taken into consideration, every custom of the Egyptians with regard to the treatment of their corpses will be easily accounted for.

It is at once evident from this why the preparation of mummies was so carefully attended to and became so general in

[1] Respecting this cycle see what Gatterer says, p. 160, of the treatise already quoted.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 60, 61.

Egypt. The three different methods, more or less costly, are described by Herodotus.[1] Who can help seeing that every thing depended upon this preservation?—A preservation which not merely secured the continuance of the body for a time, but, supposing it to have escaped violent destruction, preserved it for ever.

Hence, immediately may be inferred, the necessity for a convenient and secure place in which to bestow the dead bodies. Graves such as we have, where the corpse is subject to decay, would be quite unfit for the purpose; and still more so the urns, preserving only the ashes, of the Greeks and Romans. In fact, real habitations for the dead were required, in which their continuance and quiet might be as secure as possible. The fertile plains of Egypt, besides that its confined space scarcely afforded room for the living, was totally unfit, on account of the inundations of the Nile; nature herself, however, seems as it were to have appointed a place for them. The rocky strip at the foot of the western mountain-chain, and the mountain itself, was not only beyond the reach of the floods, but afforded, by its caves and its general character, just the situation required; since, where there were no natural caves, vaults in the rocks might be easily made, which completely answered the purpose. This rocky strip of Egypt gives proofs of this in every part. A countless number of sepulchres of this kind, sometimes in the mountain, and at others in large subterranean caverns under the rocky soil, to which the descent is by openings or pits, are found both in Middle and Lower Egypt along the Libyan chain. Every Egyptian city required a resting-place of this kind for its dead, in proportion to the extent of that of the capital. The sepulchres of Thebes, as well the royal tombs, which lie apart in the retired stony valley, as the other numerous vaults,[2] have hitherto more particularly engaged the attention of travellers, although there are others which equally deserve to be explored.[3]

We are told by Diodorus, that it was upon adorning these everlasting abodes that the Egyptians bestowed their greatest care. The idea that the future life is a continuation of the present, appears to be too natural to man not to be generally adopted. Hence, therefore, the custom that the sepulchres

[1] Herod. ii. 86—88. [2] See the engravings in Denon, plate xlii., and many excellent statements and remarks, ii. 108, 271, 287.
[3] Like that of Eilethyia. *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, iii. 141, etc.

were mostly family sepulchres;[1] hence, also, the kind of painting and ornaments with which they were adorned. Thus, as the present life of the Egyptians was divided between the obligations of religion and domestic affairs, they represented both these in the gloomy caverns of the dead. The walls, therefore, were partly covered with hieroglyphics and religious subjects, and partly with matters of every-day life,—of agriculture, of arts, etc., by which, as I have elsewhere remarked, the sepulchres are the true schools of Egyptian antiquities.

As many of these sepulchres, to which the descent is made by pits, were under the rocky soil, covered with sand, there arose a necessity for the erection of some monument over them, if it were wished to preserve the whole distinct, or to prevent the entrance from being choked up. It is highly probable that the pyramids were raised for this purpose. Their shape was best adapted to answer the end described, and it was only by degrees that they became formed into such huge masses;[2] this seems to be evinced by the still existing shorter pyramids, more especially if the conjecture be true, that the great pyramids were the work of the most ancient Ethiopian race of Pharaohs, mentioned by Herodotus, and copies of the pyramids at Meroë.[3] Herodotus remarks, that the subterraneous caverns, under the great pyramid, were most highly deserving of

[1] Denon, plate lxxvi. ii. 313.

[2] See what is said upon this subject in Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, 379, etc.

[3] See above, p. 318. It is there mentioned that Herodotus's account of the builders of the pyramids was by no means the only one. It was the account of the priests of Memphis, whose knowledge was confined to the builders of their own temple and the monuments near it. Did they know nothing of the pyramids of Saccara, and the rest of Middle Egypt? Their relation shows, however, that the dynasty under whom they were built must have reigned during a long period: as a comparison with the royal sepulchres at Thebes does that it was no Theban dynasty. They are altogether in a different style; they contain neither hieroglyphics nor reliefs. It is certain, from the latest discoveries, that pyramid architecture, though upon a smaller scale, was quite common at Meroë. These are the reasons which induce me to believe, that the Egyptian pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments, and that they were built by those eighteen Ethiopian Pharaohs, who, according to Herodotus, reigned long before Sesostris, and are included in the three hundred and thirty kings whose names were read over by the priests. This conjecture—for I give it as nothing more—at least explains the whole; and I venture to bring it forward, because nothing further is founded upon it. My opinion, however, is confirmed by Manetho, who places the building of the great pyramid, which Herodotus refers to Cheops, in the *fourth* dynasty. This was one of the dynasties of Memphis, though of foreign extraction, and its third king, *Suphis*, a contemner of the gods, but afterwards converted, is said to have built it. Euseb. *Chron.* 207. I think it may be concluded from all this, that the pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments of Egypt, and that they are very probably of Ethiopian origin. At the instigation of Count Minutoli, a pyramid of Saccara has been opened; he mentions the similarity which its formation bears to those of Meroë. *Journey*, p. 299. The hieroglyphics found therein, on the posts of a side door, seem certainly to contradict the opinion hitherto entertained, that there are no hieroglyphics in the pyramids; should these, however, upon further inquiry, be found to be the only ones, it might render the conjecture admissible, that they were not cut in till afterwards, as, upon another door, others are found drawn with black paint, which certainly do not belong to the original foundation. In the pyramids of Meroë a few hieroglyphics have been discovered; yet at present only in the vestibule; as hitherto no one has been able to penetrate into the interior. See above, p. 201, and Caillaud, plate xlv. xlvi.

admiration ;[1] and the openings, or pits, which are found as well in this as in the pyramids at Saccara, could scarcely have been intended for any other purpose but the entrance[2] to those subterranean chambers of the dead, a more accurate examination of which is still reserved for future travellers.

The situation of all these sepulchres and tombs completely harmonizes with the sombre ideas of death. It was at the entrance of the desert, where nature herself seemed to die; where all vegetation ceased ; and where measureless plains succeeded, whose boundaries the eye could not reach ! What was more natural, than that under such circumstances the idea of an *empire of the dead*, a lower world, an *Amenthes*, should be formed among the Egyptians? And since they contemplated even the abode, as a continuance of the present life, it will be evident from that, how many ideas might become interwoven with it, which otherwise would appear strange. The lower world had its deities, its inhabitants, even its animals. Dionysos and Ceres, that is, according to Herodotus's own interpretation, Osiris and Isis, governed the lower world, where the former bore the surname of Serapis.[3] The latter, indeed, has his own proper temple, in the midst of the Egyptian empire of death.[4] Wolves are the animals of the lower world, the guardians of Amenthes.[5] Hence, therefore, they appear so frequently, as well as the deities just mentioned, upon the monuments of the dead.

Thus becomes explained why the Egyptians paid so much attention to their funerals. Until deposited in the tomb, the deceased could not enter the empire of death ; nor would the tranquil continuance of his existence be secured, until here he had taken up his fixed abode. The mummies of their ancestors and families, therefore, might well be the surest pledges among the Egyptians ;[6] for there was no duty more sacred, according to their notions, than that of redeeming them, and giving them a secure resting-place.

These are, as I believe, the principal points of the opinion of the Egyptians respecting a hereafter, so far as believed by the people. But, as the picture of the empire of death became gradually filled up by them, and the whole representation extended, many other ideas were by degrees knit to them, and of

[1] Herod. ii. 124. He expressly adds, that their founder, Cheops, intended them for sepulchres. [2] Zoëga, l. c. [3] Ibid. p. 302, 310.

[4] The ancient Serapeum (different from the later one in Alexandria) is said by Strabo, p. 1161, to have been situated in the sand.

[5] Herod. ii. 122; Zoëga, p. 307, etc. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 104.

these there are none more deserving our attention than that of the *rewards* and *punishments* administered by the judges of the lower world.

How little soever this notion may seem to agree, at the first glance, with that of the Egyptian empire of death, yet it may easily be seen how this belief might arise, when once the idea of an empire like that of the upper world, by a dominion of deities, had been transferred to it. But it was, as is clearly seen from Diodorus's statement, quite of a different nature from what it is among us, and was quite in unison with the other opinions of the nation respecting the lower world. Ere yet the ceremonies of the funeral began,[1] as we are informed by the same writer, a tribunal of death was assembled, consisting of forty members; this inquired into the conduct of the deceased, and determined whether he was worthy of burial or not. Every one was at liberty to appear in this court as accuser, but he was heavily punished who was found to have brought forward a false accusation. If the deceased was adjudged worthy of burial, the deities of the lower world were then invoked to receive him as an inhabitant among the just.

From this account it is very plain that the idea of rewards and punishments after death was closely connected with the granting or not granting of the rites of sepulchre.[2] Indeed, accordingly as the deceased obtained this or not was the entrance to the empire of death opened or closed, and with that his secure and quiet existence. But when this tribunal of death had once become familiar to the people, when, moreover, they had given to the lower world a ruler and judge, it is not at all surprising that we should find this institution still further extended to the lower world, and see Serapis introduced there as judge of the dead. A tribunal of the dead, of this kind, is portrayed upon a coffin in the British Museum, of which Zoëga has given an admirable explanation.[3] A scene resembling this is portrayed upon the upper end of a papyrus roll, which was found in the coffin of a mummy, and brought

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 102, 103. Among the Egyptian funeral customs, Diodorus mentions in this place, that of the passage of the dead bodies over a lake in a bark, from which the Greek fable of the Styx is said to have arisen. This bark is frequently seen represented, sometimes in temples, sometimes on papyrus rolls, as well as in the work, which I shall presently quote, of H. Fontana. Care must be taken not to confound this with the oracle ship of Ammon, described in p. 211, which is easily distinguished by the insignia of Ammon, and the portable sanctuary always found upon it.

[2] The celebrated death tribunal over the kings had, therefore, in my opinion, exactly the same sense; and were only distinguished from those over private persons by being more solemn.

[3] Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 308.

by the French expedition into Europe:[1] Osiris is here discovered sitting as judge, with his usual attributes. Before him is a lotus flower, as an emblem of the present life, and a lion, probably as keeper of the lower world. A small human figure is being weighed in a large scale, by two figures, or genii, with animals' heads; one with that of a dog, as symbolical of great sensuality; the other with that of the sparrow-hawk, the usual symbol of the divine nature. Both lay hold of the scales and seem to address Osiris. Hermes, with the ibis head, stands before the latter, with writing tablets in his hand, wherein he notes the faults and virtues of the deceased.[2] One would, therefore, conjecture from the above, that this tribunal was about to decide, whether the new comer might remain in the empire of death or not. Probably, however, these notions became still further developed, and in the progress of time completely new ones might become knit to the old ones, which approached much nearer to our ideas of rewards and punishments.

I have thus far endeavoured to set forth the state and government of Egypt in general under the Pharaohs. Let me hope that many things will become still clearer and more readily perceptible in the next chapter, in which I shall endeavour to picture the principal state of ancient Egypt—the hundred-gated Thebes.

CHAP. III. *Thebes and its Monuments.*

ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT WERE HER STRENGTH, AND IT WAS INFINITE; PUT AND LUBIM WERE THY HELPERS. NAHUM III. 9.

HOWEVER great the obscurity in which the history of Egypt is involved, there can be no doubt but that the state of Thebes was one of the earliest and most powerful. It is to this state, more particularly, that the efforts of the moderns have been directed; efforts, which have been eminently successful in rescuing its most interesting antiquities from oblivion, which have restored it, as it were, from its ancient ruins; and are still

[1] The engraving in Denon, plate cxli. He explains it altogether wrong to be an initiation into the mysteries.

[2] The explanation of some subordinate figures, respecting which I am uncertain, I must leave to a future commentator. We have since obtained many copies of similar representations, which are partly explained; and especially *Copie figurée d'un Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé en Egypte, par* M. Fontana, *expliqué par* M. De Hammer, *a Vienna*, 1822. The principal figures, Osiris, or Serapis, as judge of the dead, Theut, or Hermes, as writer, a figure with the scales, are the same; but in the subordinate figures there is much variety.

prosecuted with much vigour and good fortune. Its history, therefore, undoubtedly is one of great importance; not merely for Egypt alone, but as regards the general history of the world. Its monuments testify to us of a time when it was the centre of the civilization of the human race; a civilization, it is true, which has not endured, but which, nevertheless, forms one of the steps by which mankind has attained to a higher perfection. Who, then, would not like to see an accurate and complete narrative of its origin, rise, and fall? But who can now expect or require such a history? We pass at once from the regions of light into an obscure twilight which has scarcely dawned, and which we can scarcely hope ever to see expand into the fulness of day. Lest, therefore, expectation should become too sanguine, let us take a glance at the materials left for a history of ancient Thebes: they consist of *writers* and the *monuments*.

If Herodotus had left us as much upon the history of Thebes as he might have done, how satisfactory would have been our information! It is extraordinary that he, who according to his own account was in Thebes,[1] should have scarcely said a word of its monuments, and but little more of its history. If the latter is to be ascribed to his predecessor, Hecatæus of Miletus, having recently visited and described it, how much reason have we to wish that the latter had not written at all. And as for its history, all we have from Herodotus is a few particulars which he collected in conversation with the priests there; for what he says elsewhere upon Egypt, from the accounts related to him by the priests, he seems to have obtained from the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities which he visited before he went to Thebes.[2]

Diodorus of Sicily is our principal authority. We are indebted to him for the most accurate accounts of the monuments of Thebes, and of its history and government. The credibility of his statements mainly depends upon the sources whence he drew them; and these are of three kinds: personal inspection; the information he obtained from the priests at Thebes; the accounts of preceding Greek writers, who had visited and described Thebes before him.

[1] Herod. ii. 143.

[2] From the passage, ii. 3, it is clear that Herodotus went first to Memphis, at that time the capital, and obtained there his information from the priests; and then went to Heliopolis and Thebes for the sake of comparing it with theirs. The historical accounts, cap. 99—142, he noted down as he received them from the mouths of the priests. He generally mentions what he received from the priests at Thebes, as, for instance, cap. 143.

Diodorus was himself in Thebes. According to his own account, he visited Egypt in the 108th Olympiad, that is, between 60 and 56 years before Christ, during the dominion of Ptolemy Auletes.[1] He speaks, therefore, in his descriptions as an eye-witness, and there is no reason here to suspect him of falsehood or exaggeration; the less, indeed, because he refers to the agreement of his statements with those of other writers.[2] Some of his descriptions, nevertheless, seem to have been borrowed; either because he had not noted down the circumstances, or for some other unknown reason. It does not, however, follow from this that he had not himself seen the objects which he describes.

A second source open to him was the accounts possessed by the priests of Thebes; and these were certainly written as well as oral. Upon this point he thus expresses himself: "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall note down, after having carefully examined it."[3] This testimony is so decisive, that it only leaves one alternative, namely, that Diodorus either had access to the *writings* of the Egyptian priests, or stands convicted of a falsehood. There appear no grounds for the latter supposition. He may occasionally have erred in chronology, and other matters, but no one has yet accused him of intentional misstatements. A very natural objection, however, and which almost forces itself upon our attention, is, that Diodorus was unacquainted with the Egyptian language, and could not understand hieroglyphic writing. —But does it not seem very probable that there were Greek translations, or extracts, prepared by the priests for the use of Greek travellers who visited their country? When, indeed, we consider the number of Greeks who visited Egypt, this appears the more necessary; and should any one still think it unlikely, let him call to mind that this had actually been done, two centuries previous to the time of Diodorus, at Heliopolis, by the high priest Manetho, who had drawn up in Greek, from the archives of the priests, not a mere abstract, but a continuous history of Egypt.[4] This conjecture is strengthened by the

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 56. [2] Diodorus, l. c.

[3] Diodorus, i. p. 80. *αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦον τοῖς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα φιλοτίμως ἐξητακότες ἐκθησόμεθα. Quæ a sacerdotibus Ægypti in commentarios relata penseculate examinavimus, ea nunc exponemus*, according to Wesseling's translation. Compare i. p. 36, where he, in stating the number of population and towns, expressly quotes the numbers of the commentaries of the priests.

[4] The Greek translation of the inscriptions on the obelisk of Heliopolis, afterwards at Rome in the *Circus Maximus*, may serve as another example; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 4, has preserved it from a manuscript of Hermapion.

expression of Diodorus, who does not call the writings of the priests here mentioned, their *sacred* writings, as he is accustomed to do elsewhere,[1] but simply their writings. I considered it a duty to quote this passage, but with regard to the question itself, I must leave it, as it is so totally a matter of conjecture, to the judgment of the reader. We may decide, however, upon satisfactory evidence, that Diodorus made use of the annals of the priests in compiling his account, and certainly of those of Thebes.

The third source whence Diodorus drew his materials was the writings of the Greeks who had visited Egypt before him: and he has not left us in doubt respecting the writers of whose works he chiefly availed himself. Herodotus was not one of them. He only mentions him with disapprobation,[2] on account of the fables with which he has diversified his narration. The authors by whom he most profited were the elder and younger Hecatæus, Cadmus, and Hellanicus. The elder Hecatæus is the same person whose affair with the priests of Thebes is mentioned by Herodotus.[3] He had been in Egypt but a short time before him, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes; and had, either in his geography, or in a separate work, treated of the Egyptians. He was a native of Miletus; and is evidently meant in that passage in which he, with his two countrymen and contemporaries, who had also written upon Egypt, is mentioned as one of the early writers.[4] Of the younger Hecatæus, of Abdera, Diodorus speaks in another passage.[5] He lived about two hundred years later than the elder one, under Ptolemy Lagus, in Egypt, and assuredly at Thebes. He wrote *Ægyptiaca*, of which Diodorus seems to have made free use. —But the accounts of these writers themselves were also drawn from the statements of the priests of Thebes. One great and general result is, therefore, deducible from this: namely, *that the facts recorded by Diodorus relating to Egypt are drawn, either directly or indirectly, from the statements of the priests of Thebes.*

The dynasties of Manetho of Sebennytus, drawn from the archives of the priests above mentioned, have obtained a higher authority within the last ten years than was willingly allowed them previously. The possession of the entire Chronicle of Eusebius in the Armenian version,[6] gives us the Fragments of

[1] As, for instance, i. p. 53, and often. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 44. [3] Herod. ii. 143.
[4] Diodorus, l. c. Compare Voss. *de Hist. Gr.* p. 441.
[5] Diodorus, i. p. 56. [6] See above, p. 310, note.

Manetho, found therein, in a more complete and accurate form. They have, however, lately been unexpectedly confirmed by the deciphering of the royal names and titles on the monuments, through the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics; as a series of the names of the Pharaohs are here traced out, as they are found in the catalogues of Manetho; particularly in his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which are highly important in the present inquiry.

By comparing together these three great writers, we are driven to a conclusion which I think worthy of high consideration in the study of Egyptian antiquities. As Herodotus made use of the priestly traditions at Memphis, Diodorus of those at Thebes, and Manetho of those at Heliopolis, it follows that we have, in these three writers, the priestly traditions (under which I also comprise their written accounts) as preserved by that body at the three principal seats of learning in Egypt. It is not therefore extraordinary that some discrepancies should be found amongst them, for which this explanation will satisfactorily account.

These, then, are the written sources from which is derived our knowledge of Egyptian Thebes. And after all, what are they? Poor, indeed, would be the information respecting this state, if their defects were not in some measure supplied by the monuments. It is only through these that we can form a just conception of the magnificence of this ancient royal city; or a general notion of the degree of civilization to which the people had attained who erected them.—These certainly give us no continuous history, in the proper sense of the word; but in connexion with the written accounts, to which they form, as it were, a living commentary, they give us an historical view of this ancient state, in its most flourishing period; and to this the present inquiry will be confined. A clear and concise description of these venerable remains, copied from the representations of the French expedition, and the accounts of later travellers, must necessarily form the groundwork of this history;[1] and this I shall intersperse with such historical observ-

[1] Some twenty years ago our knowledge of the monuments of Thebes was but very limited and imperfect. Of the many travellers who visited Egypt, but few reached Upper Egypt, and these few had seldom an opportunity of making extensive inquiries, and still less time and ability to take correct drawings of what they saw. Of the early travellers, Pococke and Noren are almost the only ones who deserve to be mentioned; though their descriptions and drawings were insufficient to give a just idea of the monuments, and the wonders of antiquity. It was the French expedition that first brought us acquainted with Egypt. Denon, in his *Voyage dans la basse et haute Egypte*, Paris, 1802, with the engravings which accompany it, gives us a clear idea of the monuments of Upper Egypt, and of some part of Thebes.

ations as they may give rise to, or as may be drawn from a comparison of them with such of the above-mentioned materials as still exist.

I. *The Monuments.*

The locality of ancient Thebes has been so accurately measured and portrayed on so large a scale by the French, as to leave nothing to be desired on this head.[1] The whole valley of the Nile in Upper Egypt, offers no spot so fit for the foundation of a large capital. The mountain-chains, the Libyan, on the western, and the other, usually called the Arabian, on the eastern side, retire here to such a distance on either side of the river, that they leave a spacious plain on both banks, whose breadth from west to east amounts to about three leagues and a half, (the leagues of two thousand toises,) and the length from north to south is about the same. Its extent is reckoned by Strabo at eighty stadia, or eight geographical miles,[2] and by Diodorus to one hundred and fifty stadia, or about sixteen miles and a half. Towards the north this plain is again closed in by the near approach of the two mountain-chains to the river: towards the south, on the contrary, where the western chain continues distant from the rivers, it remains open. The

This soon drew attention to this country, and the discoveries to be made there could no longer be doubted. Even what, however, Denon has given us was only a foretaste. The immense store of works of art permitted him only to give drawings of a few, and the means of a private individual, although favoured by the court, must have limited the number and magnificence of these.

But already had the French government determined to give, by employing the united efforts of artists and men of learning and science, a more complete description and representation both of ancient and modern Egypt, of its monuments, productions, inhabitants, and of its nature in general, than had hitherto been attempted. The first livraison of this great work, *Description de l'Egypte*, appeared in 1811. It comprises Upper Egypt, from the southern boundary to Thebes, and is divided (like the following) into three parts: *Antiquités*, *Histoire naturelle*, and *Etat moderne*. The *Antiquités*, which alone come under our notice, are chiefly the monuments of *Philæ*, *Elephantis*, *Essouan*, *Esné*, *Edfu*, *Eilethyia*, and some others of less importance. This was followed, in 1815, by the *second and third livraison*, exclusively devoted to the monuments of ancient Thebes. The engraver has here summoned all his efforts, and endeavoured, as it were, to surpass himself; we have now on 161 sheets, (part ii. 92 plates, part iii. 69 plates, some of them larger than ever before passed under a press,) the picture of the most ancient royal city of the world. And if the present world must confess that it could no longer execute such works as are here represented, the architects of the ancient world would not behold these representations of their monuments without surprise. About the same time with the great work of the French, appeared the work of my friend and former pupil, William Hamilton, (*Remarks on several parts of Turkey*, vol. i. *Ægyptiaca*, Lond. 1809,) the first part of which, with plates, is chiefly dedicated to Upper Egypt and Thebes. Many of the principal plates of the great French work are also given here, though only in outline. It may at once be seen what a great advantage is derived from our being able to compare the descriptions, opinions, and drawings of various travellers of two different nations; and to rectify one by the other. To these may now be added Belzoni's *Narrative of the Operations and recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, Lond. 1821, with a splendid atlas of plates; likewise *The Travels of* Count Minutoli, Berlin, 1824; a work highly instructive for the antiquities of Thebes, from the scrupulous accuracy of the plates which accompany it, especially of the obelisks of Luxor with their inscriptions. The many smaller travels without plates, I shall not mention.

[1] Compare the small plan at the end. [2] Strabo, p. 1170; Diodorus, i. p. 36.

plain, therefore, on which Thebes was built, though limited in extent, was yet sufficient to contain one of the largest cities of the earth. According to Strabo, there is no doubt but the ancient city covered the whole plain. Since, however, the west bank of the Nile, as far as the foot of the Libyan mountains, is wholly occupied by monuments above ground, (here the subterraneous monuments begin,) many private houses could not possibly have been built there. This, however, was not the case on the eastern bank. Here the great monuments are found near the river, and the whole plain to the Arabian mountain-chain is left for the town, which, according to Strabo, entirely filled it.[1]

Thebes, therefore, was built on the two banks of the Nile, without being connected, as far as we know, by means of a bridge. A people, whose knowledge of architecture had not attained to the formation of arches, could hardly have constructed a bridge over a river, the breadth of which would even now oppose great obstacles to such an undertaking.[2] A survey of the monuments still extant will be made in the easiest manner, by our taking them on the different sides of the river. The greater part, and most considerable of these monuments, are now denominated according to the villages, which are situated in the plain, on both sides of the stream. Thus, on the west side, the villages Medinet Abou and Gornou; on the east, Luxor and Karnac; and quite at the north-east end of the valley, Med Armuth, which is the extreme point of the ruins that now remain. They are, however, so similar in extent and grandeur, that it is difficult to decide whether those on the west or east side should have the precedence.

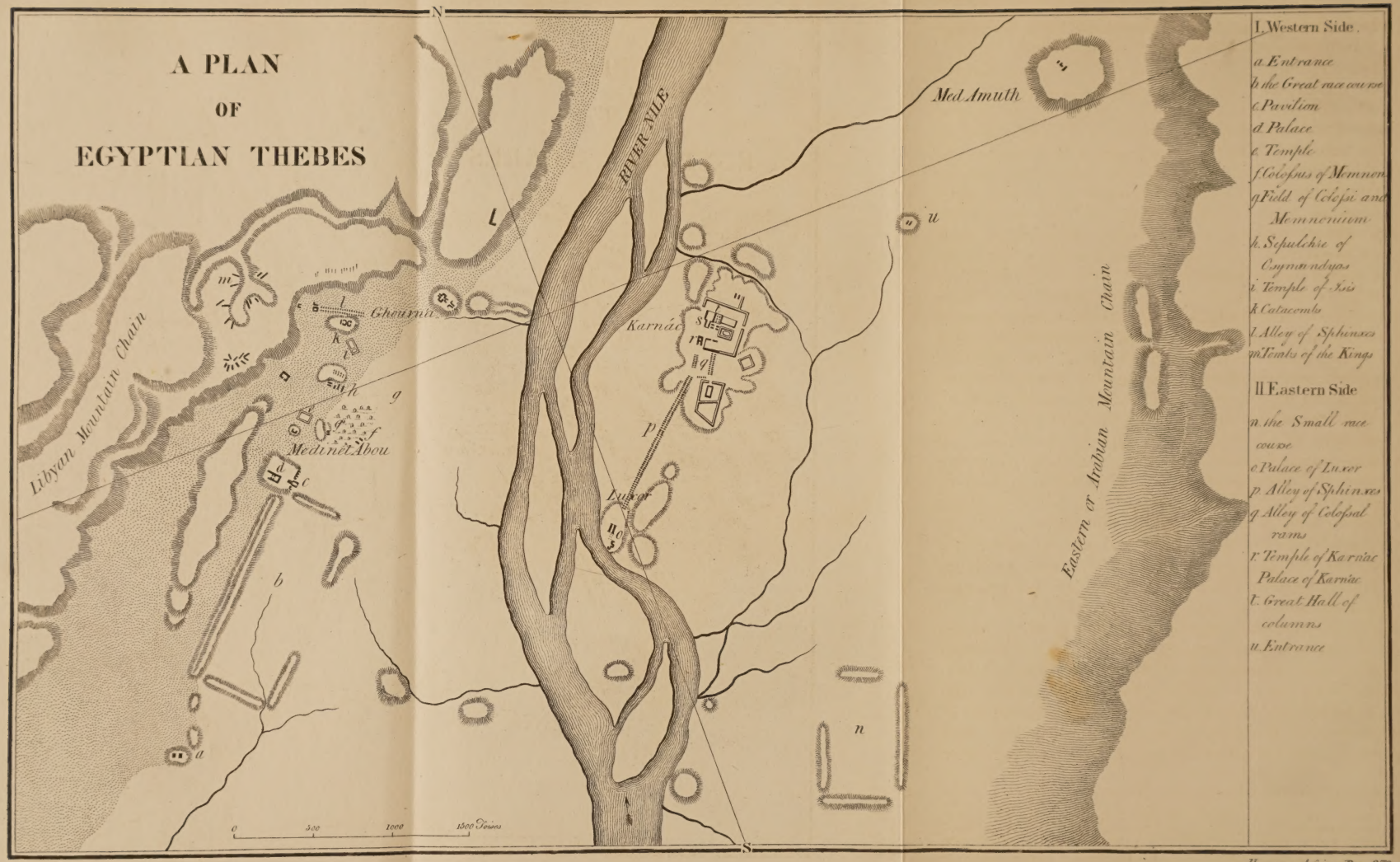
1. *Monuments on the western side.*

The monuments on the western bank are of various descriptions. They form an almost uninterrupted series from south to north, all indeed in the neighbourhood of the Libyan mountain-ridge, so that a large plain extends between it and the

[1] A remarkable fact respecting ancient Thebes is preserved in Steph. *de Urb.* under Διόσπολις. Before it was devastated by the Persians, it contained, according to Cato, 13,000 streets (κώμας) and seven millions of inhabitants. It was four hundred stadia in length, and occupied 3700 acres of land. It is difficult to say how Cato comes to be mentioned here; since Stephanus no where else quotes a Roman writer. Perhaps the name may be corrupted from Ἑκάταιος, who is often quoted by Stephanus, and who had described Thebes. In the statement the careless compiler has confounded the Thebais with Thebes; for others state the number of its inhabitants at seven millions, and not that of the city. Diodor. i. p. 36.

[2] The breadth of the river here is from seven hundred to eight hundred toises; it contains many islands, which, however, are without monuments, and probably of later origin.

A PLAN OF EGYPTIAN THEBES



I. Western Side.

a Entrance
b the Great race course
c Pavilion
d Palace
e Temple
f Colossus of Memnon
g Field of Colossi and Memnonium
h Sepulchre of Cyamandyas
i Temple of Isis
k Catacombs
l Alley of Sphinxes
m Tombs of the Kings

II. Eastern Side

n the Small race course
o Palace of Luxor
p Alley of Sphinxes
q Alley of Colossal rams
r Temple of Karnác
Palace of Karnác
t Great Hall of columns
u Entrance

Heerens Africa Page 373.

river, which probably was once filled up with private dwelling-houses. In proceeding from south to north we find:

1. The *race-course.*[1] The first object that here catches the eye, is the remains of a large race-course, at the southern extremity of which stands a small temple; there is, however, just by, a gate of such vast dimensions, that a much larger building must once have stood here. The race-course is upwards of six thousand Parisian feet in length, and three thousand in breadth; its area amounting, according to the French calculation, to seven times as much as the *Champ de Mars*, near Paris (624,380 square toises); and consequently afforded ample space for the exercise and review of a large army. The whole was surrounded by an enclosure which forms at present nothing more than a series of hills, among which the gates or inlets may still be distinguished, of which there are reckoned thirty-nine, though their number perhaps altogether amounted to fifty. The principal entrance, where a large opening is left, faces the east, and the general appearance of the enclosure shows that at one time it was embellished with stately edifices, composed of triumphal monuments. Probably this spacious plain was situated just without the city; a similar one, of smaller dimensions, is found on the east side, nearly opposite to this; and, if both were situated without the city, we may with great probability determine the southern boundary of the city. These places were most likely intended for prize contentions, particularly chariot courses, and also for assembling and exercising the troops, who, under a Sesostris and other conquerors, started from this place on their route, and returned here in triumph after a victory had been gained.

2. The race-course is followed towards the north by the antiquities of Medinet Abou running along the border of a small sandy tract, which blends with the Libyan mountain-chain. Proceeding from south to north, I comprise under this division: *a.* a palace and temple directly at the northern end of the race-course: *b.* the colossus of Memnon, together with others near it; and the remains of a building which appears to

[1] Hamilton denies the existence of this race-course. He regards it only as the bed of an old channel (which is also mentioned by the French); but denies that it could be a race-course, since in this case it would only be forty yards in breadth and two thousand in length. But the accurate examinations and measurements of the French leave no doubt of its really having existed as such, and the mistake of Hamilton possibly arose from his being unable, on account of the inundations, to examine the locality with accuracy. Is it not probable that Hamilton mistook the *double* enclosures on the west side, which are about forty yards distant from each other, for the enclosure on the *two* sides? He might have been led into this error more easily because only fragments of that on the eastern side is now left.

be the Memnonium of Strabo : *c.* the palace and tomb of Osymandyas, frequently called Memnonium. All these monuments lie nearly at the foot of the Libyan ridge, about one thousand five hundred toises from the Nile.

First, the *palace*, a *pavilion* connected with it, and the *temple*. It is highly interesting to meet in this place with buildings, whose structure clearly shows that they were not proper temples, but merely dwellings most probably occupied by the king. The pavilion is a building of two stories, containing many saloons and apartments, and numerous windows. The situation is so well chosen, that it commands a view not only of all the monuments of Medinet Abou, but also of those on the other side of the Nile, and of the whole plain in which Thebes was built. Everything, even the decorations which cover the walls, seem to indicate that this was the usual residence of the king. The subjects represented differ from those in the temples, as they are intermingled with scenes of domestic life. This edifice is unfortunately a good deal injured, but the upper story is the part best preserved.

About two hundred and fifty feet north-west of this pavilion is situated the great palace of Medinet Abou. Its entrance is formed by one of those mighty superstructures, which, unknown to our architecture, are comprised by the French under the name of pylones ; the Greeks call them *propylæa*. They consist of two obtuse pyramids, (in this instance sixty-six feet high,) which enclose between them the principal gate, forming the grand entrance. This leads into a large court, which is surrounded by galleries formed on one side by eight great pillars, and on the other by pilasters, to which colossal statues of Osiris are fixed as caryatides, but not so as to give any support. The sight of these colossal pilaster-caryatides excites in the beholder, as we are assured by eye-witnesses, an indescribable feeling of awe and veneration.

Opposite to the principal entrance stands a second pylone, though on a somewhat smaller scale. It leads into a second court of pillars, or peristyle, the galleries of which are likewise formed by pilasters, with caryatides and columns. " Of all the parts of this building, this peristyle is, we are told by an eye-witness, the most imposing, by its tremendous massiveness and solemn grandeur. We are convinced that its founders wished to make it imperishable, and that the Egyptian architects who were intrusted with its structure, did their utmost to

make it endure to the latest posterity. The pillars are certainly not remarkably elegant, but they are colossal; their diameter near the base is nearly seven feet and a half, and they are nearly twenty feet high, yet they do not seem too large to support the immense stone blocks which form the architraves and roof. Nothing is more astonishing than the beauty of these tall columns. The effect, however, of this peristyle is greatly increased by the pilaster-caryatides, which add so greatly to its magnificence. It was impossible for the Egyptian not to sink into a religious awe at the sight of this assembly of gods, who seem to dictate the laws of wisdom, of justice, which are every where written on the walls. When the Egyptian artists affixed the images of these gods to these pilasters, which support the splendid roof, covered with golden stars on blue ground, do they not seem to have intended to represent the deity himself under the arch of heaven, expanding in his space? And if we, unacquainted with the religion and manners of the Egyptians, could not enter these halls, in which every pillar is a deity, without emotion, what a powerful impression must the sight of them have produced upon those who saw a religious mystery in every part." I have quoted this passage, because the expression of feeling which these monuments produced on the traveller, is more likely to inspire the imagination of the reader with a correct notion of them, than a simple account of lifeless masses. The back or northern part of the palace lies chiefly in ruins; but many apartments are still to be seen that seem to have served as habitations, of which, however, any further description would be unintelligible without a plan.

A still more remarkable object is the sculpture of this palace both within and without. That without is of an historical kind; scenes of war, and battles by land and sea. There are several representations of land engagements, in which the Egyptians are victorious. The chief or king always appears on his war-chariot, of a colossal size, armed with a lance, bow, and arrows; and his missiles carry death into the ranks of his enemies. The Egyptians are partly engaged in fighting, and partly in arraying their forces, sometimes two and sometimes four men deep. The same figure of the king again appears, now driving slowly along, now stopping, and now forcing his way into the midst of the enemy. Another piece represents a lion hunt. He pursues, still standing in his chariot, two lions through the thicket; one of them is already killed; the other is flying,

pierced by four arrows. But the most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavouring to effect a landing; and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore, discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain under his feet, and others before him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian vessels is quite different from that of the Nile-boats, as they have always a lion's head at the prow; they are very properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same construction. The battle still continues, though apparently decided. The ships of the enemy are evidently in confusion; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike. Even the traces of naval tactics are visible. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians, and there is no chance of a single ship escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most accurately distinguished by their costume, head-dress, and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light, the head-covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers, the others wear a helmet, seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast.[1] It is not to be denied, that they are a southern people, and the inhabitants of a hot climate; the French artists recognised them at once as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately observed in the succeeding representations. Since, however, a great part of the building is in ruins, those representations can be but partly preserved, and our drawings of them are consequently very imperfect.[2]

Of a different, though somewhat similar nature, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, closely connected however with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of these reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king (distinguishable as such by the serpent in his head-dress) sits in his chariot. The steeds, decorated with

[1] See the engravings of these battles, part ii. plate x.

[2] This is especially the case with the greatest part of the engagements on land, and, what is most to be lamented, with the warriors, who are present in the hunting-piece, whose very different accoutrements and dress are only described. *Descript.* i. p. 54.

splendid trappings, are held and managed by his attendants; he himself is standing in a commanding attitude; the prisoners of war are led before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colours are in high preservation. The prisoners are unarmed; their weapons are tied above their heads. In the forepart of the chariot of the conqueror a heap of amputated hands are lying, seemingly of the persons killed in battle; the prisoners are not mutilated.[1]

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king, seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are decorated with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rest on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the attributes of consecration; two genii stand behind and shadow him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent, and the sphinx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds, and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror, in a different habit and headdress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests, bearing the attributes of the deity, march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently changed into a religious pageant. It is not the warriors but the priests who perform the principal characters. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is worthy of remark, that this scene apparently relates to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king, which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gifts to the god. It is not

[1] See part ii. plate xviii.

probable that this scene should be separated altogether from the former; and does it not seem to represent the king protecting the arts of peace, as the former portray him in the splendour of warlike achievements? If these pictures had been perfectly preserved, probably everything would have appeared clear and intelligible.

The sculpture in one of the side rooms is equally deserving of our attention. It represents, in three divisions, the initiation of the king into the priestly mysteries. He is first purified by some of the priests; others then take him by the hand, and lead him into the sanctuary. All here is mysterious. The priests nearly all appear in masks of beasts.[1]

The French literati believed that all this represented the deeds of Sesostris, and they certainly were right, if we may judge from the result of their researches. I shall again return to this subject.

At some distance to the north-west of this palace stands the temple of Medinet Abou. It faces the Nile, and has *propylæa*, in an unfinished state, which are also of later date than the chief temple. It lies for the most part in ruins, but its construction is similar to that of the other temples.

North-west of this temple follows a plain, partly covered with a mimosa-wood, which may be called *the field of Colossi*. Seventeen of these are counted upon this spot, some of which are still standing, while others are in part or altogether thrown down. Among them is the celebrated colossus of Memnon, famous for the sounds issuing from it at the rising of the sun.

The first objects that strike the attention are two colossi close together; the northern one is now called Damy, and the southern Shamy; they both face the Nile. They are of sandstone, about fifty-two feet high, or sixty with the pedestal. The weight of each when entire is calculated at 2,612,000 lbs. The one to the south is formed of one entire piece; the upper half of the other is now composed of five pieces. As colossi were formerly monoliths among the Egyptians, it can hardly be doubted but that this was originally the case here. This statue, as we learn from the many inscriptions with which it is covered, (chiefly of the first two centuries,) was regarded as that of Memnon, as these inscriptions testify that their authors had heard the voice of the statue.[2] Doubts, nevertheless, have

[1] See part ii. plate xiii.

[2] Pococke and Norden differ respecting the statue of Memnon; the former (ii. p. 101) takes it to be the colossus here described; Norden (vol. ii. p. 128, ed. Langlés) another,

been raised against this, originating partly from the quality and colour of the stone, and partly from the circumstance mentioned by Strabo,[1] that the colossus was broken through in the middle, as it is also described by Pausanias;[2] and because the time of its restoration is unknown. But these objections are of no great weight. The stone has been proved, by the examination of the French, to be sandstone, though now become black from the effect of the atmosphere; and though the *restorer* of the statue is unknown to us, nothing can be argued from that, because the fact itself shows that it has been restored. As a matter of conjecture, we may suppose this restoration to have taken place in the time of Septimius Severus, who restored and repaired various things in Egypt.

At a moderate distance to the north-west of this colossus are found two immense stone blocks, covered with the most beautiful hieroglyphics, which probably were nothing more than the pedestals of two other colossi. A little north of these, close to a triple row of pillars, is a large fragment of a colossal statue in a walking attitude, above thirty feet high; and a little farther, the trunk of another of black granite. Still farther, we come to the remnant of a colossus of yellow marble, represented as if walking, and a little in advance the remains of two sitting colossi of red granite; and, beyond them, two others, forty feet high, in a walking position. And since it has been proved that the level of the earth has been raised, at least fifteen or twenty feet, since the commencement of our era, how many others may still lie thrown down, or broken, beneath the surface of the earth!

It will naturally be asked, how this number of colossi came here together in this seeming disorder? The nature of the spot, the various fragments of pillars, etc., lead at once to the conjecture, that at some time an immense building must have stood here, which, with its pylones and courts, colonnades and saloons, could have been nothing short of eighteen hundred feet in length. The colossal statues may have stood before the pylones, before the entrances to the courts and portico, as is still the case in the palace of Osymandyas and others. It was,

which is broken in the middle, and standing before the temple of Osymandyas. The late Count Veltheim has endeavoured to defend the opinion of Norden, see *Antiquarische Aufsätze*, Th. ii. p. 69, but in my opinion upon insufficient grounds. The inscriptions on the colossus mentioned by Pococke clearly prove, that it was considered *at that time* as the colossus of Memnon. And is it probable that tradition, without any necessity, should have transferred it from one to the other? Pococke's opinion is confirmed also by Langlés, in *Dissertation sur la Statue de Memnon*, an appendix to his edition of Norden.

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. [2] Pausan. i. p. 101.

as far as we can judge, contrary to the general custom of the Egyptians, to place them any where except before, or in the interior of their edifices. With regard to sphinxes, which formed avenues, it is different. This opinion is, moreover, confirmed by the fact, that both Strabo and Pliny place the colossus of Memnon in a building, called by the former the Memnonium,[1] and by Pliny the Serapeum.[2] Philostratus, also, in his Life of Apollonius,[3] compares the sanctuary (τὸ τέμενος) of Memnon with a forum, decorated with pillars, walls, seats, and statues, which remind us of the great colonnades and halls of columns of the temples. If, however, on the one hand, the enormous dimensions of an edifice that would contain such colossi inspire us with wonder, it seems, on the other, not less surprising, that so few remains of it are now left. This difficulty, however, disappears, if we suppose it to have been built of lime-stone; for the old materials of such have always been used for lime. The number of these buildings in Egypt must have been very great, as the immense excavations in the lime-stone rocks very plainly show. In the neighbourhood of these colossi, the remains of an old structure, built of this stone, are still preserved.

Belzoni has lately confirmed this assertion. "I found," he says,[4] "a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia, and calcareous stones; and from the great number of fragments of smaller dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-headed statues, I can boldly state, that these ruins appear to me to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the western side of Thebes."

Still farther north of the field of colossi is a building, which modern travellers, particularly Norden, commonly called the *Memnonium*,[5]—more correctly, however, *the palace and tomb of Osymandyas*. The ruins of this building, facing the Nile, are the most picturesque of ancient Thebes. The building is composed of sandstone. Many pylones, columns, and pillars with caryatides, are yet standing, whilst ruins of others, and of colossi, form large heaps around. After passing through a majestic pylone, is a quadrangle, above one hundred and forty

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. [2] Plin. xxxiv. 8. [3] Philostr. *Op.* p. 773.
[4] *Narrative*, p. 292, 293. Belzoni is not learned, but very minute and accurate.
[5] To prevent confusion in the topography of Thebes, it must be observed, that Norden and other travellers give the name Memnonium, or palace of Memnon, to that building which is more correctly called the palace of Osymandyas. Pococke applied it to the palace of Medinet-Abou. Hamilton did the same, p. 137. The ruined building to which the statue of Memnon belonged, and which is called the Memnonium by Strabo, lay between the two. The plan will explain all difficulties.

feet in length, and one hundred and sixty-one in breadth. It is all in ruins except two pillars, but the area is so filled up with blocks of granite, that a person might fancy himself in a stone quarry; nevertheless, on a closer inspection, they are found to be merely the ruins of one immense colossus. It has been destroyed by violence, but the head, foot, and hand still remain. The fore-finger is nearly four feet in length; the breadth from one shoulder to the other, in a straight line, is twenty-one feet. The height of the whole could not have been less than fifty-four feet. The pedestal, eighteen feet high, is still standing close to the pylone opposite. Both pedestal and colossus were of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite of Syene. The pit from which it was cut out is clearly seen, near that city, and thence it must have been transported forty-five leagues, notwithstanding it weighed nearly nine hundred tons. Inquiries made on the spot have proved that this building contained four such colossi, of which one of granite seems to have stood near the one described.

A second pylone, somewhat lower, forms the entrance to a peristyle, which is also one hundred and forty feet in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth. It was surrounded by galleries, formed in the north and south by a double row of pillars, in the east by a single row of pilaster-caryatides, and in the west by one row of pillars, and another of pilaster-caryatides. The southern part is decayed, but the northern is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct notion of the whole. This peristyle contained two colossal statues, each about twenty-three feet. One is entirely of black granite, the body of the other is also black, but the head of rose-coloured granite. This head is well preserved. "It possesses that graceful calmness, that happy physiognomy, which pleases more than beauty. It would be impossible to represent the deity with features which could make him more beloved and revered. The execution is admirable, and it might be taken for the production of the best age of Grecian art did it not bear so evidently the Egyptian character."[1]

Out of the peristyle three gates of black granite open into a spacious saloon, the roof of which was supported by sixty pillars in ten rows, each six pillars deep; four of these rows are still standing. The saloon was divided into three compartments, and we may form some idea of the awful extent of the

[1] *Description*, i. p. 129.

whole by knowing, that the pillars of the middle division (the others are a little smaller) are thirty-five feet high, and above six feet in diameter. Out of this large saloon there is an entrance into a second, and afterwards into a third. In each are eight pillars of the same size still standing.

Such are the remains of this immense building, which, nevertheless, from the traces still visible, must have been much larger. But however it may excite our astonishment as a monument of architecture, it is not less admirable on account of the sculpture with which its walls are covered. These consist partly of sacred pictures with hieroglyphics, partly of historical reliefs. The former, as usual, represent deities, with sacrifices and offerings made to them; but the latter deserve and demand a more accurate description. What reason we have to regret that so small a part of them, as well as of the whole building, should have been preserved!

The first of these reliefs is found on the inner side of the first of the two great pylones. It is a battle-piece.[1] The infantry, in close columns, advance with their leader, of a larger size, in his chariot, at their head. The heat of the battle is next portrayed: the leaders, in their chariots, driving into the midst of the enemy; the slain, the wounded, and the flying with their steeds. In the centre of the field of strife is a river, into which those making their escape leap, whilst their party stand on the opposite shore ready to receive them.

On the left side of the pylone, the chief hero sits on a beautifully decorated chair, resting his feet on a stool, on which prisoners are represented. The cushions of the seat and stool are covered with the finest stuff, dotted with stars. A column of twenty-one figures in long garments approach him with supplication and reverence. These are closely followed by chariots and warriors, with large shields. The army to which they belong is in the rear, consisting of infantry, and chariots with one soldier in each. Next follows the baggage, which, though attacked by the enemy, is bravely defended.[2]

Scenes equally remarkable are portrayed on the walls of the peristyle. Here is another battle-piece. It seems like a hostile invasion, which is repelled. A river, with its many windings, traverses the field. Remains of the blue colour with which it was painted are still seen in many places. It flows

[1] See *Description d'Egypte*, p. 129, and plate xxxii. vol. ii.
[2] The last reliefs are only described, *Description*, p. 122, 123, but not engraved.

round a castle, the object of contention on both its banks. The possessors of the castle are crossing the river. They have long beards and garments, and war-chariots with three men in each. The Egyptians, on the opposite side, partly on foot, and partly in chariots, are led on by their king; they are divided into different bodies, each with a separate commander, known by being taller, at their head. They beat down all before them, and trample on the dead and wounded. Many of the enemy in their retreat are drowned in attempting to recross the river; they are pursued by the victors.[1]

On the walls of the large hall is represented the storming and taking of a fortress. (Probably a continuation of the foregoing subject.) At the foot of the walls is a kind of *testudo* formed of large shields. Behind, or under it, are the warriors, of whom only the feet are visible. A scaling-ladder is fixed, which soldiers are climbing up. Of the four stories of the fort, the first is already scaled. The struggle is hotly continued: the besieged hurl down stones and burning substances. The issue, however, is no longer doubtful; and the banner hoisted up, pierced through with arrows, is probably the signal of surrender.[2] If the remaining part of the palace were still standing, it is most likely that there would still be found the triumphal procession of the victor; and if this palace be that of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus, the yet more interesting scene, the high court of justice of Egypt, with the chief judge presiding, with the symbol of truth upon his breast. More of this hereafter.

The French think they have recovered this monument, in these buildings, which have by others—misled by a false reading in the text of Diodorus[3]—been frequently taken for that of Memnonium. The view of the former is supported by the statement of Diodorus, that ten stadia distant were the tombs containing the bodies of the virgins devoted to Ammon. Tombs, in fact, are found at this distance, which agree very well with this statement, and have not the appearance of private buildings.[4]

[1] A few chariots only have been given in the drawing of this relief. Plate xxxii. vol. ii.

[2] A part of this relief is given in plate xxxi. The action of one of these warriors is very expressive; he himself breaks his arrow across his knees.

[3] The passage in which it is said, there stood three colossi at the entrance: ἐξ ἑνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου Μέμνονος τοῦ Συηνύτου. Wesseling has shown that Memnon must not stand here, and, according to him, the passage is thus; ἐξ ἑνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου τεμνυμένους τοῦ Συηνίτου.—"Three colossi, each hewn out of one piece of stone of Syene." It therefore is unquestionable that Diodorus took this building for the Memnonium.

[4] Respecting the women sacrificed to Ammon, the principal passage is found in Strabo, 1171. They were Hierodules, who were however afterwards allowed to marry.

The proofs which are deduced from the plan and dimensions of the edifice have still more weight, if the reader is not so unreasonable as to expect geometrical accuracy. The measure of the pylones, the courts and halls of columns, agree pretty well, though not exactly, with the statements of Diodorus. The plan of the building, also, so far as it can be traced from what is still remaining, answers very nearly to the description of Diodorus; nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the other half, which consisted precisely of the most interesting parts,—of the hall of justice, the library, (either a collection of the sacred writings, or an archive in the Egyptian sense of the word,) and of the tomb itself,—is either completely scattered, or in ruins. There is also the further coincidence, that this colossus is in effect what Diodorus calls it, namely, the *largest* of all the Egyptian statues. Finally, the reliefs, which Diodorus describes, (to which I shall again refer,) seem also to confirm this opinion; as they certainly agree very well upon the whole with Diodorus's description, though discrepancies arise here and there in particulars.

A modern French critic, M. Letronne,[1] would set aside the evidence, brought forward by M. Jollois and Devilliers,[2] to prove the identity of the palace yet partly existing, and that described by Diodorus, chiefly because some of the measurements do not agree with his statements; and because the stone of the pylones is not of the same kind. But the latter is not technically defined by Diodorus; and, with regard to the measure, how can such accuracy be expected in a building lying in ruins? Besides, did Diodorus himself measure it? Or did he not rather give the measurements from what he was told, or from what he had read in earlier descriptions, especially that of Hecatæus? M. Letronne, however, goes still further, and takes the building altogether, described by Diodorus, for a fiction of the poets; because Diodorus had not seen it himself, but borrowed his description from the statements of priests and earlier Greek writers. It is very true, that Diodorus refers to the accounts of the priests, and certainly to written accounts, but he no where hints that he had not seen the monument himself; on the contrary, he says that these accounts

[1] In the *Journal des Savans*, Juillet, 1822. But it has been contradicted by Gail, in the *Philologue*, vol. xiii. To invent monuments would indeed have been a very superfluous occupation for the Egyptian priests.

[2] *Description d'Egypte*, i. p. 121, etc., in *Description générale de Thebes*.

agree with his relation:[1] he cites them, therefore, as confirming his own statements.

No king Osymandyas is mentioned either by Herodotus or Manetho, neither has the name been yet discovered in any inscription; but the royal legend of Sesostris, or Ramasses the Great, is every where displayed on the monuments ascribed to him. The subjects, likewise, of all the reliefs—the battles, triumphs, etc.—constantly refer to him. Even the lion, which is said to have attended him, is seen on his war-chariot as an ornament. And to whom will the inscription quoted by Diodorus, "I am Osymandyas, the king of kings. He who wishes to know how great I was, and where I rest, let him surpass my works"—so well apply as to the greatest architect of Egypt? It is, therefore, difficult to suppress the conjecture, that this great monument, or at least its principal parts, was the work of Sesostris. Perhaps Osymandyas was a surname of the great Ramasses, as the name of Sesostris was; or it might be his name as a hero. It would not be difficult to offer many other conjectures upon the subject, but I leave them to future commentators. But that *his* deeds are represented here is in the highest degree probable, even though a part of the building should belong to a period prior to his. The proofs, however, that might arise from going into a minute comparison of the sculptures with the description of Diodorus, it is impossible to give at present, because very few sculptures are engraved in the great work on Egypt; and we have nothing except the accounts of the French that will here avail us.

The space between these immense edifices and the Libyan mountain-chain is not destitute of monuments. The *temple of Isis* stands between them, and, though much smaller, it is highly deserving of attention, from its fine preservation. In this may be seen, in its fullest splendour, the effect of the colours with which the reliefs are washed over. The more confined dimensions of the building, likewise, enable the beholder to see the whole at one glance, by which he is better able to judge of the impression made by these embellishments. "We may here be convinced, that this alliance of sculpture and painting, which perhaps may seem ridiculous, has nothing repugnant at the first glance. The eye rather dwells upon the effects they produce, and looks for them.[2] All the reliefs refer to religious subjects. The most remarkable among them is a

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 56. [2] *Descript.* p. 164.

judgment upon the dead, exactly as it is painted upon the mummies, which I have already explained.[1] It seems, therefore, very probable that this temple likewise served as a sepulchre.

In quitting this monument, and the palace of Osymandyas, and going towards the north, the traveller finds himself in the midst of an alley of pedestals, sometimes interrupted, but immediately afterwards renewed. A more accurate examination has shown that this was formerly an alley of sphinxes, two hundred in number, and all of a colossal size, the pedestals being six feet wide and twelve feet long. The breadth of the alley runs to forty feet; the distance of the statues from each other is seven feet. What must the building have been to which such an alley could lead! Immense ruins of pylones, of walls, and of steps, are met with; but nothing entire.[2] There is a remarkable stone vault, in the form of an arch, without, as has been proved by a close examination, being one: it further confirms the fact, that the Egyptians were wholly unacquainted with the principles of the arch.

There still remains an edifice on this side of the Nile belonging to Thebes; it lies at the extreme north-west, near the village of Gornou, after which it is named. The *palace of Gornou*[3] is not one of the largest or most splendid of this old royal city; nevertheless, it is by far too large to suffer the idea to be entertained that it was the dwelling of a private individual. It has a higher claim to our attention, because, being certainly no temple, it seems, as it were, to stand half way between those imperial palaces and private dwellings. Neither sphinxes nor obelisks, neither stupendous pylones nor colonnades, are here met with. The whole seems calculated for habitation. Though not colossal, it must still be considered as large. A portico, one hundred and fifty feet long, supported by ten columns, forms the principal entrance, and is still almost entire. From the portico three doors lead into the interior of the building. The more central and principal door opens into a vestibule, supported by six pillars, and from this passages run off into many chambers and offices. The door to the left, in the portico, leads likewise into a saloon, and this again into many chambers, with courts and cabinets on the side. The same seems to have been the case in passing through the door to the right, but everything here is much dilapidated; so that the

[1] See above, p. 365. [2] *Descript.* p. 175.
[3] El Gornou is in Hamilton, p. 175, the name of the district; the village is called by him El Ebek

whole building appears to have consisted of three independent divisions, which were nevertheless connected by opening into the great portico in front. This building is, besides, remarkable from having neither religious nor historical scenes pictured on its walls.[1] It seems, upon the whole, very likely that if it were not the residence of a king, it was that of some grandee of the kingdom.

2. *Monuments on the eastern side of the Nile.*

From the western bank of the river, let us now cross over to the eastern, which will be found equally rich in these stupendous monuments. On this side, however, they are situated partly close to the Nile, and partly at some though less distance from it than on the western bank; so that between the river and the eastern mountain-chain a wide, almost wholly uncultivated, plain extends, nearly five miles square, which, according to a conjecture already given, was probably once covered with private habitations, and formed a part of the ancient city. The monuments which are still left are named after the villages Luxor (the *El Aqseir* of the French, and the *El Qhussr* of Hamilton) and Karnac; the former to the south and the latter to the north: I shall, as before, begin with the southern.

The ruins of Luxor are situated, as well as the other monuments, upon an artificial elevation, fenced with brick-work, from nine to ten feet high, immediately upon the Nile; it is upwards of two thousand feet in length, and above a thousand in breadth. The more northern portion is partly covered with the village of Luxor; the southern part is more open; nevertheless it is on the northern side that the great entrance to the principal buildings is found. The front of this is adorned with two of the most beautiful obelisks in the world; they are of red granite, and above eighty feet high. Their upper surface is not completely flat, but a little convex, evidently formed so designedly, and probably on account of the effect of light: because it is a principle in optics, that a completely flat surface does not appear such. Upon other obelisks this is not found to have been considered; and probably from this might be deduced their relative ages.

[1] [I cannot very well reconcile this with what is said by Dr. Richardson, as quoted in the *Modern Traveller*, vol. vi. p. 86. "Hence this building has by some travellers been called a palace; *but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples;* and from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the walls, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this as well as in the great temples." *Trans.*]

Behind the obelisks are discovered two sitting colossal statues, each upon a block of black and red granite of Syene. They are half buried, and have been broken by violence. They are each forty feet high. Their head-dress has many peculiarities. They also have collars. Hamilton conjectures them to be male and female. It is highly probable that two similar colossi stood in the interior; as the head of one has been discovered.

Close behind these two statues is one of those immense pylones, with its two pyramidic masses, two and fifty feet in height, enclosing the principal gate. This pylone is highly deserving of attention, both on account of its size, and its ornaments. Both wings are covered with sculpture, representing scenes of war. On the eastern is seen a number of warriors in their chariots, each drawn by two horses. They rush over a river or canal, in pursuit of the flying enemy. The king, mounted in his car, is at their head, with a bow in his hand. Higher up is discovered a camp and tents. Upon the left wing the king is seen seated in his car, mustering the bound captives. Near to this is portrayed a triumphal procession, with offerings and gifts presented to the gods.

Of all the great historical reliefs there is perhaps no one so much deserving attention as this, on account of the expression and execution.[1] "The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their fortress, and the Egyptians in the full career of victory will soon be masters of the citadel."

"The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads, and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car, and under the horses' hoofs and bellies, are crowds of dying and slain; some stretched on the ground, others falling. On the enemy's side, horses in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein; and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice, into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and no where has the artist shown

[1] Hamilton, p. 115, sqq.

more skill than in two groups; in one of which the horses, arrived at the verge of the precipice, instantly fall down; and the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body, trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses. In the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction. Behind this scene of strife, the two lines of the enemy join their forces, and attack, in a body, the army of the Egyptians, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture, we evidently traced a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their Oriental enemies; the uncovered and covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptian contain two, the others three warriors; and above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the other, their arms a bow and arrows. The enemy's shield, on the contrary, is round; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins."

"At one extremity of the west wing of the gateway, the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy; and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing, the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among his captives, lashed together in a row, with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his arms for pity; close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hands of two executioners. Above them is the captive sovereign, tied, with his hands behind him, to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are checked from rushing onward by an attendant, till the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victim of his triumphs. There is then the conqueror's camp, round which are placed his treasures, and where the servants are preparing a banquet to celebrate his victory."

Through the grand entrance the traveller enters an immense colonnade surrounded with galleries. This is now occupied by the village of Luxor; and the earth is so raised, that the columns and a colossal statue do but just jut out above it.

A second pylone leads into a second colonnade, and this into many saloons and apartments, which cannot be understood without a plan. Some idea of the magnitude of this edifice may be formed from the fact, that each of the forty columns in the second colonnade is five and forty feet high. It will be more interesting than a dry description of particulars, to observe that the great palace of Luxor is not built after one single plan. The whole of this immense pile is divided into three parts, which have different sites. The hinder part of the fabric (the great hall of granite and the buildings which surround it) was perhaps built first. At a later period some one erected the second colonnade. A still more magnificent monarch added the first great colonnade with the pylones, obelisks, and colossal statues; if these latter were not the work of a fourth. It is only remarkable why the site of these parts of the building should have been changed without necessity. It seems, however, to be explained by the situation of the buildings of Luxor opposite those of Karnac, with which they were placed in connexion.

About six thousand one hundred feet south of these ruins are discovered the traces of the smaller race-course, already mentioned, so that the eastern part of the city possessed one as well as the western, though probably both were without its boundaries.

But we still have to contemplate the largest, and, in the judgment of connoisseurs, the most remarkable monuments of ancient Thebes,[1] those of Karnac. These lie at about a mile and a half or two miles north of Luxor; and about a mile from the Nile. Like the others, they are built upon an artificial elevation, fenced by a wall of brick-work. The walls of Karnac are nearly two thousand five hundred toises in extent; it takes an hour and a half to walk round them. The monuments of Karnac consist of numerous massive piles of various kinds; among which, on arriving from Luxor, the immense palace of Karnac first presents itself.[2] The façade of this prodigious fabric looks towards the river, from which there is an avenue of colossal crio-sphinxes (that is, with a ram's head and lion's body) leading to it. Some of these colossi still remain; they lie with their fore-legs stretched out before them. This mag-

[1] Of this opinion are the French. But according to Hamilton, p. 133, those on the west side seemed to be still larger.

[2] Hamilton, p. 114, calls this building a temple; namely, the great temple of Jupiter at Karnac. But the nature and disposition of the building shows it to have been a palace.

nificent avenue leads to the great pylone with the principal entrance, the length of which is fifty-six toises, and the height three and twenty, but which seems never to have been fully completed. The great principal entrance was above ten toises high, and had formerly bronze doors in each wing. This pylone forms one side of the great open colonnade, into which the traveller enters through it. The columns which border this on the north and south sides are forty-two feet high; the series on the north, consisting of eighteen of these columns, still remains. The southern series is broken by a temple, (which leans, as a subordinate building, against the palace,) whose principal entrance is out of this colonnade. This open colonnade is, however, only a kind of ante-place to the grand hall of columns, or covered saloon, which, of all that now remains of Egyptian architecture, is represented as the most stupendous and sublime.[1] A flight of twenty-seven steps leads into it, through an ante-chamber and another pylone. Everything here is colossal. So spacious is this saloon, that the largest church of Paris might stand whole within it; its area being no less than forty-seven thousand square feet. The ceiling, consisting of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. Each column of the two central rows, which are a little higher than the others, measures sixty-five feet in height, and ten feet in diameter, and thirty feet in circumference. The whole, from top to bottom, is ornamented with sculpture relating to religious affairs. The procession of the holy ark is many times repeated, particularly on the walls. So great, however, is the number of these sculptures, that no one has yet been able to count them, much less to copy them. "No description," says an eye-witness, "can adequately express the sensations inspired by this astonishing sight, in which the magnificence and might of the ancient rulers of Egypt are made perceptible to the eye. Of what deeds, of what events, now lost to the history of the world, of what scenes have these columns formerly been the witnesses! Can it be doubted that this was the spot where those rulers of the world, of the nations of the east and of the west, exhibited themselves in their glory and power; that this was the spot to which those nations brought their presents and their tribute?"

From this stupendous saloon, a new pylone leads into a second open colonnade, adorned with two magnificent obelisks;

[1] See the plan.

and behind this come the buildings which seem intended for the proper dwelling. Saloons and a number of apartments are found here formed entirely of granite.[1] Domestic scenes are sometimes portrayed on the walls, as in the vaults of the dead, and at others religious matters, among which, initiation of the kings by the priests is not to be mistaken. In many of these reliefs the colours are still as fresh and splendid as ever.

This palace is, besides, adorned with great *historical reliefs*, which it would be unjust to pass over in silence. They are found on the exterior of the palace walls, and represent skirmishes, battles, and military expeditions. These are the subjects of which Denon has already published engravings, and which I have formerly spoken of.[2] They are divided into four compartments: in the first is the Egyptian hero, when he kills the hostile leader: in the second is the flight and the retreat of the defeated towards the strong-hold: in the third the triumph of the king with the prisoners before him: and in the fourth the king, when he again delivers up his weapons to Osiris, and presents to him the captives. The interpretation of this, there stated, namely, that it represents the *deliverance of Egypt from the Hyksos*, is likewise adopted by the French literati. As a great portion of the building now lies in ruins, some of the scenes are of course destroyed, but sufficient are left to evince that they formed one series. The king is seen on his car in pursuit of the enemy, who flees with his herds to the woods and marshes. The river is depicted, as well as the fortress, which is captured. The conquered come out of the woods and surrender to the king. The latter is portrayed in many engagements, so that the whole history of the war was probably pictured, and afterwards the triumphs, the captives, and offerings made to the gods. But as many of these are now decayed, and many of those which still exist are not copied, it would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to arrange them. The particular figures are full of expression and life; yet the whole has a strange appearance, and seems to betray the infancy of the art. The drapery of the two armies is every where accurately distinguished. The invaders have all beards and

[1] In these granite apartments (the French artists vouch for the truth of this fact by signing their names, p. 234) was heard at sun-rise, quite unexpectedly, a sound like that of a stretched chord, and such as the statue of Memnon is said to have given. It seemed to proceed from the huge granite blocks which form the roof, and was probably produced by the effect of a sudden change in the temperature of the air on this mass of stones. At the statue of Memnon it was not heard every day, but only occasionally.

[2] See above, p. 320. Denon, plate cxxxiii. For this reason they have been omitted in the French work.

long garments, the form of their shields also differs from that of the Egyptians. The costume of the enemy here is very different from that of the defeated, as represented at Medinet Abou; they must, therefore, have been different nations.

Immediately connected with this palace is a *temple*, which, though it must be ranked with the smaller ones, is yet remarkable from the place it occupies; for it is so built in the great colonnade of the palace, that the fore-part of it stands therein, and its principal entrance is out of it. It is arranged in the same order, and has much the same ornaments as the other temples, but all in a smaller proportion. It may, therefore, be considered, with much probability, as the household chapel of the monarch who resided in the palace, who might therein render his daily prayers, and perform the holy ceremonies of his religion, without quitting his dwelling.

Very different from this, as well as from the palace, is the *great temple*, lying in a southerly direction from the latter. Egyptian architecture has here done its utmost to appear in its most sublime magnitude near the palace. Four of those frequently-described pylones here form the entrance, which contains the same number of immense open colonnades. In these are still standing twelve colossal statues, each formed of one piece; their number must have been far greater, as the remains of nineteen may still be traced. The great temple itself is one of the best preserved monuments of Karnac. Its chief entrance is towards the south, so that it almost exactly faces the entrance of the palace at Luxor. The southern gateway of this temple is one of the most lofty and magnificent; but it is not, as is usually the case, attended by a pylone, but stands free and alone. The extreme height of this gateway is rather more than sixty-two feet. It is built of sandstone, and adorned in the richest manner with sculpture. This gateway does not lead at once into the temple, which is still a hundred and thirty feet distant, but into a gallery of colossal rams, twenty-two in number, which indicated to the pilgrim that he was drawing nigh to the ancient sanctuary of Ammon. The completely isolated gateway was probably a later building; because the entrance to the temple itself again forms one of those pylones so often described, before which are seen the remains of colossal statues, and which again leads into an open colonnade, and this again into a saloon of columns. Behind this follows, as usual, the *Adytum*, and then other saloons and apartments.

This temple is, without doubt, one of the most ancient that now exists in Egypt; and yet it offers a further confirmation of the opinion, to which the examination of the palace gives rise, *that both were partly built of the materials of more ancient edifices*, which were ornamented with the same hieroglyphics, the same colours, and just as well finished sculptures as the present temples. To what profound contemplations upon the antiquity of the arts, and upon civilization so closely connected therewith, do these observations lead!

This large temple of Karnac is not the only one here remaining. Exactly opposite to it is another of smaller dimensions, but whose sculptures must be classed with the most highly finished: it seems to be of later origin than the larger one.

The antiquities of Karnac form a group at the distance of a thousand and twenty-six toises from those of Luxor; for such is the space between the northern entrance of the palace at Luxor and the great gateway of the high temple at Karnac. Egyptian art, however, has connected these groups with one another, by an *avenue of colossal sphinxes*, which leads from one to the other, and which, as it approaches Karnac, again divides into numerous alleys. All these sphinxes are from twelve to eighteen feet long; they are partly lions couchant, with rams' heads (and these are the largest); partly with women's heads, and partly with rams couchant. No alley, however, consists of more than one kind of sphinx. Many of them still remain entire; of others only half, and of many only the pedestals are left; but the nearer they are to Karnac, the more perfect they seem to be, while the fragments scattered about still prove sufficiently their whole extent. The largest and principal avenue alone must have contained above six hundred of these colossal figures; and the whole probably amounted to far above double this number. Those which still exist are of excellent workmanship. The stately repose expressed by their posture, was well calculated to excite feelings of veneration and awe in the pilgrims, who proceeded through this vast avenue from one sanctuary to the other, or took a part in the grand processions of the priests, as they are represented on the walls; they must also have tended to inspire that calm and holy meditation, which every one must still feel who beholds the remains of these marvellous works.

Beyond these monuments there are traces of many more. The whole chain of them extends to Medamoud, north of the

ancient city, at the foot of the eastern mountain-ridge, where are likewise found the remains of an ancient smaller temple or palace, of smaller dimensions. "One is fatigued," says an eye-witness, "with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is frightened at the idea of so vast a conception; and even after having seen, it is difficult to believe in the existence of such a vast pile of buildings united to one point."

3. *Catacombs.*

From the monuments above ground let us now turn to those beneath its surface; and these will be found not only equally remarkable and interesting, but in some respects more instructive. I designate them by the general name of caverns; but must premise that I do not herein include any that were formed by nature, but only such as were effected by human industry; no others seem to have existed in this quarter. All these subterraneous works are on the western side of the river, and consequently in the Libyan mountain-chain. This seems to be accounted for from the quality of the stone; the western ridge consisting here of limestone, while that of the east is composed of a much harder kind. The softer nature of the former renders it much fitter to be employed both for the formation and the ornamenting of caverns.

The mountain-ridge is nearly three hundred feet high; and rises here so steep that there is difficulty, and even danger, in ascending it. The caverns are of three kinds: 1. Grottoes for the living. 2. Catacombs for the burial of the people. 3. The royal sepulchres. I must speak of each separately.

1. *Grottoes for the living.* Ancient Thebes affords only one cavern of this kind, and it is highly probable that this was not made use of as a place of burial. This grotto is situated at about a hundred and fifty toises north-east of the palace of Osymandyas, not in the mountain-ridge, but rather in a hill before it. Its front faces the Nile; before it is an open area, hewn out of the rock, from which the traveller passes into a court, likewise uncovered. All the rest is subterraneous. Within are found saloons and chambers of various dimensions, upon three stories. A staircase of fifty-six steps leads from the top to the bottom. The walls are every where covered with sculpture, which must be ranked with the best and most highly finished, notwithstanding the light of day could never have fallen upon them. In the pits of this grotto, as well as in those

of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it very unlikely that it should have been intended merely for a place of burial. That the Egyptian nobles, however, had within their dwellings the storehouse in which should afterwards be preserved their bones, has already been seen in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto also might have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries, or as a cool retreat for them from the summer heat. It was situated in the way to the catacombs and royal graves; and it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to promote a solemn and contemplative frame of mind.

2. *Catacombs.* The catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes; every Egyptian city had its own: those of Memphis are found at Saccara. But as the kingly capital of Egypt did not excel more in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in these subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, they are found in no other part of Egypt so numerous, nor executed with the same degree of care, skill, and attention. They bear testimony, as well as the architectural wonders, to the fact, that the ancient Thebais was the country where civilization, and every branch of learning and science, were carried to the highest perfection.

These catacombs are situated in the Libyan mountain-chain, where it approaches the nearest to Medinet-Abou and Gornou, and extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, which is nearly three hundred feet high, affords ample space for these burial-places. They rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting-place, are the largest and most beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more spacious and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead run sometimes horizontally, sometimes downwards, sometimes straight, and sometimes winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments, and at others into pits, of which the traveller must be on his guard. Many are connected together, and form a labyrinth, from which it is often difficult to find the way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve and fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the back-ground is a sitting human

figure, hewn in high relief, and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the hall are galleries; and in these are the mummy pits, from nine to twelve feet wide, and from forty to fifty deep. There has been no where discovered the least trace of steps descending into them. Some of the caverns are more, others less regularly formed. The earth is strewed over with mummies and pieces of mummies, which have been turned out of their cases, so that the traveller has to wade, as it were, through them. Among them are found amulets, idols, and other antiquities. These caverns are now the habitation of bats and Arabs, equally to be feared by the wanderer; the former, because their flight may extinguish the light, the latter as robbers. Another danger equally great menaces the traveller from the inflammability of the mummies; it is only with torches and lights that these gloomy abodes can be penetrated; and a spark would in a moment ignite a brand, which would doom the wanderer to the cruelest death.

The Egyptians, who were entirely ignorant of the arch in their architecture, often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrance, and in the front corridors, are usually arched; this is particularly striking in the royal graves, at which we shall presently arrive.

The catacombs are without pillars, and in general bear but little resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These ornaments are composed partly of painted reliefs, and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representations on the walls are always pictures enclosed by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with astonishing skill. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high; and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life: sometimes proper in-door business; such as the weighing of goods; a feast, at which is seen the master of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly spread table; a dance;—there are also hunting-pieces; the labours of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco: they are the more worthy of attention, as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been exe-

cuted with an artificial light, and could only have been seen by the same means.

But besides these pictures of domestic and social life, these sepulchral chambers also contain the remains of ancient Egyptian literature. In the mummies have been found many rolls of papyrus, and, above all, one great roll, which, when drawn out, measures twenty-eight feet in length. This relic contains upwards of thirty thousand characters, in five hundred and fifteen columns, and is written partly in hieroglyphic and partly in alphabetical characters. An accurate copy of it is now spread before me, and offers a wide, a new, and an interesting field for some enterprising genius. Bricks, with impressed inscriptions, have likewise been found here, as well as in Babylon. The characters upon them, however, are not letters, but hieroglyphics, which seem to have been stamped with a wooden block.

What a fine school, then, here offers itself for the study of Egyptian antiquities, and by a path hitherto untrodden? What has been copied seems considerable, and yet—even with all that has since been brought into Europe—it is but a mite compared with what remains. Many rock-caverns have not yet been opened at all! Let us hope that barbarians will still spare the bulk of them, till some new fortunate concurrence of circumstances shall present copies of them to the anxious and curious of Europe!

3. *The royal sepulchres.* The situation and disposition of these tombs are very different from those of the sepulchres of the people. They are placed in the interior of the Libyan mountains; and, in visiting them from Gornou, the traveller has to go a distance of about three miles, through a narrow mountain pass, to the entrance of the valley containing them. They are called the royal sepulchres, (and they were thus named in antiquity,) because from their magnitude and splendour, as well as from the objects pictured on their walls, there is every reason to believe that they were such. The defile which leads to them had, originally, no outlet: this must have been first opened from the back-ground by manual labour. A way hewn in the rocks leads to a narrow pass, which forms the entrance to the valley containing these royal caves. The valley here spreads out into two branches, one south-east and the other south-west. It was, therefore, originally entirely inaccessible; and this, in the eyes of the Egyptian, was certainly

its greatest recommendation. No sign of vegetation is here to be seen; steep rugged rocks enclose it on every side; all around bears the image of death. The heat, softened by no refreshing breeze, and increased by the reflection of the scorching rays of the sun from the rocks and sand, becomes so intense, that no flesh could abide it without danger, if it were not for the shelter afforded by the catacombs. Two of the companions of General Desaix were suffocated by its violence.

Twelve of these tombs are now known[1] (the twelfth was first discovered by the French[2]); in Strabo's time there were about forty; but the entrances to many are now blocked up, by fragments of rock which have fallen down;[3] and thus their contents will be preserved, probably uninjured, for future ages. The general appearance of those that have been opened is similar, though they are not exactly alike; they differ in size and in their embellishments. The depth varies from fifty to three hundred and sixty feet. Some are entirely covered with ornaments, and these are completely finished; in others they are scarcely begun.

Each of these caverns forms a suite of corridors, chambers, and apartments, in which there is generally one principal saloon. This usually contains an elevation, upon which stood the sarcophagus containing the body of the king. Out of the twelve tombs six still preserve the sarcophagi, or some part of them; in others they have wholly disappeared. That found in the largest cavern, called by the French the *harp-tomb*, (from two harp-players being represented therein,) is twelve feet long, and formed of red granite; upon being struck with a hammer it sounds like a bell. The principal apartment in this tomb is vaulted, and supported by eight pillars. The traveller has to push through at least ten doors before he comes to this sarcophagus; but however securely the king who here rests may have imagined he had provided for the quiet repose of his remains, they have not withstood the human lust of plunder.

In the chamber next to the principal door, are found the remains of several mummies. It seems therefore certain that, besides the king, those who had been about his person while living, again became his companions here after his death.

[1] Hamilton, p. 154, found but ten accessible, instead of the eighteen which were so in the time of Strabo. Strabo, p. 1170.

[2] ["Before Mr. Belzoni began his operations in Thebes, only eleven of these tombs were known to the public. From the great success that crowned his exertions, the number of them now discovered is nearly double." Note added by the translator from Richardson's *Travels*, as cited in the *Modern Traveller*.]

[3] Hamilton, l. c.

The walls are every where covered with sculpture and paintings. Owing to the nature of the stone, these could not be wrought here, as in the palaces, upon the rock itself; but the walls are plastered over with a kind of mortar, upon which the sculpture and paintings are executed.

The embellishments of this tomb are highly interesting, and afford much various information. Many of the subjects are religious offerings and sacrifices. Among the latter, human victims cannot be mistaken. Those who are sacrificed are all negroes.[1] But besides religious rites, there are also found here, just where they would have been least expected, representations of battles, both on water and on land; the slaughtering of captives, etc. Although it must excite astonishment to find these scenes of blood and turmoil portrayed in the sanctity and stillness of the grave; yet they, nevertheless, prove to the searcher into antiquity, that these tombs could be intended for none but kings. There is, however, besides this, so much represented here belonging to every-day life, such as vessels, seats, implements and tools, musical instruments, etc., as cannot fail to give us some idea of the luxury of this nation, and the high degree of perfection to which the arts had attained among them. A proper notion of them, however, cannot be conveyed by verbal description alone—the aid of the artist is required to make them understood.

The hope that the tombs still closed up might preserve, uninjured, their treasures for future ages, is not likely to be disappointed. Belzoni, with much labour, opened the entrance to one of them, and discovered what far surpassed his expectation. What had been executed two, and perhaps three thousand years ago, was as fresh and uninjured as though just turned out of the hands of the artist. Corridor after corridor, chamber after chamber, were found. The sculptures and paintings are as fresh as if done but yesterday; and when at last the principal apartment was opened to the traveller, he discovered that wonderful piece of art, nothing like which has hitherto been found, a sarcophagus of the purest Oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches in length, and five feet seven broad. It is semi-transparent, and covered both within and without with hundreds of figures, which seem to relate to funeral rites. It

[1] It is clear that executions are represented, though it does not thence follow that they are sacrifices. Hamilton, p. 157, very ingeniously conjectures that the Egyptians intended, by these representations, to designate the king as a tyrant. But then, how comes it that the persons executed are all black people?

is incorrectly supposed that it once contained the bones of Pharaoh Psammis:[1] it now adorns the British Museum. But even the few painted reliefs which have been copied from the walls, and now lie before me, convey much more information, both of a physiological and historical nature, than this splendid relic. We here see nations of three different races of men, the tawny, the black, and the white, who are distinguished by their colour and features. The scene represented is not of a warlike, but of a peaceable nature. The king appears in regal pomp; the ambassadors of tributary nations come to render homage to him. They do not appear as captives, but as performing a stately ceremony, in their national dress and splendour. In the first plate[2] we discover the king on his throne, with the regal ornaments,[3] the sceptre in his hand, a golden chain about his neck, and a votive tablet. In the two following plates,[4] and particularly in the third, are given, in two ovals, his name and title, surrounded by protecting deities. Each of the embassies consists of four men. First, the tawny, or brown red, appear, led by a priest, with the sparrowhawk's head.[5] They are called Egyptians, because they have the usual colour of the Egyptians on the monuments. I cannot consider them as such, but suppose them to be Nubians. First, on account of their dress. They are naked,[6] except round the middle, where they have a white fine garment; the Nubians still frequently wear a similar one. Secondly, because of their head-dress, as they have the thick Nubian hair. Neither of these is Egyptian: neither in the priesthood, nor in the warrior caste, is this dress ever found; nor, as far as I know, even

[1] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 242. Namely of Psammis the second, or Psammuthis, the son and successor of Necho. This was the opinion of Mr. Young, which is said to be confirmed by the reliefs, as Necho had warred against the Jews, and Psammis against the Ethiopians. From this time this grave and the sarcophagus have been called the grave and sarcophagus of Psammuthis. This explanation, nevertheless, is evidently false. This Psammuthis, like his father Necho, belonged to the dynasty of Sais, which was overthrown by the Persians. Besides, the *whole* of the princes of this dynasty were buried at Sais in the Delta, and not at Thebes in Upper Egypt. Herod. ii. 169. expressly states this: "When Apries (the son and successor of Psammuthis) was put to death, he was buried in the *tombs of his fathers*. But these tombs are in the temple of Minerva, close to the sacred edifice, on the left hand as one goes in. For the inhabitants of Sais bury *all* the kings of that nome within this sanctuary. Even the tomb of Amasis is there, though placed a little farther from the temple than that of Apries and his ancestors." The grave and the sarcophagus, therefore, which are in London, are not those of Psammis. Whose they are I cannot decide. Among the names deciphered by Champollion, that of Amenophis II. comes nearest to it. The lowest sign only is a little different (a bason or basket instead of a box). Champollion, No. 111. The difference of the title in the second oval forms no proof against it, since this often differs. Until something better shall be offered, I shall consider the grave and sarcophagus as belonging to Amenophis II., without, however, attaching much weight to my opinion.

[2] Belzoni, plate i. [3] On the plates of Belzoni the *uræus*, or the small serpent, in the royal head-dress, which constitutes an essential part of it, is very plainly represented. And from this it is clear, that it is the aspick (Coluber Haja).

[4] Plates ii. iii. [5] Plate vi. [6] Strabo, p. 1176.

among the lower castes, who cannot be imagined to have had a place in this pageant. Finally, the last scene clearly shows that they are altogether foreign nations, who are here paying their homage. We are not surprised to see the priest introducing them, as we know that the Egyptian religion prevailed in Nubia.[1] Four white men next appear,;[2] and at a single glance the Jewish physiognomy is recognised in them. "Their national features," we are told by a late traveller,[3] "are thrown together with so much comic humour, that it would be difficult for a modern artist to do anything more perfectly." They may be considered as representing the Syrians and Phœnicians in general; whose physiognomy probably differed but slightly from that of the Jews. The black ambassadors come next;[4] and are likewise four in number. They are also lightly clad, but evidently for a stately occasion. A curiously wrought ornament hangs over the left shoulder, which serves to keep up the fine white garment which goes round the waist. Gold or silver dust seems to be strewed in their thick woolly hair. The fourth embassy, from a white nation, is still more remarkable by the magnificence of their dress and decorations.[5] They are distinguished by a head-dress of feathers, with a lock of hair hanging down; and by long white flowered garments of the finest texture. If we here call to mind what Herodotus says of the dresses of the Babylonians,[6] we shall be induced to consider these ambassadors as such; the more so, as their physiognomy and their beards are evidently Asiatic. It is certain that the Pharaoh who rested here had dominion over foreign nations. It is my confirmed opinion that it is Amenophis the second, and the following chapter will show that this character perfectly suits him.

In the few remarks which I shall make upon these monuments, it is not my intention to go over the whole of the wide field they offer; a field, in fact, so extensive, that a long-continued study, and a separate work, would be necessary to do it justice; it is withal so rich, that the knowledge of one man might scarcely suffice. No one but a skilful architect could fairly discuss the merits of the buildings: mathematical, astronomical, and musical knowledge would be nearly equally re-

[1] I leave the further examination of these reasons to the judgment of my readers. If they agree with me, the identity between the Egyptian and Nubian tribe, which I have maintained, would also be proved. But I mention expressly, that the assertion in the text is by no means made on account of this opinion. [2] Plate vii.
[3] Minutoli, *Travels*, p. 271. [4] Plate viii. [5] Ibid. [6] Herod. i. 195.

quisite. I shall confine myself chiefly to those objects of which the present work professes to treat; but these are sometimes so closely interwoven with others, that it will often become difficult to avoid touching upon them.

The question now to be discussed is, to what extent are we acquainted with the monuments of ancient Thebes, after all the new sources which have been opened to us. The French artists have given us a positive answer on this head. "We have been," they say,[1] "thrice at Thebes, and remained at our second and third visits full two months among its ruins. During that time no monument was left unexamined. When our plans and sketches were quite finished, they were again compared with those of the architect Le Père and his assistants; and what are contained in our publication are the result of these mutual communications. Future travellers may rest assured, that so far as architectural remains are concerned, and drawings and copies of them, nothing is left to be done. A wide field, however, is still left open to them, if they will explore in detail the numerous sculptures with which the buildings are covered, particularly the historical bas-reliefs, relating to the conquests of the ancient rulers of Egypt; or if they choose to examine the catacombs, and copy the remarkable bas-reliefs descriptive of the manners and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians." We are, therefore, well acquainted with the buildings which remain of ancient Thebes, but only very partially with the sculptures and paintings which decorate them and the subterranean vaults of the dead. If we are questioned as to the fidelity of the sketches, our best answer would be derived from the passage just quoted, and from a comparison with the engravings of Hamilton. For any one to expect here an exact agreement in the minutest detail, would only show him to be unacquainted with the circumstances under which the drawings were made. They agree in the principal points; and their descriptions alike abound in expressions of wonder and astonishment, which these monuments excited in proportion as they became more accurately known. The testimony of a late impartial traveller has also rescued the French artists from the suspicion of having heightened the beauty of the originals. Minutoli says, in his account of the temple at Denderah,[2] "that they may be charged with incorrectness and

[1] *Descript.* p. 207. [2] Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 247.

omissions, but we should be unjust in thinking their copies beautified. Justice, on the contrary, has not been done to the correctness of outline, to the elegance of the decorations, to the soft delicacy of the features, to the mildness of expression, nor to that lofty repose which seems to reign in every part, and in which Egyptian art seems to vie with the Grecian." What a faint picture, however, must all this give of ancient Thebes! What a splendid scene must have burst on the vision of the wanderer, who, emerging from the desert, after having toiled up the steep of the Libyan mountain-chain, suddenly beheld the fruitful valley of the Nile, with its numerous towns, and in its centre royal Thebes, with her temples, colossi, and obelisks!

We must therefore acknowledge that much yet remains to be examined of infinite importance for our plan. Though the architect or artist may in general be satisfied, though the religious inquirer may need little more than what he sees represented in the works of sculpture, the historian finds himself very differently situated. His principal demand must be for historical and ethnographical reliefs, and for those representing the domestic life of the nation and its rulers; and here least has been done. Even the little, however, that we do possess, is sufficient to open a new field, or, if I may be allowed the expression, a new world of antiquities for examination. But before entering upon a detailed inquiry, we may remark, that the whole indisputably discloses to us views of antiquity altogether different from those we formerly entertained. To what a high degree of civilization must that nation have arrived, which could plan such marvels! If we were only acquainted with the Pyramids, we could easily imagine, that despotic monarchs might compel their slavish subjects to pile up these immense masses of stone. Since our acquaintance with these wonders, wrought in the highest style of perfection, we feel convinced that so just and noble a taste could never have been formed under the rod of tyrants; but that there must have been a period, and indeed a long one, however different the form of government might have been from ours, during which the mind could unfold its faculties freely and undisturbed, and could soar to a height, in certain points, never attained by any other. And as it is clear that Religion was the chief lever which put these immense powers into motion, how different should our ideas of this Religion be, from those which the bar-

barous superstition into which it afterwards degenerated, has given rise to!

The first idea which presents itself from a view of these monuments must be, that Thebes was once the capital of a mighty empire, whose boundaries extended far beyond Egypt, which, at some distant period, comprised a great part of Africa, and an equally large portion of Asia. Her kings are represented as victors and conquerors; and the scene of their glory is not confined to Egypt, but often carried into remote regions. Prisoners of distant nations bend the knee before these conquerors, and count themselves happy if they can obtain their pardon.

This idea immediately produces a conviction that a much closer connexion, and a more accurate knowledge, of the nations of the southern world, must have existed in those two quarters of the globe, than is generally supposed. This must have been a natural consequence of the wars and conquests, particularly as by these a lasting dominion and a large empire were soon formed. This is further confirmed by the many examples which evince the refinement of domestic life, and the degree of luxury to which the people had arrived. The narrow valley of the Nile could not supply all the articles, such as costly garments, perfumes, etc., which we find here represented. An extensive commerce was requisite, not only to obtain all this, but also to produce that opulence, and that interchange of ideas, which constitute its foundation.

If we question history, we shall find its testimony by no means contradictory to what the monuments would lead us to conclude. Xenophon speaks, in his Cyropædia, of the existence of such an intercourse between the nations and states from the banks of the Nile to the Axus, the Indus, and the Ganges; which, how much soever of his work may be attributed to imagination, could hardly be devoid of historical foundation. And if, in the history of the middle ages and of modern times, we find repeated proofs, that conquering nations extended their dominion not only beyond those territories, but even as far as China and the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, why might not the same have happened two thousand years ago? It may at least be concluded from this, that ancient history, in speaking of the great conquering expeditions of the Egyptian rulers, of Sesostris, Osymandyas, and others, contains by no means any internal improbability; although I would not

deprive criticism of its right to examine the testimonies on which these events are founded.

A more accurate examination of the monuments of Thebes has made it clear, that they were not merely temples, but that some of them were the abodes of princes, or, to speak more correctly, imperial palaces.[1] All the public buildings of Egypt might in some measure be called temples, since all of them in their sculptures and decorations bear traces of the close connexion between politics and religion; but there is certainly this difference, that some were *only* temples in the proper sense of the word; while others, though perhaps dedicated to divinities, were principally intended for another purpose. This difference is partly perceived by the disposition of the interior, partly by the style of the architecture itself.

Indeed the arrangement of the interior of the temples and palaces appears, at the first glance, to bear a great resemblance to each other. Both have the splendid pylones as entrances, open colonnades, and saloons of columns; pillar courts, and pillar halls; even rooms, intended for habitations: those in the temples probably for the priests. But in the temples these usually surround the interior sanctuary; in the palaces, where there was no such *adytum*, they occupy its place, and usually consist of saloons and chambers, built of granite, and not of sandstone like the rest. As regards the palaces it must not be forgotten, that they were not merely the habitations of the rulers, but were also adapted for public use. In their splendid halls of columns, justice was probably administered, ambassadors received, tributes paid, etc. These buildings are therefore very justly called imperial palaces, and are distinguished by that name from those smaller edifices, from the pavilion, for instance, which seems to have served merely as a dwelling or summer residence for the monarch. Thebes alone—as there are no monuments left at Memphis—contains buildings of this kind, and is thereby distinguished as the residence of the rulers.

Another characteristic difference is found in the decorations. The temples and palaces certainly resemble each other in one respect, namely, that the walls and pillars of both are

[1] Even Diodorus makes a distinction, when he first mentions Thebes: *οἰκοδομήματα μεγάλα, καὶ ναοὶ εὐπρεπεῖς, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἰδιοτῶν οἰκίαι*, i. p. 54. In assigning four principal temples to Thebes, he seems to have used this expression in the sense of designating by it the neighbouring palaces, and the whole group of buildings which lie in Karnac, Luxor, and Medinet Abou. Whether he means by the fourth the no longer extant Memnonium, or the palace of Osymandyas, I will not decide. He probably meant the Memnonium, since he calls the other a tomb.

covered with sculptures; but they differ with regard to the subjects represented: those on the walls of the temples *always* relate to religious matters, but not so those on the palaces. Not that the latter are entirely destitute of religious subjects; but those which are almost exclusively peculiar to them, are, first, the historical reliefs found in the palaces of Medinet About Luxor, and Karnac; and secondly, the martial expeditions and triumphs above described. This explains why they are only, as far as we know, found in Thebes: out of Thebes there are temples, but no palaces known.[1] It is moreover remarkable, that these warlike scenes are mostly found on the exterior walls, pylones, etc.; on the side walls of the great open colonnades, and halls of columns, which were undoubtedly intended for public use, assemblies of the people, triumphs, etc. And no where could representations of this kind have been more appropriately placed. Others, on the contrary, are found in the apartments and saloons, which must have served as the habitations of the rulers. The scenes here represented are for the most part of a peaceful and domestic nature,[2] though continually interspersed with religious rites, such as sacrifices, initiation into the mysteries, etc. This was very natural, considering how much the private life of the kings, according to Diodorus's account, was regulated by a ritual, and that he was attended by youths of the priest caste.[3] The remark, however, which I made, in speaking of the scenes portrayed at Persepolis, is also applicable here, namely, that the subjects represented on the walls bear a close relation to the use of the apartments in which they are found, and thus the pictures enable us to infer for what use these apartments were intended: the Egyptians, however, do not seem to have adhered so strictly to this rule as the Persians.

Finally: The third difference observable between the temples and palaces is in the style of their architecture;[4] the style of the palaces being most pleasing and simple, though yet retaining a character of grandeur and majesty. The pavilion, as it is called by the French, affords us an example of a building two stories high, which is never the case in the temples. But the further prosecution of this subject I must leave to architects.

[1] But we know from the former part of this work that in Nubia this difference was not observed, and that here also on the walls, though only on the *exterior* walls, of the temples, historical reliefs are found.

[2] See the drawings of Medinet Abou, plate xvii. vol. ii. Compare particularly *Descript.* p. 245. [3] Diodorus, p. 81, 82; see p. 156. [4] *Descript.* p. 30.

According to Diodorus, Thebes had four principal temples, the largest of which was at least thirty stadia in circumference. Now, as among all these that of Ammon was the most celebrated in antiquity, the question naturally arises, which of the temples of Thebes is the old temple of Ammon?[1] In my opinion it is the great temple of Karnac, called by the French the great southern temple; and I shall here state the reasons upon which my opinion is founded.

First: The old temple must have been situated on the eastern side of the Nile; because on this side, according to Strabo, the old town was built, which derived its name from this very temple. The decision, therefore, is confined to the monuments of Luxor and Karnac. Luxor, however, affords nothing which will bear any reference to the temple of Ammon. The great building of Luxor is a palace and not a temple, as is shown by the description already given.

Secondly: At Karnac the case is quite reversed. Everything here relates to Jupiter Ammon and his service. The great avenues of colossal rams refer to it. Ornaments taken from rams present themselves on every side.[2] The holy ship with the attributes of Ammon appears, and once in a very remarkable representation; it is portrayed as being drawn along by a profane vessel which precedes it:[3] a clear proof, therefore, that it must not be considered here as borne in procession, but as merely voyaging on the Nile.

Finally: According to the testimony of Diodorus, the temple of Ammon was the oldest and at the same time the largest of all the temples of Thebes:[4] a fact which would have been evident, even if he had not mentioned it; as it was the chief temple of the city, and bore the name of the deity. Now the temple of Karnac appears, at this time, in the opinion of the French visitors,[5] both in its architecture and in its decorations and reliefs, as the oldest of the Theban temples; so much so as to form quite a contrast with the small temple near it, not-

[1] Strabo, p. 1170. Strabo speaks here of the side on which the old town was built, as different from the western side, ἡ περαία, where the Memnonium stood.

[2] How much the French were surprised at this, may be seen in *Descript.* p. 258. Osiris also appears very frequently. But he is the son and usual companion of Ammon; and this appears the stronger as the tradition of the priests usually ascribed to the two the foundation of the temple.

[3] Plates iii. xxxiii.

[4] Diodorus, i. p. 55, where he also gives the measurement of the building. The French have found his statements to agree, if we take in the whole pile of buildings. *Descript.* p. 282.

[5] *Descript.* p. 269. There is, perhaps, no building in all Egypt which bears such strong marks of high antiquity as the great southern temple at Karnac. The powerful and masculine character of its architecture, seems to place the epoch of its construction in the very earliest period at which the arts were cultivated in Egypt.

withstanding it is partly built of the remains of a still more ancient temple, which had the same kind of ornaments. Thus the present temple is probably only the successor of one still older, which stood here many thousand years ago; and who can offer anything like a proof that even this had no predecessor?

The great palace of Medinet Abou is called by the French the palace of Sesostris, because the historical reliefs upon it seem to represent the exploits and military expeditions of that monarch, as they are described by Diodorus.[1] In the lion-chase we see the youthful exercises in which he indulged in Arabia, during the life of his father; in the naval engagement, the fleet which he built on the Red Sea, etc. All this is very probable; but it is impossible to judge of them with certainty, without possessing copies of all the reliefs upon that temple. If, however, and this can hardly be doubted, Sesostris was the great hero of the narratives of the Egyptian priests, it is natural that his exploits should be the subjects of the historical pictures which decorate the walls of the temples and palace.

Before I proceed any further, however, with these pictures, let me be allowed to add a few more observations on these architectural monuments in general.

First: It continually becomes more evident how much the style of Egyptian architecture depended upon the climate and natural features of the land. In a climate where the sky is constantly serene, and the sun almost vertical, protection from its intense rays, shade and coolness, would be first sought for. The life of the Egyptians, even of the higher ranks, was in a great measure a public one: it was made so by religion and politics. Porticoes, colonnades, and temples were therefore required, which would not only ward off the piercing beams of the sun, but whose walls and thick stone roofs should afford a protection from heat in general. Those immense piles, though not produced by mere necessity, yet were ready at its call.

Further: The idea that this architecture was in a certain degree an imitation of the catacombs, and proceeded from them, must be adopted with some caution. The caverns at Thebes, so far as we are acquainted with them, seem to have been formed by art, and not by nature. The architecture of these caverns (if I may be allowed this expression) certainly agrees, in some respects, with that of the temples and palaces,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

particularly in the decorations of the walls; but we cannot strictly call one a copy of the other. The roofs of the caverns are partly arched, while in their architecture the Egyptians seem to have had no notion of the principles by which arches are constructed. The cavern roofs are often supported by pillars, but they are by no means the prototypes of the pillars which are found in the temples and palaces. It seems probable that a part of these subterranean chambers were at first quarries, which were afterwards converted by the help of art into sepulchres, and that others were originally excavated for this express object. According to the observations of the French artists, it appears that they must not be ascribed to the early periods of Egyptian art, as the pictures on their walls no where betray its infancy, but rather its mature age.[1] However this may be, the idea that they formed models of the temples falls to the ground, directly it is proved that there were no natural caves in those mountains, which, however, has not yet been fully established. But, notwithstanding all this, the Egyptian architecture so much resembles the catacombs, and the idea that it was copied from them returns at every view of the monuments so forcibly, that it can hardly be banished. The obscurity which hovers over this subject is dispelled, if we assume that this architecture was not originally Egyptian, but introduced from Ethiopia, the country of the Troglodytes. And I say originally, because nothing is more certain than that it was quite Egyptian in its progression, since nearly all its ornaments, especially those of the capitals, are evidently copies of natural objects of Egypt.

From the buildings let us turn to the sculptures, particularly to the great historical reliefs. Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo unanimously agree that some of the ancient kings of Egypt were great warriors and conquerors, who extended their expeditions in the east as far as Bactria and India, in the north and south as far as the Caucasus and Ethiopia. They further inform us that some of them built fleets on the Indian Sea, and were as powerful on this element as they were on land.[2] Let us therefore examine how far the reliefs confirm the statements of these writers.

That the traditions of the priests celebrated many old kings as heroes and conquerors, and that the latter are represented

[1] *Descript.* p. 336.
[2] Herod. ii. 102; Diodorus, i. p. 64; Strabo, i. xvii. p. 816; cf. xvi. p. 769.

as such on the walls of the palaces, is evident from a single glance at them. The inquiry becomes more interesting and satisfactory by our finding that the artists, in their delineations and representations, have carefully and faithfully distinguished the different nations by their costume, arms, and some other tokens, as far as this was possible. The first inquiry will probably and very justly be, how was the colour of the skin represented? Here a very remarkable circumstance presents itself. Egyptian art certainly well knew how to designate black people. They are particularly distinguished in the tombs of the kings,[1] usually in such positions as show that they have just been, or are on the point of being, executed; and the remembrance that it was customary to sacrifice black people immediately occurs. They also appear as ambassadors, or representatives of black nations; but it is worthy of notice, that they have never yet been found in battles. The colours of the fighting nations are brown and red among the Egyptians, and yellow among their enemies. It would be rash to assert that the colour of these nations was exactly painted after life, as this might be impossible with the limited variety of colours to which the Egyptian artists were restricted; but we may conclude with certainty, that negroes would have been presented as such, if they had been employed in war.

The Egyptians and their enemies are also easily distinguished from one another without attending to these particular marks, as the former are always represented as victors, the latter either as having been defeated, or as on the point of being so. These works of art were intended as memorials of the fame and bravery both of the nation and its kings; can it, then, be expected that they would perpetuate any events but those which were crowned with success? These battle-pieces are partly naval engagements, and partly battles on land. Both must be more accurately examined. Representations of naval battles are found on the walls of the palace of Medinet Abou, and on those of Karnac;[2] but the former only can here come under consideration, as they alone have been copied and described.

It cannot be doubted but the engagement, of which only a part could be copied, took place at sea, and not on the river. The structure of the ships is quite different from that of the vessels on the Nile. They are impelled both by sails and oars,

[1] Plate lxxxvi. vol. ii. [2] Plate x. vol. ii.

and have a long form resembling galleys. Although the vessels of the Egyptians and their enemies have the same form, yet those of the former are easily distinguished by the head of a lion or ram on the prow, which the hostile vessels never carry. The question therefore is, whether the naval engagement took place on the coast of the Mediterranean, or, which is most likely, in the Arabian or Indian Sea? In the first case the enemies might be Phœnicians; in the other, some southern nation.

The first supposition is neither confirmed by history, nor by the representation of the nations themselves. That the early kings of Thebes carried on wars at sea against the Phœnicians, and had squadrons on the Mediterranean, (as might afterwards happen, when Middle and Lower Egypt was the seat of Egyptian power,) we find no where mentioned in history, that is to say, in the traditions of the priests; and we cannot expect here the mention of any circumstances not celebrated in them. Neither does the costume suit the Phœnicians, who, being a branch of the Arabian stock, and neighbours of the Jews, undoubtedly wore beards and long garments, according to the custom of those nations; but the reverse of all this is found here.

On the other hand, everything here seems to point to an engagement with some nation on the Arabian Gulf or Indian Sea. The traditions of the Egyptian priests celebrated the expeditions of the old Pharaohs on this sea, as is stated in Diodorus and Herodotus. "Sesostris," Diodorus tells us,[1] "conquered first the Ethiopians of the south, and made them tributary. He then sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Red (Indian) Sea, and was the first in these countries who built long vessels. With this fleet he took possession of the islands and the coasts of the countries as far as India." Herodotus[2] mentions the same facts. "The priests," he says, "relate of Sesostris, that he sailed out of the Arabian Gulf with long vessels, and conquered the countries lying on the Indian Sea, and continued to advance till he came to a sea which could not be navigated because of its shallows." The naval engagement pictured on the walls of Medinet Abou, appears certainly to represent the defeat of an enemy attempting to land, and consequently rather a successful defence than an attack. But this forms only one scene of these naval expeditions,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 64. [2] Herod. ii. 102.

of which we have no minute history; who, therefore, can say what else might have happened in them? The long ships, however, mentioned by both writers, cannot be mistaken. That these, beyond all doubt, were built for the sea, that their construction differed entirely from that of the vessels on the Nile, has been already mentioned by the French, and is evinced by their appearance. The Egyptians and their allies wear the same dress, but their weapons are different. The Egyptians are armed with bows and arrows, while their allies carry clubs, such as Herodotus ascribes to the Ethiopians above Egypt.[1] The costume of their enemies is totally different. Two distinct though kindred nations are here clearly perceived. They have neither long garments nor beards, consequently cannot be Arabs. They both wear short clothes, which seem to be fastened with bands or girdles. They are armed with swords and round shields, but differ in their head-dress; one constantly wearing a kind of helmet, decorated with a bunch of upright feathers, the other a cap made of the skin of some beast, with its ears left prominent. If these are not Arabs, they must be inhabitants of the coasts of the Indian Sea, either of the islands or the continent. The French at once recognise in the first of these two nations the inhabitants of India; and what other nation will the light fantastical clothing, the head-dress with feathers, suit so well? Respecting the other nation, they have not ventured to give an opinion; but Herodotus seems to explain who they are. If the first are Indians, the others are their neighbours, the Asiatic Ethiopians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the coasts of Gedrosia and Carmania. "The Asiatic Ethiopians," says Herodotus,[2] "were dressed much like the Indians; but they wore on their head the skin from the forehead of the horse, with the ears left on: the ears of the horse are left standing quite upright; but as defensive armour they had cranes' skins instead of shields."

I leave my readers to judge of the correctness of this interpretation. It is not of so much importance to know exactly who these nations were, as to know that they were inhabitants of southern countries on the Indian Sea. And since the probabilities are so strong and so many in favour of this opinion, we can scarcely any longer consider the traditions of the Egyptian priests respecting the naval expeditions of the ancient

[1] Herod. vii. 69. According to Hamilton, p. 45, the Ethiopians appear on a battle-piece at Medinet Abou as the allies of the Egyptians. [2] Herod. vii. 70.

Egyptian rulers, whether led by Sesostris alone or by others into these seas, as fables; and that primeval connexion between the lands about the Indian Ocean, especially between India and Egypt, receives thereby a confirmation, which a short time ago we should scarcely have been justified in hoping for.

But the representation of the land battles give a still more magnificent idea of the extensive warlike expeditions and wide dominions of the rulers of ancient Thebes. They seem more frequent than the naval engagements; they are found on all the buildings, which we have designated as imperial palaces; as well on those at Karnac and Luxor as of Medinet Abou, on the palace of Osymandyas, and even in the tomb of the kings. But they every where confirm the remark which I have made above;[1] that there is in every palace a series of representations depicted on the walls, as we discover the departure of the king, the battle, the victory, the triumphs, always ending in religious processions. Neither does there seem any room to doubt, but that the scenes in the various palaces again form a general mythological cycle; as art among the Egyptians availed itself of a series of traditions, relative to the early heroic deeds of the nation and its rulers. Our information on this point would be more accurate if we had more complete copies of these war-scenes. As it is, we must confine our attention to what we see in the engravings before us, and learn from the descriptions.

And although limited to this, it will be perceived that the war-scenes portrayed are of very different kinds, and represent very different nations.

With regard to the latter, it is impossible to be mistaken in considering them as Asiatic nations. Everything reminds us that both Egyptian art and mythology sought their favourite subjects rather in Asiatic than in African history. The figure and dress of the conquered nations are Asiatic. Although the Egyptians are always represented without beards, their enemies have them, and usually long garments. The latter, however, are variously fashioned. They have, for the most part, those full tunics so general in the East; but in the triumphal pageant on the walls of Medinet Abou, the prisoners wear a kind of surtout[2] of blue and green stripes, covering only the back, and under it another shorter garment. Their accoutrements and weapons are not less characteristic than their dress.

[1] See above, p. 377, sqq.

[2] Plate xii. vol. ii.

In this respect the most striking difference is in the shields. Those of the Egyptians are larger, and usually of a square form, rounded on one side: indeed, in the attack of a fortress, they made use of such immense shields as nearly covered the whole body;[1] exactly such as Xenophon describes in his times.[2] The shields of the enemies, on the other hand, are sometimes round and sometimes square; but always of a small size (γέρρα). In the armament on the reliefs of Luxor, Hamilton recognises the *coats of mail*,[3] which always were common in Middle Asia; and occasionally, in the head-dress, the Persian tiara.[4] The weapons for attack are of so many kinds and forms, that it is difficult to come to any precise conclusion respecting them. Let us, however, compare the variously-shaped swords of the Egyptians with those of their foes. They are sometimes long and sometimes short; now straight, and now in the form of a scimitar. The darts, missiles, and arrows are also of various descriptions. The warriors sometimes appear with only a single javelin, and at other times with several.

But a still more particular attention is due to the war-chariots which were in use both among the Egyptians and their enemies. They have but two wheels, and are drawn by two horses. Those of the Egyptians usually carry only one man each (though there may be exceptions); among the Asiatics they generally carry two, or even three, as the driver is distinguished from the warriors. In these may be recognised the ancient form of the war-chariots as described by Homer, and which, according to Xenophon, were common among the Medes, Syrians, and Arabians; until Cyrus made an improvement by introducing, instead of them, chariots with scythes and four wheels.[5]

It would be a rash and fruitless undertaking to attempt to point out more accurately the particular tribes or nations by their arms and clothing.[6] We shall gain more by terminating the inquiry by a few general remarks.

The scene of the wars and conquests of the Egyptian rulers

[1] Plate xxxi. vol. ii. [2] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* I. vi. *Op.* p. 158.
[3] Hamilton, p. 125. [4] Ibid. p. 147. [5] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* I. vi.; *Op.* p. 152.
[6] The reader will easily perceive that I have not neglected to compare the nations mentioned by Herodotus, i. 6, with the figures of Persepolis. But the results are too uncertain for them to have a place here. It is however certain, that the nations represented must be, for the most part, from the south, as their dress is too light for a northern climate. None of them wear trowsers, (ἀναξυρίδες, or *capotes*,) as many northern nations do, whom Herodotus has described. But who can determine whether the coloured coats designate Medes or Bactrians? (according to Herodotus, both these nations wore such.) The same may be said of the weapons and accoutrements, and even of the head-dress. They often differ, and the latter is frequently indistinctly represented.

is laid, by their national traditions, chiefly in Assyria, (which also included Babylon,) in Bactria, and India, consequently in those countries of Asia most famous for their commerce, and, therefore, for possessing that opulence which usually most excites the cupidity of conquest. These countries, besides, are situated on the great rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, the Oxus, Tigris, and Euphrates. It is certainly worthy of remark, that the scene of the battles and victories on those reliefs is usually near a river, which is clearly portrayed.[1] Which of those streams is meant upon every occasion, it may be impossible to decide; but it can hardly be doubted but it is one of them, most likely the Euphrates; and Egyptian art here again accords with Egyptian tradition. Xenophon, moreover, informs us, that it was customary for the Assyrians to surround their camps with fosses.[2] Is there not here, where we see the tents on the other side, one of these?[3]

One representation which frequently occurs, is the storming of a fortress.[4] Where this may have each time taken place we will not attempt to decide, but this also transports us into Asia. We know from the history of Alexander's expedition, how much Bactria, as well as India, abounded in such mountain fortresses.[5]

Egyptian art seems to have paid much attention to variety in representing these scenes of war. If we collect the accounts of the French and those of Hamilton, there scarcely remains any great warlike scene which is not here represented. Sometimes it is the commencement of the contest in an open plain, sometimes the near approach, sometimes the victory obtained on one side, and flight on the other; now the struggle of the armies, now of the leaders in single combat, and of these sometimes in their chariots, and sometimes on foot. Now the scene changes to the storming of a fortress, then the taking of a town by assault, with a representation of all the horrors which usually accompany it; sometimes the chariots alone are engaged, and at others the main bodies advance against each other on foot. All this undoubtedly presupposes a great abundance of traditions; and perhaps also of poetry, to which these traditions furnished plenty of materials, if not epic, at least of ballads.

[1] Hamilton, p. 116; *Descript.* p. 61, 139.
[2] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* lib. iii.; *Op.* p. 80. In the palace of Osymandyas, *Descript.* plate ii. 31.
[3] Hamilton, p. 45. [4] So in Luxor, Hamilton, p. 115.
[5] Remember the castle Clornus and others.

On the walls of the imperial palaces, therefore, the Egyptians read the early history of their nation and its rulers. They are hitherto the only nation known to us that have ventured to represent such great historical subjects in sculptures, and this with a success surpassing all expectation. Although unacquainted with the rules of perspective, they make up for this defect, as we are told by an eye-witness, by the boldness and strength of their drawings, and force of expression. Hamilton speaks in raptures of the above-mentioned representation of the surprise and capture of a town on the walls of the palace of Osymandyas:[1] some of the women rush forward and beg for quarter, whilst others try to escape with their property. The father of a family lifts up his hands to petition for the life of his wives and children, but in vain! a blood-thirsty soldier has already slaughtered the eldest son! How different are our ideas of Egyptian art now from what they were when we formed our judgment of it from a few idols! Are they not, in fact, enlarged almost in the same proportion as our notions respecting the ancient rulers of Egypt, and the extent of their dominions?

The historical reliefs, however, comprise only a small part of the sculptures on the walls: most of them relate to religious rites; all those in the temples, for example, and many in the palaces and catacombs. Of these I shall only notice here such as refer to the immediate objects of our attention. If further proofs were still wanted of the close and indissoluble connexion between religion and politics, they might be found here in abundance. The interior and exterior walls are covered with sculpture, which represent processions, or the offering of sacrifices and gifts. The conjecture that the circle of divinities to whose honour temples were erected, was of less extent in the Thebaid than it afterwards became in Middle and Lower Egypt, is completely confirmed. This circle is composed of Ammon, Osiris, (often with the symbol of virility,) Isis, and Florus.[2] The first two, most probably the same in their origin, and only separated by the further development of the religion of the priests, are the ruling divinities: although some others occur in the paintings, they only appear as inferior subordinate deities. Osiris seems at the same time to be the prototype of the king. The same emblems which decorate the gods, are not unfre-

[1] Hamilton, p. 135, 136.

[2] Thus as an emblem of fruitfulness, a representation so often prevailing: see particularly plate iii. 4—6, and plate xlvii.

quently conferred upon the monarch; not only the same head-dress, with the serpent, but also the same attributes, the rod, and what is called the key, the sign of initiation into the mysteries, which must have been its original meaning,[1] and, indeed, even the royal banner. The priests pay the same honours to the king as the latter pays again to the gods. This is not the case with any other deity.

Every part of these representations shows us the dependence in which the kings stood to the priests. Their caste evidently appears as the highest; and there is no doubt but that, at the periods in which these temples were erected, the caste of the priests was esteemed higher than that of the warrior caste, which nevertheless forms so distinguished a feature in these pictures.[2] The priest caste consider the king, as it were, their property; he is initiated into their mysteries. This scene is repeated more than once.[3] In it he receives the priestly head-dress, the high cap with which Osiris himself is decorated, and appears in solemn processions. Whenever the king shows himself in public, (martial expeditions and battles excepted,) he is constantly accompanied and surrounded by priests. They are usually known by their shaven heads and long robes. Different grades, however, exist amongst them, which are mostly indicated by the head-dress and the shape of their garments. Both are very striking. The head-dresses[4] not only show the rank, but some seem peculiar to certain ceremonies, and change accordingly. Among the head-dresses must be reckoned the masks of animals, in which the priests appear on certain occasions, particularly at initiations.[5] They are undoubtedly masks taken from the sacred animals. The manner of dressing the hair is equally various. It is very remarkable that, according to Hamilton's account, some are still in use among the *Ababdés*.[6] Others are so artificial, that even our ablest hair-dressers would be puzzled to imitate them; and in some cases there can be no doubt but that false hair or wigs[7] are seen here, as well as in the most ancient Indian monuments at Elephantis, but much more artificial and elegant.

Another field opens itself here for divines, if they would like

[1] The French maintain it to be the hoe, and the plough made thereof, *Descript.* p. 27. I take it to be the sign of consecration, since all gods, priests, kings consecrated as priests, wear it, and they exclusively.

[2] This superiority of the priest caste was, I believe, effected by religion. Some have spoken of a struggle between the two castes, in which the caste of priests were the conquerors; but I find no sure authority for it.

[3] Plate xiii. vol. ii.; xxxiv. iii. [4] Compare plate xxxvii. vol. iii.

[5] Plate xiii. vol. ii. [6] Hamilton, p. 27. [7] Plate iii. 67, No. 6.

to compare the religious notions of ancient Thebes with the descriptions given by the Jews of their sanctuaries, the tabernacle, the temple, and the sacred utensils.

This is not the place for a comparison of this kind; but how many things described in the Scriptures do we find in these engravings! the ark of the covenant, (here carried in procession,) the cherubim with their extended wings, the holy candlesticks, the shewbread, and many parts of the sacrifices.[1] In the architecture itself a certain similarity is instantly recognised, although among the Jews everything was on a smaller scale; besides which there was this important difference, that the building was as much of wood as stone. Egypt had no Lebanon with cedars. Wood nevertheless was used in Egyptian temples for ornaments, as is proved by the masts with their pennants flying before them on the great pylones,[2] and by Herodotus's account of the wooden colossal statues of the chief priests in the sanctuary of Thebes[3] (probably colossal pilaster-caryatides). Then what works of art in brass must have decorated these colossal temples of the Egyptians, if we estimate them in proportion to what was contained in the smaller temples of the Jews, beginning with the tremendous gates of the pylones to the innermost sanctuary! We should here have a view of new wonders, if time and the avarice of crowned and uncrowned robbers had not left this to be altogether supplied by imagination.

II. *Fragments of the history of Thebes.*

All who are acquainted with the materials that are left for a history of the Pharaohs,[4] with their nature and the use that has been made of them, must be fully aware that no continuous history, with any claim to authenticity, can be compiled of any single state of Egypt, previously to the time of Psammetichus; and this includes even the largest and most splendid among them, the kingdom of Thebes. The dynasties of Manetho, it is true, are not to be put on a footing with the dynasties of the Indians. The Egyptian priests at least endeavoured to obtain an accurate chronology; and there is no reason to suppose their historical accounts are at all derived from poets. *Epic poetry* was never native or common in Egypt; or was at most confined to a few historic songs drawn from their holy writings.

[1] See, for instance, plate xliv. vol. ii.
[2] See the title plate according to plate lvii. vol. iii.
[3] Herod. ii. 143.
[4] See p. 370, and Appendix iii.

We must not therefore, as in the case of the Indians, give up all hopes of arriving at a further historical certainty, if the deciphering of the inscriptions on the monuments should successfully proceed. If the work of Manetho had reached us complete, it might serve as a foundation; but in the scanty extracts that are left of it so many discrepancies occur in the dates, from the mistakes of copiers, that no continued history can be founded upon them. No attempts therefore at a fresh arrangement of these dynasties must be expected here (all that could be said with any probability upon the subject has been said by *Marsham* and *Gatterer*). I shall confine myself solely to the bringing together what we know of the brilliant period of this state as set forth on its monuments.

Notwithstanding it would be hopeless to attempt a continued chronology of the history of this state, yet a general settlement of the times in which its flourishing period happened cannot be dispensed with. This cannot be taken from the monuments, because they in general are destitute of dates; but must be gathered from the statements of ancient writers, in connexion with the monuments, so far as the architecture and the names of their founders sculptured thereon will give us any assistance. The more exact chronology, however, depends upon fixing the time of two rulers, of Sesostris, or, as he was called, according to Manetho's testimony, Rameses or Ramesses, which name he always bears on the monuments; and of Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, mentioned in the annals of the Jews; of whom I shall again have occasion to speak. The confounding of these two, for which there was no other reason but that of endeavouring to find the name of Sesostris in the Jewish history, has occasioned great confusion. All the Greek writers agree in placing the age of Sesostris previously to the Trojan war,[1] thus before 1200 B. C. But we may go back a step farther. We have authentic testimony, that Sesostris not only lived previously to that time, but previously to the age of Minos. This is found in Aristotle,[2] who calls him much more ancient than Minos; and as the age of the latter cannot be placed later than 1400 B. C., it follows, that we may suppose Sesostris to have lived 1500 B. C. To fix his reign to a year, or even to a dozen years, cannot be expected. This Sesostris, or Rameses, was the first king in

[1] The passages in Diodorus, i. 66, 71; Strabo, 1115, 1138, as collected by Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 578, note 15; cf. p. 600, etc.

[2] Aristot. *Pol.* vii. 10. πολὺ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος.

the nineteenth dynasty;[1] and the preceding, the eighteenth, consisting of fourteen kings, contains in the latter part some princes whose reigns were very glorious, such as Thutmosis, Amenophis, etc., comprising altogether above a century. Taking this into account, we should place the beginning of the splendid period of the empire of Thebes, when its rulers after the expulsion of the shepherd kings were sole monarchs of Egypt, about 1700 B. C.; and, supposing the expeditions and conquests of the Ethiopian rulers, Sabaco and Tarhaco, to have happened between 100 and 700 B. C., as we have placed them above,[2] from a comparison with the Jewish history, we have a period of almost one thousand years given us for the erection of these stupendous monuments, a space of time nearly about what we considered, in their description, necessary for that purpose; and during which the Egyptian Thebes, according to the Jewish annals, and the songs of the Ionian bard, was the capital of the mightiest empire, and the centre of the civilized world. But, according to Manetho, the whole period, from the beginning of the eighteenth to the end of the twenty-fourth dynasty, which was overthrown by the above-mentioned Ethiopian conquerors, amounts to nine hundred and eighty-eight years, of which the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties comprise seven hundred and twelve years of Thebes alone. So that if we throw out of our computation the two following dynasties of Bubartus and Tanis, whose connexion with Thebes cannot be determined, there will still remain seven or eight hundred years for the dynasties of Thebes; and the erection of the earliest of these monuments, between 1600 and 800 B. C., is confirmed both by history and the names of the Pharaohs sculptured upon them. Thus they approach very nearly the period of history, and blend with it. And although no minuter details be here ven-

[1] Here seems to be a contradiction, since Manetho places one Sesostris in the twelfth dynasty, and, indeed, with an addition, which evidently applies to the Sesostris of Diodorus and Herodotus, from which it would follow, that he could not be the Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty. The passage is this: "Sesostris annis XLVIII. quem quatuor cubitorum et palmarum trium duorumque digitorum procerum fuisse dicunt. [Hic annis novem totam Asiam subegit, Europæque partes usque ad Thraciam, atque ubique monumenta, quarumcunque gentium potitus est, erexit; fortium quidem virorum formas virili specie, ignavorum vero muliebribus membris in cippis insculpsit; adeo ut ab Ægyptiis post Osirim habitus sit.] Euseb. *Chron.* p. 211. The whole twelfth dynasty, therefore, was said to be interpolated. But such violent means are not wanted. It cannot be denied but the words which I have enclosed in [], are an addition from Herodotus and Diodorus, which were inserted into the text from the margin. We dare maintain this with more certainty, since we know from Josephus, p. 1039, that Manetho profited not by Herodotus, but rather contradicted him whenever he could. But that a Sesostris should occur in the twelfth dynasty, ought not to surprise us, since the name of other Egyptian kings are often found more than once.

[2] Page 214.

tured upon, and it be even admitted that this statement may go back a century too much or too little, the first hypothesis, founded on the explanation of the zodiacs, and which assigns to those monuments an antiquity of several thousand years more, is completely overthrown; and this alone, I think, will be allowed to be a great advantage. We confine our observations here to the period during which all the Egyptian states were united into one empire, under the dominion of the Pharaohs at Thebes, and afterwards at Memphis. That these several states had existed separately long before this, is proved both by the seventeen preceding dynasties of Manetho, and the Jewish annals; for these latter not only make mention of this nation, but also relate that their ancestor, Abraham, had visited it almost two thousand years before our era, and met with an empire in Lower Egypt, although it appears not to have been so highly civilized then as it was afterwards in the time of Joseph. If these states owed their existence to temples, as above stated, architecture must undoubtedly have been much older in Egypt; an observation strikingly confirmed by the fact, that among the materials of the present monuments, some have been found taken from earlier monuments, and exhibiting the same art.

I need not repeat what has been said upon another occasion respecting the origin of Thebes as a colony of Meroë. In confirmation of it I may however observe, that this origin was celebrated by an annual procession of the priests with the statue of Ammon. "Every year," says Diodorus,[1] "the sanctuary of Ammon is taken over the river to the Libyan side, consequently from the temple of Karnac, whence it is brought back after a few days, as though the god returned from Ethiopia." This tour I take to be represented on one of the great reliefs in the temple of Karnac:[2] the holy ark of Ammon is here seen on the river fully equipped, and being towed along by another. It is thus performing a voyage. This festival must have been highly celebrated, as even Homer (which was not doubted by antiquity) alluded to it, when he mentions the voyage of Zeus to the Ethiopians, and his absence for twelve days.[3] That it was common for the colonial gods to pay such visits to those of the parent states, (which surely proved their origin,) is well known from antiquity in general. The forms,

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 110. [2] *Descript.* table iii. 33.
[3] Iliad, i. 423.

nevertheless, varied; as they were sometimes paid in such processions as these, and sometimes by solemn embassies.

To fix the time of the foundation of Thebes is utterly impossible, but there are abundant proofs of its high antiquity. If in the time of Abraham the cultivation of Egypt had spread as far as the Delta, that of Upper Egypt must have long previously been advancing. According to Diodorus's narrative, the foundation of the chief temple of Ammon took place before the building of the city;[1] and similar but older materials are discovered to have been used in raising the walls of the very ancient temple at Karnac.[2] The antiquity of this state, therefore, must certainly be carried back many centuries previously to the time of Abraham; and this is confirmed both by the accounts of Manetho, and the number of royal sepulchres, amounting, according to Strabo, to forty-seven. These give, if each reign be averaged at twenty years, nearly one thousand years.[3] Manetho, previously to the eighteenth dynasty, the beginning of which falls between 1700 and 1600 B. C., has five other Theban dynasties, the eleventh, the twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, whose duration will not amount to less than one thousand two hundred years; we have, therefore, in the whole about two thousand eight hundred years before the commencement of our era. We must rest satisfied with this chronology until some new decipherings of the monumental inscriptions shall substitute a more correct and certain one.

Conformably to the plan laid down, I shall confine my attention to the eighteenth and following dynasties of Manetho,[4] and to those Pharaohs who immortalized themselves by their deeds and their monuments, in the period preceding the subjugation of Egypt by Sabaco the Ethiopian. The inscription at Abydus, copied by Caillaud, certainly mounts up to the sixteenth dynasty; but it gives only the titles, and not the names of the kings.[5]

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 54. [2] *Descript.* p. 269. [3] In France there have been thirty-five kings in eight hundred and forty years, beginning with Hugh Capet.

[4] The eighteenth dynasty in Manetho comprises (according to Eusebius, p. 215) fourteen rulers: Amosis, twenty-five years; Chebron, thirteen years; Amenophis, twenty-one years; Memphres, twelve years; Misphatumosis, twenty-five years; Thutmosis, nine years; Amenophis II., thirty-one years; Orus, twenty-eight years; Achencheres, sixteen years. Under him is placed the departure of Moses. Acherres, eight years; Cherres, fifteen years; Armais, (Danaus,) five years; Ramesses, (Ægyptus,) sixty-eight years; Amenophis III., forty years. The nineteenth dynasty comprised eight kings: Sethos, (Sesostris,) fifty-five years; Rampses, sixty-six years; Ameneptes, eight years; Amnemenes, twenty-six years; Thuoris, (Homer's Polybus,) seven years: under him the destruction of Troy.

[5] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 245.

Manetho begins his eighteenth dynasty with Amossis or Thutmosis; the first, however, whose name has yet been found on the monuments, is the third of this dynasty, namely, Amenophis I. As, however, there were many who bore this name, it remains merely a probable conjecture, whether he was really the third, or some other of the same name. Champollion, however, thinks it possible to prove it with certainty from the legends of the other kings.[1] His name is found on the great temple at Karnac; but his dominion must already have extended beyond the boundaries of Egypt, for his name and title have been discovered on the Nubian monuments, in the sanctuary of the temple at Amada, above Syene.[2]

The fourth king of this dynasty in Manetho, is Misphramuthosis, or rather Misphra-Thutmosis.[3] Josephus, following Manetho,[4] recounts that he succeeded in driving back the Hyksos to the confines of Egypt, shutting them up in their fortress Avaris, and besieging it. Neither his name nor title have yet been discovered on the monuments.

He was succeeded by his son Thutmosis, who entirely delivered the country from the Hyksos, by extorting an agreement from them in their fortress, the condition of which was, that they should leave Egypt and withdraw to Syria.[5] His name and title are found in the temple of Amada, which he must have completed.[6] Under his reign, therefore, Nubia, at least the lower part of it, must have been included in the empire.

His successor, Amenophis II., the seventh king of the eighteenth dynasty, was still more celebrated: his reign, according to Manetho, lasted thirty-one years. He was the same with the Memnon of the Greeks, from whose statue a sound is said to have issued. The truth of this statement is confirmed by such respectable evidence, that it cannot be doubted. "The Thebans maintain," says Pausanias,[7] "that the colossus does not represent Memnon, but Phamenophis, one of their native kings." This is again proved by an inscription still extant upon the statue: "I, P. Balbinus, have heard the divine voice of Memnon, or Phamenophis."[8] The reign of this Amenophis, therefore, falls immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksos;

[1] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 240. [2] Ibid. l. c. [3] Ibid. 246.
[4] Josephus, p. 1040. [5] Ibid. p. 1040. [6] Champollion, p. 241.
[7] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι· Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν. Pausan. p. 101.
[8] Ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος ἐγὼ Πούβλιος Βάλβινος φωνὰς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φαμένοφ. *Ph* is the Coptic article.

when Egypt was restored to her former state and laws. The old national religion, the worship of Ammon and his temple, was re-established in its pristine splendour soon after the country was rid of these troublesome strangers. The long reign of this monarch was favourable to it. In his title he is therefore called beloved of Ammon;[1] and his name itself probably expresses something similar,[2] for it was a common custom in Egypt, not only with kings, but with private individuals, to derive their name from deities, or to form compounds taken from them.[3] It therefore seems very natural that in this reign should have been commenced the building of those great temples and the works connected with them. A number of inscriptions, with his name and title, clearly attest such to have been the case; and these are found not only in Thebes, but at a considerable distance in Nubia, which, therefore, must have bowed to his sceptre. We learn from these inscriptions that he founded the great sanctuary, and the most ancient portion of the palace of Luxor in Thebes.[4] His name often occurs, as may be easily imagined, on the ruins of the Memnonium, even upon a statue found there by Belzoni. This monarch was also the founder of the temple of Ammon-Chnubis, in Elephantis, and is called there "beloved by Chneph or Chnubi."[5] His name is again found in one of the royal vaults, the only one lying to the west; which certainly tends to prove that this tomb belonged to him. He must also have been a conqueror, and extended his territory to the southern boundaries of Nubia; for the temple at Soleb, the most southern of this country, bears his royal legend, with reliefs of prisoners from various nations.[6]

Among his successors the name of Ramesses is the most conspicuous. This name, however, was borne by four Pharaohs, of whom the first two belonged to the eighteenth, and the third and fourth to the nineteenth dynasty. The first of this name[7] was expelled by his brother, after having reigned five years, and is said to be identified with Danaus, the leader of the colony to Argos in Peloponnesus.

He was succeeded by his brother Ramesses II., whose long reign of sixty-eight years is one of the most remarkable. He bears the surname of Miammon, "he who loves Ammon," to

[1] Champollion, p. 237. [2] Ibid. p. 238. [3] As Petammon, Retosiris, etc., which are similar to our Theophilus, etc. Champollion, p. 109. [4] Ibid. p. 237. [5] Ibid. p. 238. [6] Ibid. p. 239. See p. 187. [7] His name is corrupted into Armias and Armes.

distinguish him from the legend, "the beloved of Ammon." He was the founder of the palace of Medinet Abou at Thebes;[1] and the battles which are the subject of the reliefs upon it, leave us no room to doubt that he was a warrior and conqueror. The fifth of the royal vaults belongs to him: in it the sarcophagus of red granite was found, the cover of which, with the picture and legend of the king, is now in the museum at Cambridge.[2]

He was succeeded by Amenophis, the last ruler of the eighteenth dynasty, to whom Manetho ascribes a reign of forty years. It will be seen from what we have said above, that he was the third of this name. His reign, however, was not so fortunate or glorious as that of his predecessors. The Hyksos ventured to renew their attacks upon Egypt. Amenophis, not thinking himself able to withstand them, confided his son Ramesses, aged five years, to a friend, and withdrew into Ethiopia, the king of which was his tributary, and friendly towards him. Here he assembled his forces, marched back to Egypt, and, assisted by his son and successor, expelled the conquering shepherds.[3] This laid the foundation of the splendid period which commenced under his successor; and this is probably the reason why Manetho concludes his eighteenth dynasty with him.

At the head of the nineteenth dynasty stands the name of the most celebrated of all the Pharaohs. He is called Sethosis, Sesorsis, or Sesostris; and the pages of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus bear equal testimony of his fame. On the monuments, however, he is no where mentioned by either of these names, on them he is called Ramesses: but that he bore both these names, Manetho himself informs us;[4] and other writers likewise assert that the son of Amenophis was called Ramesses.[5] Sesostris means, by way of eminence, the great great king of the Egyptians.

We learn from Diodorus,[6] that the traditions respecting him were adorned and exaggerated by verse; we therefore must consider what is stated respecting him as nothing more than a poetical history, highly ornamented by the traditions of the priests. But Sesostris, or Ramesses the Great, (as we may very properly call him, to distinguish him from his namesakes,)

[1] Champollion, p. 227. [2] Ibid. p. 228. [3] Josephus, p. 1041. [4] Ibid. p. 1053. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ραμέσσην ὠνομασμένον. Champollion, p. 227; cf. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 61. [5] Especially Chæremon in his history of Egypt; cf. Josephus, p. 1057. [6] Diodorus, i. p. 62.

is not to be considered as a mere creature of the imagination: that he is not simply a symbolical being, but historically a monarch of Egypt, is so obvious, as to render it almost unnecessary to mention it. But if it be desired to ascertain how much related of him is matter of history, and how much not, the best information will be derived from the monuments, as well from those within Egypt as those which he erected in foreign countries in commemoration of his exploits, and which we can authenticate as relating to him, partly from credible historians, and partly from intrinsic evidence. There is a perfect agreement here between the monuments and history, as the latest discoveries convince us, that the name of no Pharaoh so often appears upon them, or with so much splendour, as the name and title of Ramesses the Great. "Beloved and confirmed of Ammon,—son of the god of the sun,—ruler of the obedient people," are the titles here frequently bestowed upon him.

Herodotus, who derived his information from the priests at Memphis, enumerated, in speaking of Sesostris and the other Pharaohs mentioned by him, only the presents they gave to the temple of Phtha in this capital: which in this instance consisted of six tremendous colossal statues; two of himself and wife, each thirty yards high; and four of his children, each twenty.[1] According to Diodorus, he founded many great buildings; erecting in the towns of Egypt temples for the principal gods they honoured. Thebes in particular enjoyed his favours. Two obelisks, one hundred and twenty yards high, containing an account of his treasures and the nations he had conquered, were placed before the temple of Ammon; and a new and splendid ark for the oracle of cedar,[2] gilded outside and silvered within, was bestowed on the interior. All these glories are vanished; but his name still lives on many of the monuments of Thebes. It has been discovered in many parts of the great palace of Karnac; particularly on those massive pillars in the immense saloon above described, which seems almost entirely to have been his work.[3] It is again found on the great pylones and pillars in the first court of the palace of Luxor, as likewise on one side of the obelisks at the same place (the other bears the legend of Thutmosis); finally, almost in every part of what is called the tomb of Osymandyas, the greater part of which, if not the whole, must certainly be attributed to him;[4]

[1] Herod. ii. 108. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 67. [3] Champollion, p. 220.
[4] See above, p. 384. Neither Manetho nor Herodotus has the name of Osymandyas.

and without Thebes, on the palace of Abydus, the Flaminian obelisk in Rome; and on many other monuments. Nubia in particular is full of them: nearly on every section of the great temple of Ipsambul, of Kalabshé, Derri, and Seboa, his name occurs, and pictures of his exploits.[1] What a gigantic mind must his have been, that could execute so many and such marvellous works!

The expeditions and conquests of Ramesses the Great are partly certain, and partly more or less probable. Among the former I class those upon which monuments and writers agree; among the latter, those only mentioned by historians. There is no question but that he erected monuments to himself in the countries he conquered, or engraved his deeds on those which he found there already built.

After Arabia, that is to say, the eastern mountainous country of Egypt, was subdued,[2] a naval expedition on the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Sea is mentioned as his next undertaking.[3] Herodotus, having his accounts from the priests, represents him as the first who ventured with a fleet of war-galleys on the Arabian Gulf and Indian Sea. The truth of this narrative can scarcely be doubted; especially since we learn from the monuments, that the Pharaohs maintained a naval power in these quarters. Their conquests were confined to the coasts, as appears from the expressions of Herodotus. Those who know the narrow extent and the nature of the Indian Sea, with its numerous islands and variable winds, will find nothing improbable in the statement that those expeditions extended to the western coasts of the peninsula: this, indeed, is plainly asserted by Diodorus,[4] and confirmed by the costumes of the enemies in the sculptures.

That he subjugated Ethiopia there can be no doubt: it appears, moreover, from what has been said above, that a part of it was very early reduced under the sway of the Pharaohs, or was at least dependent upon them; and when Herodotus says that he was the only king of Egypt who ruled over Ethiopia, this is undoubtedly to be understood of all Ethiopia, as well as the most southern part of it, or Meroë. He conquered, Diodorus informs us, the Ethiopians who dwelt towards the south, and compelled them to pay him a tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth[5]—this is confirmed by the monuments. The

[1] Champollion, *Precis*, p. 220. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 63. [3] Herod. ii. 102.
[4] See above, p. 412, the description of a naval battle. [5] Diodorus, i. p. 64.

very remarkable scenes sculptured at Kalabshé, for a copy of which we are indebted to Gau, and which I have described and explained above,[1] would prove this most satisfactorily, even if M. Champollion had not since discovered the legend of this king. Not only the battle and victory are here represented, but also the offering of the booty and tributes. The captive queen, deprived of her trinkets,[2] is beseeching (accompanied by her two sons) the conqueror for mercy. The tribute mentioned by Diodorus is seen to consist of ivory, gold, and quantities of ebony; tame and wild animals; apes and birds of various kinds; even the giraffe from the heart of Africa is introduced. How was it possible to characterize the extent of conquests in a more striking manner? We have another remarkable witness, proving at once that an expedition was made by land and by sea, as well as its extent, given in Strabo.[3] "At the narrow entrance of the Arabian Gulf," he says, "is situated the little town of Derar, inhabited by Ichthyophagi. Monuments of the Egyptian Sesostris, who first subdued the country of the Troglodytes, are said to stand here with sacred inscriptions, setting forth his voyage to Arabia." And in another passage,[4] he "traversed Ethiopia as far as the land of cinnamon, where even now monumental columns with inscriptions are visible." We entertain hopes, if a modern traveller should succeed in reaching this place, or the old Egyptian port of Adule, that those monuments would still be found.

It is difficult to say anything certain respecting the campaigns of the Egyptian conqueror in Asia and Europe. Herodotus here also is our safest guide. He saw and noticed the monuments erected by him, with Egyptian sacred writing upon them. Although it should be denied that these were the work of Sesostris, still they were certainly erected by some Egyptian conqueror; for Herodotus could not be mistaken with regard to the writing. We know, however, of no other of the Pharaohs to whom such expeditions can be ascribed. Herodotus saw and describes these monuments first in Palestine,[5] and afterwards two rock-monuments in Asia Minor, the situation of which he minutely particularizes; the statue of an armed man

[1] Page 189.

[2] In a former part of this work I have explained the captive queen from the circumstance, that in Meroë queens could sit on the throne. But we need not have recourse to that. On the preceding relief the captive king is represented as murdered by the conqueror. It was therefore natural that she appeared as a widow.

[3] Strabo, p. 1114. His information is probably derived from Agatharchides's treatise on the Red Sea. [4] Page 1138. [5] Herod. ii. 106.

in Egyptian and Ethiopian accoutrements, with an inscription in hieroglyphics on the breast, signifying, "I have occupied this country." Further, his monuments were seen in Thrace,[1] but not beyond; for here he turned back. He is also said to have reached the river Phasis, and to have founded on this occasion an Egyptian colony at Colchis. We may therefore conclude with certainty, from these accounts, that his expedition took in Syria and Asia Minor, and extended to Thrace. During this period we know of no great empire in western Asia; the origin of the Assyrian is laid by Herodotus two or three centuries later.[2] What, therefore, could have arrested the progress of the conqueror on this side?

The campaigns in eastern Asia, which were said to have extended to Bactria and India, are perhaps in general fictitious. Some historical foundation for them, however, is contained on the monuments. One of the scenes often repeated, is the passage of a river winding through a plain, and a fortress which the Egyptians take by assault.[3] Now this cannot be the Nile; because the scenery is evidently not Egyptian. The next river that presents itself to our mind is the Euphrates: its serpentine course through the valley agrees very well with the river here represented. The country invaded is proved by the dress and beards of the inhabitants to be in Asia. Is it the proud Babylon that is here assaulted, or was there a Median-Bactrian empire which extended as far as this? I know of none such; but the passage over the river was evidently one of those great achievements, whose remembrance was worthy to be preserved by monuments. The opulent Babylon was certainly likely to attract a conqueror. These conquests, at all events, could hardly have been lasting, otherwise posterity would have found Egyptian monuments in these places as well as in Nubia.

The son and successor of Ramesses the Great, according to Herodotus, was called Pheron: Diodorus, however, expressly informs us of his having adopted the name of his father; and this is confirmed by Manetho, who calls him Ramesses, and gives him a reign of sixty years. His reign was a peaceable one, for according to Diodorus he did not inherit the warlike spirit[4] of his father; though, as his legend has also been found on the monuments, he was certainly partial to building. He is

[1] Herod. ii. 103, 104.
[2] About 1230, B. C.
[3] See above, p. 416.
[4] Diodorus, i. p. 69.

called "the confirmed of Ammon," not the one confirmed by Rè the god of the Sun, as his father was. Champollion reads his name and title on the smaller pillars of the gigantic saloon at Karnac, which he seems to have completed.[1] It was quite agreeable to the spirit of the age, that the reign of so powerful a conqueror should be followed by such a one as this of his son: so David was succeeded by Solomon.

The most splendid period of Thebes, therefore, must have occurred between 1800 and 1300 B. C. Of the two succeeding kings Manetho gives only the names; and when he says of the third, namely Thuoris, whom Homer calls Polybus, that he was contemporary with the Trojan war, it corresponds with our chronology, which places this war immediately after 1200. The nineteenth dynasty ends with this Thuoris. Of the twentieth dynasty, which included twelve kings and lasted one hundred and seventy-two years, the fragments of Manetho do not even give the names; and of the kings[2] of the twenty-first, which lasted one hundred and thirty years, nothing but the names.

The first ruler of the twenty-second dynasty, Sesonchosis, becomes more interesting to us, as Champollion recognises in him the Shishak of the Jewish annals.[3] His name, Scheschonk, together with his title, "the confirmed of Ammon," is found on one of the columns of the first great court of columns in the palace of Karnac; and the correctness of this reading is confirmed by the name (according to Manetho) of his son and successor, Osorthon, being found close by it. The identity of the name Scheschak and Shishak is very important, because it enables us to determine the chronology. Shishak was the contemporary of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, 970 B. C., he made war against Palestine, took Jerusalem,[4] and pillaged it. According to the Jewish accounts the Egyptian state must have been very powerful at that time; for it is said of Shishak that he came with twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand cavalry, and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting of Egyptians, Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. His empire therefore must have extended over all these countries, and far beyond the boundaries of Egypt. In the century after

[1] Champollion, p. 232.

[2] They are named: Smerdis, twenty-six years; Psusennus, forty-one years; Nepherches, four years; Psinnaches, nine years; Psonines, thirty-five years. Euseb. p. 217.

[3] Champollion, p. 205.

[4] 2 Chronicles xii. 2.

him, this greatness must have declined, and the power of the rulers of Meroë, under the dynasty of Sabaco, (who reigned between 800 and 700 B. C., not only over Ethiopia, but also Thebes,) must have prevailed; as, according to Manetho, the Pharaoh Bochoris, who alone occupies the twenty-fourth dynasty, was defeated, taken prisoner, and burnt alive by Sabaco.[1]

About this time therefore, 800 B. C., ends the period of Theban might and grandeur, after having endured nearly eight centuries. The period of the great expeditions, particularly in Asia, does not seem to reach lower than the first two or three centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos; for we have no information that extends beyond the expedition of Shishak into the neighbouring Palestine. The dominion over Ethiopia, at least the northern part, or the present Nubia, bears the only traces of a lasting conquest. We may therefore determine pretty accurately the extent and the boundaries of the empire of Thebes, with the exception of these transitory conquests.

Notwithstanding the extent of Sesostris's expeditions, there is no proof that the dominion of the Pharaohs in Asia was of long duration. That it occasionally comprised Syria, perhaps also Babylonia, and the coasts of Southern Arabia, cannot be denied. Had there, however, been any permanent conquest over the interior of Asia, some accounts of it would have been given in the annals of the Jews. Of Arabia, the stony region, at least, must in some degree have belonged to Egypt; for this is proved by certain monuments, covered with hieroglyphics, which Niebuhr found here and copied: they may have been tombs, as he indeed considers them; but I think it more probable that they were remnants of a temple.[2] Any lasting conquests in Europe are still less to be expected.

The principal country therefore, the nucleus of the empire, was Egypt itself. That this was entirely subject to the Pharaohs of Thebes cannot be doubted: there was once a time, says Herodotus,[3] when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes, not only the fruitful valley of the Nile, but also the eastern and western borders. The eastern side, usually spoken of under the name of Arabia, was subdued by Sesostris, without which, indeed, he could not have fitted out a fleet on the Arabian

[1] Manetho, apud Euseb. p. 218.

[2] Niebuhr's *Travels*, i. p. 237, etc. Tab. xxx.—xlii. He found them at El Mocatel, (mountain of inscriptions,) probably Mount Hor, in the neighbourhood of Sinai.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 15.

Gulf; but how far the dominion of the Pharaohs extended to the west is uncertain. It undoubtedly comprised the two Oases, as is proved by the monuments upon them; it must likewise have extended beyond the limits of Egypt, because Libyans are enumerated among their subjects. That the inhabitants of Marea and Apis were still Egyptians, was formerly decided by a sentence of the Ammonian oracle,[1] when they wished to be considered as Libyans. It cannot be stated exactly in what political relation Ammonium stood with Thebes; nevertheless, as it was a colony of Thebes, and the service of Ammon prevailed there, it may at least be assumed, that the relation which commonly subsisted between parent states and their colonies, when they held the same religious opinions, was in force here, although it might not amount to a complete dependence. Ammonium, so far as our present information goes, is the western boundary of the Egyptian monuments, and therefore of the Egyptian dominions. By possessing this they became neighbours of the Carthaginians. A peaceable commercial intercourse with that nation has been pointed out in the former part of the volume; but that hostilities sometimes broke out between them, may be inferred from a remarkable passage in Ammianus Marcellinus.[2] From this we learn, that when the power of the Carthaginians extended itself in Africa, even before the time of the great Persian empire, Carthaginian generals had surprised and pillaged Thebes; a shock from which this city had scarcely recovered at the time of its being invaded by Cambyses.

Ethiopia, however, was the main point to which the rulers of Thebes directed their conquests. Monuments of their victories are still to be seen there, which render this fact unquestionable. Here there were many things to attract them. The valley of the Nile above Syene was neither less fruitful nor less populous than in Egypt. The mountain-chain along the

[1] Herodotus, ii. 18. The oracle was, "All that is watered by the Nile, is Egypt; and all who, from the city of Elephantis downwards, drink its water, are Egyptians." According to this, the eastern mountainous district did not belong to Egypt, nor its inhabitants to the Egyptian nation.

[2] Am. Marcel. xvii. 4. "Urbem, priscis seculis conditam, portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylas Thebas—hanc inter exordia pandentis se late Carthaginis improviso excursu duces oppressere Pœnorum; posteaque reparatam Persarum ille rex Cambyses aggressus est." The attack of the Carthaginians upon Thebes happened, therefore, before the time of Cambyses, in the period when Carthage was extending her dominions; probably between 600 and 550 B. C., when the powerful house of Mago stood at the head of the republic. See Appendix viii. at the end of this volume. When Ammianus speaks of Libya and Carthage, he quotes from the works of king Juba, who drew from Carthaginian writers who treated upon inner Africa and the sources of the Nile: xxii. 4. This account, perhaps, is also drawn from them.

Arabian Gulf contained, scarcely 130 or 140 miles above Syene, the most ancient gold mines in the world; and these had already been worked in the time of the Pharaohs. The ravages of the Nubian hordes, who inhabited these districts, might also become a frequent source of the wars which we sometimes see portrayed on the Nubian monuments. And, finally, the commercial connexions existing between Egypt and Ethiopia, and exhibiting the wealth of the southern countries, were equally calculated to attract the eye of the conquerors. They do not seem, however, to have established a lasting dominion beyond the boundaries of Nubia; but that it continued here for a considerable period, and particularly in the valley of the Nile, is proved by the series of monuments, with their inscriptions and reliefs, which have come under our notice in the former part of the volume. Although some of those monuments might not have been their work, but had been erected before their time; yet the inscriptions and reliefs must be attributed to them, as they bear the impress of perfected Egyptian workmanship. Many of these edifices are too mighty to have been quickly or suddenly raised: a long period must have been spent in their completion. This series of monuments, which we ascribe to the Pharaohs, does not, however, extend beyond Nubia. The temple at Soleb, a little above the second cataract, is, as far as we know, the last that can be attributed to them. Egyptian dominion could not be permanently established without Egyptian religion, nor Egyptian religion without Egyptian monuments.

The dominion of the Pharaohs, then, extended only to the northern boundaries of the empire of Meroë. And notwithstanding that this empire was once overrun by the great Sesostris, its subjugation cannot have been of long duration. Both monuments and history prove this. That the former are not historical representations relating to the Pharaohs, although executed by Egyptian artists, has been shown in the former part of the volume.[1] And the remains of the history of Meroë there collected, show that this empire never lost its independence for any length of time; nay, that in the eighteenth century B. C. it even subdued Egypt, or at least Upper Egypt, although it was voluntarily, or at the command of the oracle, relinquished by the conqueror.[2] Thus we see on the banks of the Nile, from its sources till its waters are lost in the Mediterranean,

[1] Page 213. [2] Herodotus, ii. 139.

the two powerful empires of Thebes and Meroë existing together during many centuries, under mutual relations, various and changeable, without either of them attaining an extent equal to the great empires of Asia.[1] The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs, exclusive of the mere transitory conquests, was nearly the same as that of the present ruler of Egypt. His dominion towards the south does not reach beyond Dongola, above Soleb; Siwah, the ancient Ammonium, pays him tribute; and his conquests on the Arabian coast are perhaps about equal to those of the Pharaohs. How different, however, was the state of these provinces then to what it is at present!

The population of Egypt, amounting in the time of Diodorus to no more than three millions, is stated by the same author, we know not upon what authority, to have been seven millions in the time of the Pharaohs.[2] If the latter is meant to include all Egypt, the statement cannot seem exaggerated, and would even be moderate if we were to limit it to the Thebaid, which indeed was at one time called Egypt. But in the first case the statement is only to be understood of the inhabitants settled in the fruitful part of Egypt, the valley of the Nile, and the Delta; we have already stated that the wandering tribes in the mountains were not reckoned among the Egyptians.

That Thebes was the usual seat of government, is shown more plainly by the ruins of its palaces, than by the testimony of historians. Although some change afterwards took place, religious notions seem to have been in such a way connected with the residence of the monarchs in this capital, that we dare not leave it unnoticed. They were closely connected with the ideas they entertained of a life after death. The Pharaohs lived in the neighbourhood of their tombs, for these, according to the belief of the Egyptians, were their proper habitations; and the construction of these engrossed the attention of these rulers quite as much as the decoration of their palaces, of which we have a proof in the tomb of Osymandyas, near his palace, and in the caverns near Thebes. Besides, it was not a matter of indifference where a person was buried. Certain spots were held sacred, and preferred to all others; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots in which Osiris,

[1] If the accounts of the Newspapers are true, that in the district of Cordofan are found ruins with hieroglyphics, they must have belonged to the empire of Meroë, and not to Thebes. In the empire of Darfour nothing of the kind has been discovered.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 36.

ruler both in the upper and under world, was buried. And who wished not to rest near him? These places were numerous. In the Thebaid, besides Thebes itself, there was a small island near Philæ and Elephantis; and also Abydos, formerly called This. In Middle Egypt there was Memphis; and in the Delta, Busiris. A modern critic, therefore, very justly considers these burial-places of Osiris to be the seats of the Egyptian monarchs.[1] What a new light does this strike out, when compared with the dynasties of Manetho! How strongly does this confirm the opinion given above, that these places were the earliest states of Egypt, before it was consolidated into one empire! The dynasties in Upper and Middle Egypt, of Elephantis, Thebes, This, and Memphis, are all burial-places of Osiris: those in the Delta, Mendes, Sebennytus, Tanis, and Bubastus, all lay within a few miles of Busiris; that of Sais had this sanctuary in the town itself. Let us return, however, to Thebes. That this city was the residence of the kings for centuries, is proved both by their palaces and the number of their tombs, of which, according to Strabo, there were upwards of forty. Memphis at a later period certainly became the seat of government, for we are told by Manetho of a king Athotis, and by Diodorus of a king Urchoreus,[2] who built a palace there, which however never equalled those at Thebes. Its age is uncertain; but Diodorus further remarks, that it was the removal of his successors to Memphis which caused Thebes to decline. It is shown, however, in our inquiries respecting the Persians, that it was a common thing for the monarchs of the East to have more than one residence; and although the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty might make Memphis for some time their capital, their names on the monuments of Thebes sufficiently evince that this was the proper seat of government. As their elevation and consecration necessarily took place at Thebes, as we shall presently see, this city could not so soon have lost its right to be considered the capital of the empire.

[1] Creuzer in *Commentationes ad Herod.* p. 88, etc., where the proofs are collected of what we have stated. I think this will be further proved by my showing, that at Sais, where the last dynasty previous to the Persian conquest ruled, there was a tomb of Osiris. Herod., after saying (ii. 169) that the tombs of the kings of this dynasty were at Sais in the sanctuary of Minerva, adds, cap. 170, 171, etc.: "In this sanctuary, behind the temple, is the tomb of him whose name I do not consider myself at liberty to mention. But in the sanctuary stand some large obelisks, and a pond with a stone enclosure; and here are celebrated the mysteries in which the sufferings of the afore-mentioned deity are represented." That this refers to Osiris nobody will doubt who is acquainted with his mythology.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 60.

With regard to the government, there can be no doubt but that upon the whole it always remained a hierarchy, under the dominion of the priests; but the relation of the kings to the priesthood requires some further explanation. Was the throne hereditary or was it elective? As we read so often that the father was succeeded by the son, we must conclude that it was hereditary, although a later writer describes the election of a king to the throne.[1] According to his account, candidates waited during the election on the Libyan mountains, near the tombs. The royal tent was here set up; and the priests who elected assembled. The gods were then consulted, and the election concluded; the newly-elected king was then led with a numerous train, in a magnificent procession of gods, priests, and people, to the Nile, where the royal barge waited, in which he proceeded to the other side, to take possession of the royal palace, (probably that of Karnac,) where stood the original high temple of Ammon. It is not known from what ancient writer Synesius borrowed this relation, we have no reason, however, to suppose it fictitious; for hereditary succession, when not very strict, is compatible with the ceremony of election, as the history of Germany clearly proves. I doubt, however, whether the king was taken from the priest caste. If such had been the case, there would have been no occasion for him to enter into it after his election, and that he did so is shown by its being represented again and again on the walls of the palaces of Medinet Abou and Karnac.

It followed, as a matter of course, that the person elected, or nominated by the priests, would be very much under their control; hence it happened that nothing of importance could be undertaken till the oracle had been first consulted. In many of the processions of the oracle-ship, pictured on the walls of the temples and palaces, the king is seen coming to meet the holy ark, borne by priests, in such positions, as prove beyond a doubt, that he comes to obtain a favourable decision from the oracle.[2]

But there was another circumstance, which was still more effectual than even the oracle in holding the monarchs dependent upon the priests. I mean the strict ceremonies by which their every-day life was regulated; an example of which is also found in the power exercised in a similar manner over the

[1] Synesius, *Op.* p. 94.

[2] *Description*, plates xxxii. xxxvi. vol. iii. and after.

monarchs of Persia by the Magi. Early in the morning, (as was natural in so hot a climate,) says Diodorus,[1] the affairs of state were settled. The sacred ceremonies next followed. The king went to sacrifice and prayer; he was then obliged to listen while he was reminded from the sacred writings of his duties, in which the greatest possible moderation in all enjoyments was strictly inculcated. It seems probable that the personal character of the rulers had great influence with regard to the measure of this dependence; but the scenes so often recurring on the walls of the temples and palaces, leave us no room to question but that even the most powerful of the monarchs were obliged to conform to these prescriptions. The regulation of the court of the Pharaohs assisted the priests very much in the maintenance of this authority over the prince. It is well known that it was composed of the sons of the most exalted priests. No slave dared to approach the king: he was served by the courtiers just mentioned.[2] The wives of the king were equal in rank and title with himself; queens even ruled in Egypt. The custom which was in use long before the Ptolemies, that the kings should marry their sisters, perhaps arose from a desire to prevent strangers from succeeding to the throne.[3]

With regard to the division of the empire, it is certain that the principal country, Egypt itself, was divided into nomes, upon the origin of which I have already stated my opinion in a former chapter of this work. As Herodotus ascribes them to Sesostris, it is plain that they were instituted by the Pharaohs, though they could not be completely established till these monarchs became sole rulers over Egypt. The whole government of Egypt was naturally knit together by this institution.[4] Ten nomes are enumerated in Upper Egypt, sixteen in Middle Egypt, and ten in Lower Egypt.[5] We hear of *nomarchi* and *toparchi*,[6] as they are called by the Greeks: the former were intrusted with the government of the separate nomes, and the latter with districts and villages.[7]

The revenue of the Pharaohs was derived from various

[1] Diodorus, i. p. 81. [2] Ibid. i. p. 80. [3] Ibid. i. p. 31.

[4] Champollion, in *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, part i. 11, has collected the Egyptian names of the Nomes. The Egyptian name of Nome is Ptosch.

[5] Diodorus, i. p. 84. [6] Strabo, xvii. p. 1136.

[7] Herod. ii. 177. From this passage it is clear that they officiated as police, since all were obliged to render a yearly account to them of their several trades or professions. Idleness was discountenanced or punished. The caste of the trades being subdivided, and each division having its own president, who of course was acquainted with each member, this task was less difficult than it would otherwise have been.

sources; the most important of them, however, were its landed possessions, as is clear from what has been already said respecting the division and proprietorship of lands in Egypt. It has also been proved, that lands belonging to kings and priests were cultivated by persons who paid interest or rent for them. Diodorus[1] expressly tells us, that the lands of the priests and soldiers were free from taxes or rent, which certainly was not the case with the rest. But in speaking of this ground-rent, we ought to bear in mind that the quality of the soil did not admit of its being so accurately settled as in European states. This tax was regulated in Egypt according to the produce of the soil, and this depended upon the overflowing of the river. It was determined by a measurement of the Nile; and from this we may conclude, that the same method was preserved in ancient as in modern times, namely, the ground or produce rent was fixed annually. In the present day they wait until the flood has reached its highest point; and according to its height the taxes are immediately imposed. Diodorus informs us, that it was the same in antiquity.[2] "The kings, to prevent any inconvenience that might happen from the rising of the flood, have constructed a Nilometer at Memphis. Those who manage it can measure exactly, in yards and inches, the rising and falling of the river, of which they send immediate advice to the several towns. The people by this are enabled to judge beforehand of the produce they may expect. Accounts of the yearly rise and fall of the river have been preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest times." The taxes in the present day, however, are not imposed upon individuals, but upon entire towns or villages, which are obliged to answer for them. A whole township possesses the land in common, cultivates it in common, and every one whose name is inscribed in the village book is a partner, and shares the produce, as it is almost impossible that individuals should have private landed property, on account of the continual overflowings which destroy the boundaries.[3] It is highly probable that this was also the case in antiquity, as nature herself seems to determine that it should

[1] Diodorus, i. 85; Herod. ii. 168.

[2] Diodorus, i. p. 44. The Nilometer discovered and described by the French, *Description*, vol. i., does not appear to have been constructed previous to the age of the Ptolemies, as the numbers upon it are Grecian: they may, however, have been inscribed upon it at a later period.

[3] Reynier, *l'Economie Politique des Egyptiens*, p. 200, etc. This assessment of the taxes upon a whole district seems to be represented at Eilethyia. *Descript.* plates i. lxiii. iii. Even now each village has a *coptus*, or secretary; these secretaries are closely united, and distinct from the inhabitants, forming still a kind of caste, and probably descendants from the old caste of priests.

be so; and when Herodotus ascribes the origin of geometry to these mensurations, it can scarcely be understood otherwise than of the mensuration of the areas of whole townships, though he might derive his conjecture from private possessions. These mensurations were undoubtedly connected with their canal system, for the construction and preservation of which considerable mathematical knowledge was required; and upon the good order in which these were maintained, the fruitfulness of the land chiefly depended. An intimate connexion between these seems evident, from the canal system and the division of districts by measurements being ascribed to the same ruler, Sesostris.[1] Both were therefore under the management of the government, and were indeed its particular care and interest. And as Sesostris is called the great king of the Egyptians, it is to be supposed that he brought this system to its full perfection; for it lies in the nature of things that it existed to a certain degree before his time.

The gold mines of Nubia were a second source of the revenues of the Pharaohs: they were reckoned amongst the most ancient and most productive in the world, and account for the abundance of gold often spoken of in Egyptian history. Agatharchides,[2] who visited them during the reign of Ptolemy IV., has given an accurate, and even scientific, description of them. According to his account, they were situated near the present mountain Alaky, 22° N. Lat., 51° E. Long., not far from the ancient Berenice Panchrysos, as it was called in the time of the Ptolemies.[3] They were worked by a great number of prisoners, men, women, and children, among whom the labour was divided according to their strength. This writer describes very minutely the manner in which this labour was performed. "These mines," he adds, "have already been worked for a very long time, and were discovered by the first kings of these countries. The working of them, however, was interrupted, when the Ethiopians, who are said to have founded Memnonium, overran Egypt, and kept possession during a long period of its towns:[4] and again, under the dominion of the

[1] Herod. ii. 108; Diodorus, i. 66.

[2] Agatharchides, *de Rubro Mari, in Geograph. Minor.* i. p. 22. Diodorus, i. p. 182, borrowed his account from him.

[3] Agatharchides has removed all doubt as to their situation. See D'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 274. I have also indicated their relative positions on the map.

[4] Under Sabaco and Tarhaco, between 800 and 700 B. C. The Memnonium was Meroë, which was said to be Memnon's principal residence; unless we are to understand by it that of Abydus, where those conquerors probably took up their abode. Strabo, p. 1167; consult also Jacobs *on the Graves of Memnon.*

Medes and Persians. In the shafts made at that time brass implements are still found, the use of iron being then unknown. Bones also are found in great quantities, of people who were smothered in them by the falling in of the earth. The extent of these mines was such, that the subterranean passages reached to the sea."

The later accounts of the Arabian writers[1] give us further information respecting these mines. We learn from them that they are situated in the country of the Bejahs, the ancient Blemmies,[2] between Eidub and Suakin; that they abound in silver, copper, iron, and precious stones; but gold is chiefly sought for. The Pharaohs themselves made war against this country for the sake of these mines. The Greeks did the same when they were masters of Egypt; evident traces of which are still met with. "The gold mines are at Alaky,[3] a place fifteen days' journey from the Nile; the nearest town is Essouan." It would seem probable from this, that these mines were turned to account during the sway of the Arabs: that they belonged to the empire of the Pharaohs (they were about fifty miles distant from Thebes) is clear from what we have said respecting its extent, which comprised Soleb, above the second cataract.

The Egyptian tradition which ascribed its discovery and first opening, as well as the working in metals, to the inhabitants of Thebes,[4] obtains by this a new confirmation.

I scarcely know how far we may reckon in the income derived from the mines, the precious stones known under the name of emeralds. Through Belzoni's researches these mines have been again found: they are situated in the Arabian mountain-chain, in the mountain Zubaca, (24½° N. Lat.,) between twenty and thirty miles from the Arabian Gulf.[5] They are of considerable extent, and must have been worked for many ages, certainly as far back as the Egyptian period, as remnants of Egyptian architecture are still met with on the road leading to them; and if, as we find in Theophrastus,[6] the commentaries of the Egyptians spoke of them, it is evident

[1] In Quatremère de Quinzi, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. p. 143 and 155, also Mafrizi.
[2] See p. 157.
[3] These accounts are perfectly correct. Alaky is the Salaka in D'Anville's map, which he also affirms to be Berenice Panchrysos. The Greek name signifies "abounding in gold." Its distance from the Nile is about three hundred and fifty miles; or, for caravans, fifteen days' journey. Essouan is called the next town, not on account of its proximity to the former, the distance being two hundred and forty miles, but because no other intervenes.
[4] Diodorus, i. p. 19. [5] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 315.
[6] Theoph. *De Lapidibus, Op.* p. 394; cf. Plin. xxxvii. 19.

they must have been worked under the Pharaohs; and if so, it is probable that their produce was considered as belonging to the king, as the present pacha has attempted to make them, although hitherto without success. We know, from what is said by the Arabian writers, that they were worked till the end of the fourteenth century.[1] Masudi calls the place *Kharbat*, (in which may easily be recognised the present name, *Zubara*,) and very correctly describes it as a mountainous desert in the country of the Bejahs, eight days' journey from the Nile. The emeralds, of which he enumerates four species, found at that time a ready sale in India and China.

The fisheries, in so far as they belonged to the king, must be considered as a third source of the revenues of the Pharaohs. The Nile contains abundance of fish, particularly at the time of its flood.[2] As fish formed a principal article of food, fishing was a very lucrative employment. Of what importance the fisheries were may best be learned from the words of the prophet, when he threatens Egypt with approaching misery:[3] "The waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up; the fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish." The fishery of the Nile itself did not belong to the crown; but that of the canals which connected the Nile with the lake Mœris certainly did. Herodotus informs us[4] that this fishery supplied a talent daily to the royal treasury, during the six months in which the water flowed through the canal into the lake, and during the other six months twenty *mines* a day; which income, according to Diodorus's account,[5] was appropriated to the queens as pin-money. The fish, of which there were twenty-two different kinds, were salted, which shows the importance of these fisheries; and the quantity was so great, that the persons employed to preserve them could seldom complete their labour.

In addition to all this, there was the tribute paid by the conquered nations, the Ethiopians and others, which was more or less in proportion as the Pharaohs extended their dominions.[6] Whether caravans paid a duty on entering the king-

[1] Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii. 175, etc.; *Sur la Mine des Emeraudes*, from Arabian MSS. in the Royal library. [2] Herod. ii. 93. [3] Isaiah xix. 5—9. According to Herod. ii. 77, the fish were partly dried in the sun, partly salted. He enumerates tribes who lived entirely on fish, ii. 92. [4] Herod. ii. 149. [5] Diod. i. p. 62.

[6] Schol. *ad Homer. Il.* ix. Ἐν Θήβαις δὲ ἦν πρότερον τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ἃ πολλοὺς ἔφερον φόρους Λίβυες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Αἰθίοπες. Νῦν δὲ Διόσπολις καλεῖται.

dom, and whether an impost was paid for irrigating the lands towards the maintenance of the canals, which seems very probable, must still be left to conjecture.

But how were these taxes paid? Was there any coined money in Egypt? That the precious metals served as representatives of value cannot be doubted; but were they only measured by weight, or were they coined? No coin of the Pharaohs has yet been discovered, nor has anything yet been found on the monuments relating to money. Nevertheless we must conclude, from the transactions between Joseph and his brethren, that accounts were kept in Egypt in money. "And he commanded the steward to put every man's money in his sack's mouth: to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver."[1] Against coining there was a particular law,[2] as well as against usury. Was it Phœnician, and afterwards Cyrenian money, that was current in Egypt?[3] We cannot answer. Possibly payments may usually have been made by weight, as scales very often occur in the reliefs.

From the accounts of Diodorus, it is clear that the Egyptians had a written body of laws in eight books:[4] specimens of these are preserved by the same historian; and from what I have already said I think it certain, that he extracted these from translations which he found ready to his hands. These laws, which the Egyptians ascribed to their earliest kings,[5] relate to crimes and matters of police (with which the legislation of all nations begins, because they are first wanted); and they betray mostly their early origin by their severe punishments. Others, nevertheless, show us a people that had already made considerable progress in civilization.[6] Security of person and property (the creditor could only attach the property, not the person); the sanctity of oaths (which was considered as the foundation of the state); and of marriages (among the priests monogamy was ordained, but not among the other classes, and the father gave his rank to his children, even if their mothers were slaves); the permission, and yet the limitation of usury (the capital could only be doubled by the interest); the punishments of treachery and cowardice in a soldier, of coining base metals, using false measures, weights,

[1] Genesis xliv. 1; xlv. 22.
[2] Diodorus, i. p. 89, 93.
[3] The Cyrenians sent a present of five hundred *mines* in their money to Cambyses, who thought this sum too small. Herod. iii. 13.
[4] Diodorus, i. p. 87, etc.
[5] To Mneves, Asychis, Sesostris, Bochoris. Diodorus, i. 106.
[6] Diodorus, ii. p. 88, sqq.

seals, and forging legal documents, are proofs of this assertion. The single law, which inflicted the same punishment for the murder of a freeman and a slave, gives a proof of an advance in moral civilization which is seldom met with in the nations of antiquity.[1]

This is shown still further by their legal institutions, respecting which Diodorus has preserved many valuable particulars. The kings themselves did not sit as judges, but the administration of justice was left to its proper tribunals, whose sentences were strictly limited by the laws. No counsel were permitted, but every one pleaded his own cause. The accounts of Diodorus[2] are confined to the regulations of the highest court of justice; of the lower courts, of which many must have existed, we know nothing. This tribunal consisted of thirty judges, who were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis; and were paid by the king. That they were taken from the priest caste will scarcely be doubted, if we remember that these three cities were the chief seats of the priesthood, and of their wisdom and learning. These thirty *elected* from among themselves a president, (the king therefore did not appoint him,) whose place was filled up by another from the city to which he belonged. The proceedings in this high court of justice were all transacted in writing, as their great object was to avoid everything that could excite the passions. The prosecutor first sent a copy of his accusation, and specified at the same time the damages he demanded; to which the defendant answered in a similar manner. The prosecutor was at liberty to reply to this in writing, and the defendant might again answer; and after this the court was obliged to pronounce sentence. This likewise was given in writing, and sealed by the president. He, as an emblem of his dignity, wore round his neck a golden chain,[3] to which was attached an image set in precious stones, with a hieroglyphic (ζώδιον); it was called Truth. He was obliged to hang this about him at the beginning of every session. This image, as we are expressly in-

[1] What most surprises us is, that the robbers had also their chief, to whom they gave an accurate account of their depredations; and, upon applying to him, the injured person received back three-fourths of his property. Diod. i. 91. The prostitutes, in like manner, formed a corporation which had a chief; and both these regulations resulted from the strict division into castes. The thieves in Cairo, according to Reynier, etc., have still their principals, who are applied to for the recovery of stolen property. Reynier, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 99.

[2] Diodorus, i. 86, 87.

[3] As our Master of the Treasury.

formed by Diodorus,[1] was the seal which was affixed to the sentence. In all this there is nothing surprising or improbable. A golden chain was given even to Joseph as a sign of honour; and it is often found sculptured on the monuments with some ornament attached to it.[2]

To the observations made in explaining the martial reliefs, there is little to be added respecting the military tactics of the Pharaohs. That the kings themselves commanded their armies, that they appeared in person as brave warriors, has already been remarked. The military art of the Egyptians was similar in many particulars to that of the Greeks, as described in Homer. Neither nation made use of cavalry;[3] their armies consisted of war-chariots and infantry. The war-chariots seem to have borne by far the largest proportion—even to judge from Homer[4]—as whole battles are described in which only chariots are engaged. The greater or smaller figure of the heroes determines their rank. The king, elevated above all, is sometimes designated by the hawk hovering over him; at others, by the serpent, the *uræus,* in his helmet, and sometimes by both. He is also known by having a standard usually carried behind him, which represents the leaf of the *Palma Thebaica.* The splendour of the horses, as well as of their trappings and well-arranged harness, is astonishing; as is also that of their beautifully-formed chariots, seemingly all of metal.[5] Not less remarkable are the close columns and skilful positions of their infantry, just as Xenophon describes them.[6] These positions

[1] Ἐδεῖ τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν τὸ ζώδιον τῆς ἀληθείας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων. On the walls of one of the large halls in the palace of Osymandyas this is sculptured in relief; from which it appears to have been used as a place of meeting for these tribunals. Diodorus, i. p. 58.

[2] As in Belzoni's royal vault, plate i., and particularly in Elephantis, *Descript.* plate xxxvii. vol. i., where Ammon is represented in full dress, with a golden chain, as receiving the chief-justice. The ornament is alone represented, plate xxxvi. 6. It is the god of the sun (Phré) between two animals with women's heads.

[3] Cavalry certainly occurs among their Asiatic enemies, etc. Hamilton, p. 125. *Description,* plate iii. 39.

[4] Il. ix. 382, 383, "Thebes with its hundred gates, sending forth from each two hundred men with chariots and horses." There is great uncertainty with respect to these hundred gates. As Thebes had no walls, it could not have had gates. It may however refer to the gates of the large pylones, to the outlets of the great race-course, or even to the place of review; but the French think the latter impossible, there being but fifty instead of a hundred. The poet nevertheless cannot be censured here on account of the number, as it might be equally difficult to point out the hundred pylones. According to Diodorus, i. p. 55, in the valley of the Nile, between Memphis and Thebes, there were a hundred royal stables, each containing two hundred horses; but this is far from affording a satisfactory explanation, as they were not in the town. Whether we are to consider them as the pylones or gates of palaces, or the entrances to the race-course, must still be left undecided. If, however, we admit that before any great expeditions the army assembled within the city and in the circus, and from its gates issued forth, the poet's description appears justified.

[5] See plate xii. vol. ii.; xxxviii. xxxix. vol. iii.

[6] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. p. 166; vii. p. 177, 179; and compare Hamilton's remarks upon the regularity of the movements in the lines of the Egyptian infantry, (p. 146,) such as is only possible with well-trained troops.

presuppose long and constant training, and therefore could only be introduced in standing armies, or, according to Egyptian custom, in the warrior caste. The manner of attack, of surrounding and outflanking,[1] give evident proofs of advanced skill in tactics. The same skill is also observed in the naval engagements, which proves beyond contradiction that there existed, at least in some periods, a naval power under the Pharaohs.

We have thus endeavoured to sketch a picture of one of the most ancient and powerful states of the world. Our next task is to develop the causes of its splendour, so far as it was built on its industry and trade. This will be attempted in the next chapter; in which our view will be extended over the whole of Egypt.

CHAP. IV. *Commerce and Manufactures.*

IN THAT DAY THERE SHALL BE A HIGHWAY OUT OF EGYPT TO ASSYRIA; AND THE ASSYRIAN SHALL COME INTO EGYPT, AND THE EGYPTIANS INTO ASSYRIA. ISAIAH XIX. 23.

THE attempts made by the Egyptians to hand down to posterity a picture of their arts and manufactures, will be of manifold service in this part of our labour. The tombs at Eilethyia are on this account one of the most interesting discoveries made by the French in Egypt.[2] The painted reliefs on the walls of what is usually called the Sultan's tomb, represent the occupations of daily life, the various branches of husbandry, of fishing, hunting, navigation, and of the business of their markets. We have now made visible to our eyes what we could before but very imperfectly conceive from mere verbal descriptions. We cannot of course expect very detailed pictures; nor must we conclude that they were ignorant of such domestic occupations as we do not happen to find among them. The industry of so civilized a nation is distributed over too many different objects for them all to be represented here. But how various soever the occupations of this people might be, there is no question but that the cultivation of the earth held the highest rank, for husbandry and agriculture were considered the foundation of civilization.

Their agriculture, from the nature of the country, exhibits many peculiarities. It depended on irrigation; and it was

[1] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. *Op.* p. 174.
[2] *Description de l'Egypte*, plates lxi.—lxx. vol. i.

therefore not only limited to certain tracts, but its labours were also confined to a very short proportion of the year: they could not be performed till after the flood, because the soil previous to that is every where parched up and full of chasms from the heat of the sun.[1] When the overflowing of the stream takes place, the water soaks into the ground, softens it, and makes it fruitful. When the water has run off, sowing must immediately follow; because the soil, which is now similar to a drained marsh, soon gets hardened. The seed sown on the moist earth, (for no manure is wanted,) either sinks into it of itself, or is trodden in by cattle driven over it. Neither the plough nor the spade is made use of, except when the soil gets too hard. The plough is often represented: very simple, without wheels, and drawn by oxen, and sometimes by men,[2] and seems to have been used rather for harrowing than turning up the soil. Between sowing and reaping no labour is required. There are very few weeds in Egypt. When they sow in November, the harvest begins in April. The corn is cut with the sickle; often merely the ears, as the straw is of but little value.[3] It is carried from the field in baskets; trodden out by oxen; and the chaff separated from the grain on the floor by sifting. When this is done, the husbandman is at leisure until the next flood. This relief from labour must have produced, in a few years, an incalculable influence on the character of the inhabitants, by enabling them to devote so long a time to their improvement and religious feasts.

We are told of the various kinds of corn they cultivated even before the departure of the Israelites, when it was destroyed by a hail-storm: "And the flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled: but the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up."[4] The wheat and barley harvests are met with on the monuments;[5] that of rye is not easily to be distinguished.[6] As to the flax, we have not only its harvest, but the further process it underwent represented.[7]

The cultivation of cotton was, as we learn from Pliny,[8]

[1] See for this and the following statement, Reynier, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 192, etc. [2] *Descript.* plates lxviii. lxix. vol. i.; xc. vol. ii.
[3] See above, p. 343, note. [4] Exodus ix. 31, 32.
[5] *Descript.* plate xc. vol. ii. The yellow colour of the ears shows it to be intended for wheat. [6] See vol. iii. plate xxvi.; the sheaves which are offered are either barley or rye. [7] Plate lxviii. vol. i.
[8] Plin. xix. 2. Superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem alii gossipium vocant, plures xylina, et ideo lina inde facta xylina, nec ulla sunt candore mollitiave præferenda. Vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ.

quite naturalized in Upper Egypt; though we cannot exactly determine when it was first introduced. But, since we find that the dress of the mummies was chiefly composed of cotton, we are justified in assigning a very early date to its cultivation in Egypt. Whether any traces of it exist on the monuments, particularly in the decorations, I must leave for botanists to decide.

The situation of the valley of the Nile and Delta, which were so abundantly supplied with water, and exposed besides to the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was highly favourable to the cultivation of aquatic plants, which constituted an important part of agriculture, particularly in Lower Egypt. There is a passage respecting this in Herodotus,[1] which is the foundation of all that is now known on the subject: "Those who dwell in the marshes have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians; but to procure themselves easily the means of sustenance, they have devised the following inventions: when the river is full, and the plains are become as a sea, there springs up in the water a quantity of lilies, which the Egyptians call 'lotus.' After they have gathered these, they dry them in the sun; and then, squeezing out what is contained within the lotus, resembling the poppy, they make it into loaves, which they bake with fire: the root also of this lotus, which is round, and of the size of an apple, is edible, and imparts a sweet flavour. There are also other lilies, similar to roses, likewise produced in the river; the fruit of which grows on a separate stem,[2] arising from the side of the root, in shape very like a wasp's comb;[3] in this are found many kernels of the size of an olive-stone; these are eaten green and dried. Of the *byblus*, which is an annual plant, after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part, and employ it for various purposes; the lower part that remains, about a cubit in length, they eat, and offer it for sale; but such as wish to make a very delicate mess of the byblus, stew it in a hot pan, and so eat it."

Herodotus distinguished here two kinds of lilies (κρίνεα) as he calls them, or lotuses. There is no doubt about them; and both are found on the monuments. The one first mentioned is the *Nymphea Lotus;* the other the *Nymphea Nelumbo,*

[1] Herod. ii. 92. [2] Ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένῃ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται. Larcher in his notes proves that this is a second stem, which springs from the root together with another. [3] Κηρίῳ σφηκῶν. The wasps are probably the wild bees. Their combs have holes for the honey, as these lotuses have for the seeds or kernels.

Linn., or *Nelumbium Speciosum*. They are both water-plants: the former is found in abundance in the neighbourhood of Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the water, and is still used, as we are assured by Savary, as an article of food by the inhabitants.[1] The other plant, equally celebrated in India, is, or at least was, found in Egypt. Its fruit, of which not only a drawing, but the original itself,[2] now lies before me, cannot be more clearly and truly described than it has been done by Herodotus. The kernels, similar to those of the olive, lie in the calyx, each in a cavity or cell. Both plants had religious allusions, among others, to the empire of the dead, and therefore we find them portrayed in the catacombs. A most beautiful representation of them is found in the royal vault opened by Belzoni, both in their natural colours, with their stalks and fruits.[3] On the left of the spectator is the *Nymphea Lotus*, and on his right the *Nelumbium*. They often occur in this tomb, and are *always* represented with two stalks of each broken and hanging down: certainly not without some meaning. Their leaves and calyxes are to be seen in every part as ornaments. According to Herodotus, both seem to grow wild. But the *Nelumbium* must also have been cultivated; for in one of the royal sepulchres the harvest of a nelumbo-field, as we are assured by well-informed botanists, is represented.[4] The assertion of Herodotus, that the fruit grows upon a separate stem or stalk, is also confirmed; as two stalks always grow together, one of which bears the fruit. The third plant mentioned by Herodotus is the *byblus*, from which the papyrus was made, and which also served as food. As Herodotus is speaking here of plants of the latter kind, he only alludes to the other uses to which they might be put in a general manner. The byblus is certainly a water-plant, though, according to Theophrastus, it does not grow in deep water.[5] He also mentions its being used for food, as the stalk was chewed for its juice. From Herodotus however we learn that it was also prepared for food in another manner. Botanists must decide whether it occurs on the monuments. That it was manufactured very early in Egypt into papyrus, cannot be doubted, since many papyrus rolls have been found in the catacombs of Thebes; but to fix exactly the time of its invention is now impossible. These rolls prove beyond a doubt,

[1] Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, p. 8, note 9.
[2] From the Collection of Blumenbach.
[3] Belzoni, plate ii.
[4] *Description*, plate xc. vol. ii.
[5] Theophrast. *De Plantis*, iv. 9.

that the literature of Egypt was much richer than could otherwise have been supposed. Besides the religious writings, the custom (so often represented) of drawing up public documents of all public transactions, must have given rise to the formation of archives; and it follows, as a matter of course, that in the imperial palaces, such as that of Osymandyas, there must have been a library, or saloon, set apart for the preservation of the public writings, both religious and political. It is well known that the byblus plant grows also in Europe, though only in one spot, namely, in the rivulet Cyane, near Syracuse, and certainly there in great abundance. It was this circumstance that induced the late Chevalier Landolina to use the pith or pulp of this shrub for the preparation of papyrus,[1] in which undertaking he perfectly succeeded.[2] All the statements of Herodotus have been confirmed by the experiments and researches of this gentleman.

The climate of ancient Egypt did not suit for the growth of the olive; but they cultivated a kind of *sesamum*, which Herodotus calls *syllicyprium*,[3] and the Egyptian kiki, from which they extracted oil. The wine-press, according to Herodotus, was unknown in Egypt,[4] though the use of wine was permitted to the priests, and at certain festivals to the people,[5] who at other times drank a kind of beer made of barley.[6] The grape vine, however, was not totally unknown in Egypt; branches of it, with ripe grapes growing thereon, are found among the architectural ornaments.[7] Both the vintage and the process of pressing the grapes are represented in the paintings of Eilethyia.[8] But the vine at all events could only have been cultivated in a few high-lying districts. Belzoni found it in abundance in Fayoume, about the lake Mœris.[9]

Egypt was destitute both of woods and forests. Except the date-palm and the sycamore, of which the cases of the mummies are made, it had no lofty trees; unless we may include the sacred tree, the persea, which I think sometimes occurs on the monuments.[10]

The breeding and tending of cattle constitute a second prin-

[1] The most accurate accounts of this are found in Bartel's *Letters upon Calabria and Sicily*, vol. iii. p. 50, etc., where also the statements of Theophrastus as to the sweetness and flavour of the sap are confirmed.

[2] Upon this I can give a decided judgment, as I possess specimens both of the ancient and modern papyrus. That prepared by Landolina is rather clearer than the Egyptian.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 94. [4] Ibid. ii. 77. [5] Ibid. ii. 60. [6] Ibid. ii. 77.

[7] *Descript.* plate ii. 9. [8] Ibid. plate lxxviii. vol. i.

[9] Belzoni, *Narrative*, p. 381. [10] Minutoli's *Travels*, tab. xxx.

cipal branch of Egyptian husbandry; but it depended partly on religion, and partly on the situation of the lands.

The influence of religion on the breeding of cattle, seems to have been less than might be expected, where animal idolatry formed so essential a part of the religion of the people. But of the larger domestic animals, the cow is the only one that was considered sacred:[1] the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single beast. The bull, when clean, was a common sacrifice, and is often represented as such on the reliefs.[2] Of the domestic animals, the sheep was sacred in some nomes, and the goat in others.[3] Swine were altogether unclean; though at one festival they were offered to Osiris.[4]

That black cattle formed a principal branch of this occupation, requires no proof, as a whole caste was named from it. They were kept in herds, and appear in this manner on the monuments.[5] The ox was used both for food and agricultural labour; the ploughs are usually represented as drawn by oxen.[6] The buffalo does not occur on the monuments.

That the breeding of horses was not less common in Egypt, is evinced by the monuments. I find no proof that the horse was made use of in husbandry; but it certainly was for carriages, both in peace and war, as it often appears on the monuments; never for riding. To judge from these representations, a most noble breed of horses must have been found in Egypt, as there is even now in the valley of the Nile above Egypt, in Dongola. The breeding of horses was so considerable, that a trade with foreign countries was carried on with them. Solomon obtained the horses for his numerous cavalry from Egypt.[7] How much fancy and splendour prevailed in the harness and trappings, is manifest from the reliefs.[8]

The breeding of asses and mules was always common in Egypt;[9] and from the fragments of the work of Mago, it is clear that the Carthaginians also bred them, consequently they were found over all North Africa.[10]

It has been asserted, that the camel does not occur on the monuments; and thence it has been concluded, that it was not a native either of Egypt or Africa till after the conquest of the

[1] They were sacred to Isis, and never sacrificed.
[2] What was requisite to make them so, is shown by Herod. ii. 38.
[3] Herodotus, ii. 42. [4] Ibid. ii. 47, 48. [5] *Descript.* plate lxviii. vol. i.
[6] *Descript.* plate lxix. vol. i. [7] 2 Chron. ix. 28.
[8] Compare especially *Descript.* plate xii. vol. ii.
[9] Genesis iv. 23; xlvii. 17. Mules occur also on the monuments, etc., Denon, *Voyage*, plate cxxiv. [10] Vol. i. p. 505, 508.

Arabs.[1] But admitting the first assertion to be true, is the latter a necessary consequence? The ass does not appear on the monuments; but are these a manual of zoology? Even the first objection however is contradicted. On the obelisks of Luxor the long necks of camels are often perceived;[2] and that they are heads and necks of camels beyond all question is confirmed by the latest modern traveller.[3] I have remarked in another place, that camel-breeding to a great extent is not to be expected among agricultural, but nomad people; for the camel prospers best by being constantly in the open air. The valley of the Nile, continually exposed to floods, was but little adapted to the rearing of camels; and therefore we need not be surprised at not discovering the camel on the reliefs that represent the husbandry of that valley. Notwithstanding this, it was still known and employed in Egypt. Scarcely any one can be ignorant of the fact, that the tribes of the adjacent Arabia, that the Midianites in particular, made the breeding of camels their chief occupation; that even in the time of Joseph their merchants travelled with their camels into Egypt. Again, in Africa itself the camel was native from the earliest times. Camel-breeding is at this time the chief employment of the Ababdés in the eastern mountain-chain: thence they are brought to the Egyptian markets;[4] and the case was the same in antiquity. The Arabian tribes above Egypt bred them in great numbers; for they sent their cavalry of camels to the army of Xerxes.[5] How then could this useful and necessary animal remain a stranger to the valley of Egypt, when it was bred by the nations that surrounded it?

The nature of the country would not allow the breeding of sheep to be carried on to any great degree in the valley of the Nile. Some were nevertheless bred here: Jacob, at a very early period, drove his flocks into Egypt.[6] On the monuments both single sheep and flocks appear;[7] and it would be superfluous to point out the importance of the ram in the Egyptian worship. But if Egypt herself did not produce all the wool required for her manufactures, she had nations of

[1] So H. Walkenaer, *Recherches Géographiques sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique; Journal des Savants, Février*, 1822, p. 106. Camels nevertheless occur in Egypt, according to Genesis xii. 16.

[2] *Descript.* plate xxxiii. vol. iii. Minutoli, tab. xvi. fig. 1.

[3] Minutoli, *Journey*, p. 293. [4] Particularly to Esneh. Minutoli's *Travels*, p. 276.

[5] Herod. ii. 62, 86, 87. It is evident that this refers to the Arabs above Egypt; for they served under the same commander with the Ethiopians, and Herodotus assures us that the inhabitants of Arabia were not subject to Xerxes.

[6] Genesis xlvii. 1, 17. [7] *Descript.* plate lxviii. vol. i.

shepherds for her neighbours, particularly in Syria and Arabia, who produced it of the very finest quality.

Frequent representations on the monuments show that all kinds of poultry were kept in abundance. The catching of water-birds with nets is also often portrayed.[1]

The monuments of ancient Egypt are, if anything, richer in information respecting the manufactures than respecting the productions of the husbandman. Previously to our obtaining copies of these pictures, nobody could have supposed that the nation had carried them to so high a degree of perfection. The mechanic, by an accurate inspection, may find here an extensive field for new discoveries. We, however, must content ourselves with enumerating and describing the principal branches of their industry. Egypt herself produced the rough materials for many of them; but not for all, nor in such abundance as was required. A considerable portion must have been imported.

Of the different branches, weaving claims our first attention, as it undoubtedly employed a great part of the population. When the prophet wishes to paint the misery that was to befall Egypt and the labouring classes of the people, he mentions the weavers next to the fishermen: "Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave networks, shall be confounded. And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish."[2] According to Herodotus, weaving was the business of men,[3] and therefore not merely a domestic affair, but carried on in large manufactories.[4] It is often represented: the most beautiful specimen of it is given by Minutoli from the tomb of Beni Hassan.[5] "The weaver's loom is fastened to four pegs rammed into the ground; and the workman sits on that part of the web already finished, which is a small chequered pattern of yellow and green. It is observable in many colours of the early Egyptian cloths, that the *byssus* was dyed in the wool before being weaved." These manufactures had attained a wonderful perfection in Egypt even in the time of Moses, of which, among many others, the covers and

[1] *Descript.* plate lxxiv. vol. i. [2] Isaiah xix. 9, 10. According to Gesenius's translation. [3] Herod. ii. 35.

[4] The inscription at Rosetta, *line* 17, 18, where it is said "that the king had remitted two-thirds of the cotton stuffs (*βυσσίνων ὀθονίων*) which were paid by the temples to the treasury," makes it probable that these manufactures belonged to the temples or the priesthood. Ameilhon, *Inscription de Rosette*, sect. 12, 20, conjectures, with some probability, that the temples had a monopoly of the stuffs which were used for the mummies.

[5] Minutoli, plate xxiv. vol. ii. He also represents the twisting of nets. Compare Isaiah xix. 8.

carpets of the tabernacle afford a striking example. They were sometimes made a hundred yards long; and many of them were embroidered with coloured thread or gold wire, by way of ornament.[1] In the time of Joseph costly garments were the most honourable presents that could be made.[2] We need not in this case, however, appeal to dead authorities alone; the monuments speak. Both in the engravings of the work upon Egypt, of the royal tombs of Belzoni, and in those of Minutoli, we see these garments in their splendid colours, as fresh as ever. They are so different and various, that a difference in the stuffs cannot be questioned. Many of them are so fine, that the limbs shine through;[3] others, on the contrary, are coarser. The finer seem rather to be made of cotton than of linen; though a positive decision is impossible from a mere engraving. For the same reason I dare not venture to assert that silk is found amongst them. Both the king and the soldiers are usually dressed in short tunics; but the latter form an exception in the processions; husbandmen and labourers wear merely a white apron; the priests, long garments, often thrown round their shoulders in a fantastical manner. Many of these are white; and many white and red striped; others are starred or flowered; and many exhibit the most splendid colours of the East. The fine garments involuntarily remind us of the Indian muslins; in the dazzling glitter of others silk stuffs seem to be represented. As descriptions, however, can convey but a very imperfect idea of them, I must refer the readers to the last ten plates of the second part of the great work upon Egypt, and to the first five of the Atlas of Belzoni; where the garments of the king and others afford the best specimens.

It is clear from what has been said, that the art of dyeing had made as great progress as that of weaving. The various colours, white, yellow, red, blue, green, and black, are met with in beautiful perfection, but without mixture. Upon the materials used for dyeing, and whether found in Egypt itself, or imported from Babylon and India, I dare not decide. That the Tyrians took part in it is very probable, as it will be presently shown that they had an active establishment at Memphis. From what we have said, then, it is certain that two or three thousand years ago the art of weaving and dyeing was

[1] See Goguet, ii. 86, sqq.; and Gatterer's *Weltgeschichte in ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 65, sqq. [2] Genesis xlv. 22. [3] See in particular the robe of the kings, *Descript.* plate xxxi. vol. ii., and the copper-plates of Belzoni.

brought to an equally high, or even higher, degree of perfection in the East than at present. And from this it naturally follows, that the intercourse and commerce of these nations must have been as great, or greater, than it is now. For is it to be supposed that the arts could have proceeded so far among an isolated people? Did their country alone produce the raw materials and dyes which were necessary to carry them on?

The works in metal rank next to weaving. They carry us back to an age when the use of iron was yet unknown; for so far as we can judge from the colour, which is always green, all implements not of gold or silver were formed of bronze. It has already been remarked, that the war-chariots seem to be entirely made of bronze. Their green colour, their form, the lightness and neatness of the wheels, and their very beautiful ornaments, all prove this very satisfactorily. A great portion of their weapons were likewise of bronze; not only the swords, but also the bows and quivers. Both these and the cutlery represented among the hieroglyphics are always green. Whence did Egypt procure this great quantity of bronze? There were no mines in Egypt from which metal could be obtained. Was it supplied from the Nubian gold mines? Diodorus at least tells us that all the instruments used in them were made of metal.

These, as well as all other instruments and furniture, whether of wood or metal, were formed with so much elegance, and in such great variety, that the Egyptians in this respect rivalled every other nation of antiquity, the Greeks not excepted. Their beds and couches may even now be taken as models.[1] The silver tripods and basins, the neat baskets and spindles of the ladies, as now seen on the monuments, were celebrated in the time of Homer, and are praised by him.[2] Their musical instruments, particularly their harps, surpass our modern ones in the elegance of their shape.[3] The richness and variety which prevail in all these matters, cannot fail to give a high notion of the refinement of their daily and domestic life.

Finally, their earthenware composed an important branch of their manufactures.[4] Egypt produces an excellent clay, which possesses the peculiar quality of giving an agreeable coolness to the water kept in vessels made of it. This earthenware was not only in common use, but was also used in the

[1] *Descript.* plate lxxxix. vol. ii. [2] *Odyss.* iv. 128. [3] Plate xci. vol. ii.
[4] Reynier, *Economie des Egypt.* p. 274. Coptos is said to have been formerly the principal place for its fabrication, as Kuft in its vicinity is at present.

tombs, for the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals; such as the *ibis* and others. The variety and beauty of the shapes into which it was moulded, may be compared with the Grecian: they are also found painted of the most beautiful colours.[1]

The foregoing inquiry respecting the agriculture and manufactures of the ancient Egyptians will serve as the groundwork for an inquiry into their commerce.

Nature seems, by the advantages she has conferred upon Egypt, in its productiveness and geographical situation, to have destined it for one of the most important trading countries of the world. Neither the despotism under which it groaned for centuries, and still groans, nor the continual sanguinary broils and wars of which it was the scene, have ever been able to deprive it altogether of the benefit of these advantages: the decrees of nature may be partially impeded, as regards their execution, but cannot be totally frustrated.

An extensive and lively commerce would most easily, and therefore the soonest, be formed on the banks of large rivers running through countries rich in natural productions. Such streams facilitate the intercourse of the inhabitants; and a lively trade at home, which promotes national industry, is always the surest foundation of national wealth, and consequently of foreign trade. The course of the latter depends, in a great measure, upon exterior circumstances and relations, which cannot always be controlled; but internal commerce, being the sole work of the nation, only declines with the nation itself. The Egyptians dwelt on a river such as here described; the Nile afforded them all these advantages, and history proves that they profited by them. From Elephantis it is navigable without interruption, even during the dry season, through the whole of Egypt; and the navigation against the stream is rendered easy by the north winds which prevail during certain periods of the year.

The ships or boats which they used (they were called *baris*) were built entirely of native materials. They cut boards two yards long from the root of the papyrus, a low tree. The mast was of the same wood, and the ropes of byblus. Herodotus describes the structure of these vessels, and assures us that there were some of them of many thousand pounds burthen.[2]

[1] See *Descript.* plate lxxxvii. vol. ii. and many other plates.

[2] We know them now from the pictures preserved in the tombs of Eilethyia. *Descript. d'Egypt.* plates lxviii.—lxxi. It is here seen that they were impelled both by sails and oars.

The Egyptians very early profited by the advantages which their country offered them. Even in the Mosaic age the ships of the Nile were known and common.[1] But when afterwards the country became every where, particularly on the western side, intersected with canals, navigation remained almost the only convenient way for mutual communication, and was indeed the only one during the floods. The establishment of canals, ascribed to Sesostris, was not, according to the express testimony of Diodorus,[2] designed merely for the extension of the inundation, but for the promotion of the national trade and intercourse. Sailors formed, as has been remarked above, one of the most numerous castes.

The inundation happens during the hot months, when the coolness of the water makes a residence on the river agreeable.[3] According to Herodotus,[4] the Egyptians celebrated every year six general national festivals, all in the cities of Lower Egypt; and it seems that at least one of them, that of Diana or Artemis in Bubastus, fell in this season. The people on this occasion sailed from city to city; and the inhabitants of each successively joining the throng, their number at least increased to 700,000. It could not well be otherwise than that these festivals, during which the people indulged in all kinds of luxury, (for in this single festival of Artemis, according to Herodotus, more wine was consumed than in all the year besides,) should become so many fairs and markets; and these must have very much promoted the internal commerce of Egypt,[5] as has been found to be the case among other nations.

This internal commerce, to which the government paid particular attention,[6] partly by prescribing the forms for the security of loans, partly by regulating the rate of interest, and partly by permitting the creditor to indemnify himself by the property, and not the person, of the debtor; this intercourse, I say, became the parent of foreign trade, by increasing the wealth of the nation. An opinion, however, has been frequently entertained, that the Egyptians were an isolated nation; that carefully shunning all communication with foreigners, and confining themselves within their own country, they were indebted to themselves alone for their civilization.

[1] Exod. ii. 3. According to Michaelis's translation. [2] Diodorus, i. 66.
[3] Maillet, l. c. [4] Herod. ii. 60.
[5] A picture, or at least a sketch of marketing affairs, may be seen at Eilethyia in the purchase of a beast, which is being weighed. *Descript.* ii. p. 64. The same manner of weighing is still in use in Egypt. [6] Diodorus, i. 90.

Though there is some truth in this notion, I yet venture to hope it has been modified and corrected in various instances by the present inquiries.

This notion seems to have arisen from the contempt which the Egyptians (in common with other nations who observed a certain diet and mode of life prescribed by religion[1]) had for foreigners; and in addition to this, because they not only had no navigation on the sea themselves, but sought, previously to the time of Psammetichus, to prevent all foreigners from coming by sea to their country.[2] The causes of these peculiarities, however, seem very evident, and they may be easily accounted for, without having recourse to religious prejudices.

Neither Egypt nor any contiguous part of Africa produces wood fit for building vessels for the sea. We are ignorant where the early Pharaohs built the squadrons which they had on the Arabian Gulf and Indian Sea; probably on the coasts of the latter. The later Pharaohs, who succeeded Psammetichus, and the Ptolemies, could not fit out fleets till they had the command of the Phœnician forests; and it is well known what bloody wars were carried on between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ for the possession of those countries. But we easily perceive, that the Tyrians and Sidonians felt little inclination to make the Egyptians a maritime people, however the latter might have wished it.

One cause why the ancient Egyptians prohibited all access to their country by sea, may be found in the early state of maritime commerce. All the nations who traded on the Mediterranean, were at the same time pirates, whose particular business it was to kidnap men from the coasts. It was therefore natural, that a people who had no vessels with which they could retaliate or oppose them, should allow them on no pretence to land on their coasts.

There are, however, some traces of facts which would lead us to suppose there were occasional deviations from this rule. According to Homer, Menelaus sailed into Egypt; and Diodorus[3] mentions a sea-port, Thonis, to which he assigns a high antiquity. Even the colonies that went from Egypt into Greece, such as that of Danaus and Cecrops, for example, presuppose an acquaintance with navigation; although we

[1] Herod. ii. 77. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 80.

[3] Diodorus, i. p. 23. It is doubtful, however, whether this tradition did not arise from confounding the name in Herodotus. See Herod. ii. 113.

should admit, what indeed seems probable, that they were carried over by Phœnicians.

However this may be, we know, that among the ancients the proportion of trade which a nation possessed could not be estimated from the extent of its navigation and tonnage, as land trade was the most important; and the geographical situation of Egypt afforded it great advantages as soon as a connexion between Africa and Asia, or even between Ethiopia and Northern Africa, became established. Egypt was destined by nature to be the central point of the caravan trade; and such she has continued till the present day, notwithstanding navigation has so much diminished the great extent of over-land trade.

These advantages were certainly peculiar to Egypt, but more particularly to Upper Egypt, or the Thebaid. This country was so situated as to form, at a very early period, one of the most considerable marts for general trade.[1] Placed at the northern extremity of the desert, it became the emporium for the produce of the interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert; and, in addition to this, some of the most ancient and productive gold mines in the world existed close in its neighbourhood.[2]

Thus Egypt enjoyed at the same time the advantage of possessing the commodities most in request, and the greatest facilities for disposing of them. We cannot therefore be surprised that these regions, in which agriculture and commerce flourished for so many centuries, should become the most opulent and powerful in the world—that here should be erected those proud temples under the protection of which this trade was carried on;[3]—and that here should have been built the

[1] The situation of Upper Egypt, in the midst of rich commercial countries, leads us, as Denon truly and elegantly remarks, to imagine them all, as it were, close together. "When we reckon the number of days required for each journey, when we see the means before us of accomplishing those journeys, the distance no longer appears so great, the length of the way seems to vanish. Gidda and Mecca on the Red Sea," continues he, "were neighbouring towns to that in which he resided. India seemed to unite with them. On the other side, the Oases were but three days' journey from us; they were no longer as unknown lands. From oasis to oasis, which are two days' journey distant from each other, we approach Sennaar, the capital of Nubia; and Darfour, which lies on the road, and trades with Tombuctoo. After a forty days' journey to Darfour, it requires but another one hundred to Tombuctoo." Denon, ii. p. 195. These remarks, by a man well acquainted with the East, throw a much clearer light upon the facility of intercourse among the Oriental nations than the most learned commentary could have done. [2] See above, p. 440.

[3] The great importance of this trade of the southern world to those countries by which it was carried on, when favoured by exterior circumstances, as well as its great extent, is shown by an Arabian writer, of the middle ages: "For two centuries, from 1074 to 1280," says Makrizi, (Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii. p. 162,) "the road from Egypt and Asia to Mecca passed through the desert of Æidab. From another quarter came the merchants of India, Yemen, and Abyssinia, by sea to the port of Æidab, (on the Arabian

royal Thebes, the great storehouse and market of the world, and which Homer celebrates as the most flourishing city of his day.[1]

The preceding inquiries make us acquainted with those countries with which Egypt was thus connected; and the roads by which that connexion was kept up with the negro countries and Carthage, as well as with Ethiopia. By this connexion Egypt obtained an immense quantity of the most valuable foreign commodities:[2] from Ethiopia she procured gold, ivory, and slaves;[3] from Arabia incense, and from India spices; Greece and Phœnicia supplied her with wine;[4] and fine salt she procured in abundance from the African deserts.[5] In exchange for these Egypt could give the first and most indispensable necessary of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she attained very early to a high degree of perfection.

These useful productions of Egyptian industry must have had a very extensive sale, as they are frequently mentioned both by Jewish and Greek writers. In the time of Herodotus, Egyptian linen was greatly esteemed by the Greeks;[6] and, according to Scylax, it was one of the articles of the Carthaginian trade on the remotest coasts of Western Africa.[7]

Gulf, 22½° N. Lat.,) and thence traversed the desert to Egypt. The desert was, at this time, always covered with caravans of pilgrims and merchants, journeying to and fro: whole loads of pepper and other spices were often left by the way-side until the return of their owners; and although so many were continually passing, none thought of removing or injuring them. The harbour of Æidab was at that time the most frequented in the world, as well by the vessels of India and Yemen as by the barks which ferried over the pilgrims. Its inhabitants derived immense sums from these sources; they imposed a duty upon every load of meal, and let vessels to the pilgrims which carried them to Gidda and back again; but, after the time above mentioned, its commerce declined, and was finally shifted to Aden and Ormus. Æidab became again a desert, but Ormus, although situated on *a waterless island*, became one of the richest, most splendid, and luxurious towns in the world.

[1] Iliad, ix. 381. [2] See above, page 236.

[3] Herod. iii. 114. A proof of the connexion between Upper Egypt and Nubia is preserved in a remnant of the ancient road, leading from one country to the other. Denon relates: "We advanced to Philæ on a road through the desert. This road is worthy remark, as we saw that it was formerly constructed as a highway elevated, and much used. This district was the only one in Egypt where a great high road was necessary; for as the Nile is not navigable on account of its waterfalls, all merchandise from Ethiopia, going to Philæ, must have been brought by land to Syene, where it was again embarked. The blocks of stone on this road are covered with hieroglyphics; and seem to have been placed there for the gratification of travellers (plate lxvii. 1; lxviii. 1, 2). Another remarkable appearance on this route is the remnant of fortifications, which are built of brick stones, dried by the sun. The base is from fifteen to twenty feet broad; the wall was carried along the valley which borders the road, and ends in rocks and fortresses about three leagues from Syene. The great cost of such a building is a proof of the importance attached to the defence of this spot." Denon, ii. 79. Lancret, *Mémoire I.* in *Description d'Egypte*, gives a still more accurate description of this road. It seems originally to have been founded for the pilgrims to Philæ; but where in the East do these pilgrimages exist without trade?

[4] Herod. iii. 6. [5] Arrian, *De Expedit. Al.* iii. 4. [6] Herod. ii. 105. The λίνον here mentioned must be linen, and not cotton stuff, as it is opposed to the λίνον of the Colchians, where no cotton could be expected. [7] Scylax, p. 129.

It is probable that the Tyrian dyes first gave the full value to these articles: proofs at least are found, that carpets and garments were the principal goods imported by the Tyrians from Egypt.[1]

We have already observed that the Tyrians had a settlement at Memphis; Herodotus places it near the sanctuary (τέμενος) of Proteus, within which stood a temple dedicated to the hospitable Aphrodite.[2] It was called the camp of the Tyrians, and was an establishment for trade under the protection of a sanctuary, similar to one which will presently come under our notice, formed by the Greeks at Naucratis.

The corn trade was of no less importance to Egypt than her manufactures. This country, even in its infancy, appears to have been the granary of all the adjacent countries, which, by the nature of their soil, were ill adapted for agriculture. An unproductive harvest in Egypt caused, in Jacob's time, a scarcity of corn in Syria; and as soon as it was known that the Egyptians had stored up corn from former harvests, caravans were sent thither to supply the deficiency.[3] Arabia, also, had its corn from Egypt; and it was on this account that the Egyptians endeavoured to connect the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, by means of a canal. This trade must have become still more regular and extensive, when Egypt had secured its fruitfulness by digging the lake Mœris; a failure, at least in Lower Egypt, being rendered thereby physically impossible. It ought not to be thought surprising, that less notice is taken of this in the more early periods than in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans: the exportation was at that time by land; and it is in the nature of land trade to be less conspicuous than that by sea, and indeed the less so the more regular it is in its course. May not our knowledge of the African caravan trade be considered, to a certain extent, as a discovery of modern times? and yet it stands incontrovertible, that it has continued, with but few alterations, for many centuries. How important and necessary this trade must have been for Egypt, may be proved from an example quoted by Aristotle, in which an attempt to interdict the exportation of corn rendered the payment of the public taxes impossible.[4] There is scarcely another

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 7. See the translation of Michaelis.

[2] Herod. ii. 112. ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης. See also at Cythera, i. 105. Was it Astarte or another Phœnician goddess?

[3] Genesis xlii. 5. See the translation and remarks of Michaelis.

[4] Aristot. *De Re Famil.*, *Op.* ii. 395.

country in the world where the fertility of the soil, the little labour required, the certainty of produce, and the profit derived from exportation, concur in so great a degree to stimulate the inhabitants to agriculture; and where its promotion and protection were so evidently the best policy of the ruling class.

Notwithstanding this extensive trade, both in foreign and native commodities, it does not appear that the Egyptians ever themselves exported their wares. Local circumstances were the cause of this. The geographical situation of Egypt rendered it the great thoroughfare of commerce, as the great trading routes from South Africa and Asia ran through it; and its own native productions, moreover, were of such a kind, that they were not compelled to carry them to a foreign market, but might quietly wait till necessity drove purchasers to fetch them. I must here likewise call the reader's attention to a remark I have elsewhere made,[1] that the African caravans were chiefly composed of nomadic shepherds, who were employed as carriers, and not of the inhabitants of cities, or of people who had fixed habitations. It is known that Egypt still remains the principal seat of the caravan trade; yet but very few of its inhabitants form part of those travelling communities, which are chiefly composed of the nomad tribes of interior Africa.

This was the state of Egyptian trade, so far as we can discover, and the state in which it continued during the flourishing period, without any great changes, down to the time of Psammetichus. He, however, began them even during the dodecarchy, and while he resided at Sais, by throwing open Lower Egypt to the Phœnician and Greek merchants: the products of the latter countries were advantageously exchanged for the manufactures of Phœnicia and Greece, whereby he could not fail to obtain both treasures and friends in foreign countries.[2] The conquests of the Egyptians, however, and particularly their almost uninterrupted wars with the commercial cities of Phœnicia, must have been rather disadvantageous than otherwise: history, however, is entirely silent on the subject.

The whole internal commerce of Egypt, however, underwent an entire change in the reign of Amasis. This prince, who was a great admirer of the Greeks, and much given to luxury and rioting,[3] opened at last to foreign merchants the

[1] See above, p. 88. [2] Diodorus, i. p. 77. [3] Herod. ii. 173, 178.

mouths of the Nile, which had so long been barred against them: a concession which led to important changes in the moral and political character of the nation.

Naucratis, a city of Lower Egypt, situated on the Canopian arm of the Nile, near whose mouth Alexandria was afterwards erected, was assigned to such Greek merchants as wished to settle in Egypt.[1] The commercial states of Greece were, at the same time, permitted to found temples in certain places for the accommodation of their travelling merchants, and which might also serve as staples and marts for the merchandise which they should send into Egypt.

The endeavours of the Greeks, particularly those of Asia Minor, to profit by this privilege, and their competition, give the surest proof of its importance. The principal and largest of these sanctuaries, which was called Hellenium, was founded in common by nine Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor; namely, by the Ionian colonies of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; by the Doric colonies of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and by the Æolian colony of Mitylene.[2] Many other towns afterwards claimed the credit of having taken a share in it, but Herodotus expressly assures us, that these claims were without foundation. The Æginetæ erected besides a particular temple for themselves and their trade, which they dedicated to Jupiter; the Samians another, consecrated to Juno;[3] and the Milesians another, consecrated to Apollo.

Amasis at first only granted this permission to the Greeks, under such restrictions as prudence seemed to require. Their vessels were only allowed to enter the Canopian arm, and they were obliged to land at Naucratis. If a ship happened to enter another mouth, it was detained; and the captain was not set at liberty, unless he could swear that he had been compelled to do so by necessity. He was then obliged to sail to Naucratis; or, if continual north winds made this impossible, he had to send his freight in small Egyptian vessels round the Delta (more inland) to Naucratis.[4] However rigidly these restrictions were originally enforced, they must soon have fallen into disuse, as the mouths of the Nile were open to any one after the conquest of the Persians.

[1] Herod. ii. p. 179. [2] Ibid. ii. p. 178.

[3] Samos was at that time under the dominion of Polycrates, the friend and ally of Amasis, and one of the richest states. Herod. iii. 39. We have also here an example of another sort, of how usual the custom was in antiquity to make sanctuaries the privileged repositories of commerce. [4] Herod. ii. 179.

The Egyptians soon felt the good effects of this liberality. Every part of Egypt enjoyed more prosperity than it ever had done before; and the reign of Amasis was regarded as one of the happiest which had blessed the land. The dead capital, which must have accumulated by a long trade with the gold countries, was now put in motion; the new wares imported by the Greeks gave rise to new wants; and as a new market was now opened, new branches of industry naturally sprung up. This change in their trade, however, had the most striking effect in the extension and improvement of agriculture. "The Egyptians," we are told by Herodotus,[1] "had never before turned to so good account the produce of their fields:" a natural consequence of the quick and certain sale which they now found for their corn in the different countries of Europe and Asia. Amasis himself promoted this activity by wise regulations; by one of which he obliged every citizen under a heavy penalty to give yearly an account to the chief of his district, of the means by which he obtained his livelihood.[2]

Egypt certainly, in some measure, purchased this prosperity by the sacrifice of her national character. The Greek merchants and their agents, who now formed a separate and respectable caste, under the name of interpreters, whose origin I have already explained,[3] now spread over every part of Egypt; and introduced, with their Greek wares, Greek manners and ideas. A change of this sort, however, in the common course of affairs, must soon have taken place even without the intervention of Amasis: the Egyptians could scarcely have preserved their former government and manners after they had begun, by conquests and treaties, to come into political contact with foreign nations. But though the comparison of the Egyptian and Greek deities might cause some change in religious notions, the deeply rooted institutions of castes was a strong barrier against the introduction of novelties.

The Persian invasion must necessarily at first have had an unfavourable influence on Egyptian commerce, particularly that carried on over land. Cambyses directed his arms exactly against those places which we know to have been the principal seats of the caravan trade, against Ammonium and Ethiopia; and though his bad success made this interruption

[1] Herod. ii. 177.
[2] Ibid. l. c. It was the revival of a more ancient law: see above, p. 439.
[3] See above, p. 334.

only temporary, yet the re-establishment of the ancient course became difficult in proportion as it had been regular before.

As soon, however, as the first storms had subsided, Egypt seems to have revived very rapidly; particularly under the mild government of Darius. The yearly tribute which he imposed on this country, and towards the payment of which the neighbouring Libya, Barca, and Cyrene contributed, amounted to no more than seven hundred talents.[1] To this must be added the corn required for the maintenance of the Persian garrison at Memphis,[2] and the fishing of the lake Mœris, which produced, during the six months that the waters of the Nile receded, a talent a day, and during the other six about one third of that sum.[3] The Egyptians always bore a grateful remembrance of this prince, notwithstanding their frequent revolts against the Persians.[4]

When Herodotus visited Egypt, about thirty years after the death of Darius, the trade with the interior of Africa and with Ethiopia had again revived. Any one at this time could acquaint him with the commercial roads which led through Libya and to Meroë. He moreover enumerates the chief articles of trade which were imported at this period from the southern countries, as well as the productions of Ethiopia.[5] Egypt found a full equivalent for any loss she might have sustained in this land trade: it was fully made up to her by her maritime trade with the Greeks; which was less exposed to interruption, and must have increased in activity in proportion as the hatred felt by both nations against the Persians brought them more frequently into contact, and strengthened their connexion.

The Persian dominion, taken altogether, was not hurtful to commerce, though it occasioned some few deviations from its usual course in Asia.[6] The Phœnician towns lost nothing of their splendour under its sway; it made the people of Asia better acquainted with one another; and the lively intercourse to which it gave rise must, in consequence of the constant

[1] About 24,000*l.* of our money.

[2] Herod. iii. 91. 120,000 men were quartered in Memphis: Herod. l. c. Garrisons were besides placed in the fortified places on the frontiers, at Syene, Marea, and Daphne, (Herod. ii. 30,) whose strength we do not know; and, besides, Herodotus does not say whether they were maintained by the Egyptian or not. [3] Herodotus, ii. 149.

[4] But after the first revolt of the Egyptians under Xerxes, they were treated much more harshly than the Persians, Herod. vii. 7, which occasioned the rebellion of Inarus. It is much to be regretted that Herodotus has left us so little upon the latter regulations of the Persian government in Egypt. [5] Herodotus, iii. 114.

[6] See upon this subject my second disquisition upon ancient India, *De Viis Mercaturæ Indicæ*, Comment. Soc. Gott. vol. xi.

connexion between Egypt and Asia, have benefited the trade of that country. But the downfal of the Persian empire affected Egypt far beyond this: it gave rise to an entirely new order of things, the exposition of which must be reserved for the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. V. *Decline and Fall of the Empire of the Pharaohs.*

EGYPT IS LIKE A VERY FAIR HEIFER; BUT DESTRUCTION COMETH; IT COMETH OUT OF THE NORTH. JEREMIAH XLVI. 20.

IT may seem surprising that Egypt, which we have represented as enjoying, in some respects, its greatest happiness under its last, or last king but one, Amasis, should at the same time be so fast approaching its fall. But the happy period of a nation, so far as it depends on the wealth and well-being of the people, is not always the period of its courage and vigour. The throne of the Pharaohs had been long tottering; and had been brought into this state by a series of causes very different in their nature and operation.

We have placed the end of the splendid period of the Pharaohs at about 800 B. C.; and must return to those times in order to trace out these causes. Some time during the next century, probably about half way between 800 and 700 B. C., the conquest of Egypt by Sabaco the Ethiopian, and his two successors, Seuechus and Tirhaco, took place, in which Thebes and Upper Egypt were included, if not the whole of Egypt; though the two contemporary dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus continued in Lower Egypt.[1]

The Ethiopian dominion, which endured fifty years, seems to have laid the foundation of that general change in the affairs of Egypt which soon after took place under Psammetichus. For although, according to the tradition of the priests, the preceding king, who is said to have concealed himself for fifty years in the marshes, regained the throne; yet Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, soon afterwards usurped the government; and, by uniting in himself the dignity of high priest and king, materially changed the former constitution. He moreover exasperated the warrior caste by seizing their lands; and as they refused to serve him, he would have been unable to repel the

[1] The twenty-second and twenty-third of Manetho. The numerous rulers at that time in Egypt is confirmed by Isaiah xix. 13. The Zoan mentioned there is Tanis; the Noph, Memphis of Gesenius's Comment.

expedition marching against him under the victorious banners of the Assyrian conqueror, Sanherib, or Sennacherib, which is mentioned by Jewish annalists, had not a pestilence, which broke out in the army of the Assyrians, obliged them to retreat.[1]

That at this period the affairs of Egypt were in a very troubled and stormy state, we may conclude with certainty from the oracles of the first of the Jewish prophets. The predictions of Isaiah against Egypt, which form the subject of the whole of the nineteenth chapter, were delivered about this period, whether a few years later or earlier be fixed upon as the date.[2] Egypt is threatened both with physical and political miseries, with war, and the rod of tyrants.

Powerful convulsions, therefore, must have distracted Egypt at this period, of which history only mentions the result: namely, that the Egyptians shook off the yoke of Sethos, and instituted a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular part of Egypt was allotted. It is very probable that this division was made according to the former division of the land into nomes; although we cannot adopt the opinion of a modern critic, who says that this was the exact number of nomes which existed at that time.[3] According to the few and obscure accounts of the priests, given by Herodotus, it seems that these dodecarchi were taken from the warrior caste; it was evidently intended, however, that they should be subservient to the authority of the sacerdotal college, and the chief priest at its head. This plan was soon afterwards abolished by Psammetichus, to whom the dominion over Sais in Lower Egypt had been given; for by the assistance of Greek mercenaries he expelled the other rulers, and made himself sole master of Egypt.

Psammetichus thus re-established the fallen throne of the Pharaohs, and his reign forms an epoch in Egyptian history. From the time he obtained the sole dominion to the Persian invasion under Cambyses, Herodotus reckons one hundred and thirty years.[4] Egypt, during the whole of this period, continued without interruption one empire, and kept up a constant

[1] Herodotus, ii. 141, 142.

[2] Respecting the chronological difficulties, see the researches of Gesenius upon this chapter, already quoted.

[3] De Pauw, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 324.

[4] The succession of kings in Herodotus is as follows: *Psammetichus;* he reigned after the fifteen years of the dodecarchy, thirty-nine years († 617 B. C.); *Necho* sixteen years; *Psammis* six years; *Apries* twenty-five years; *Amasis* forty-four years; *Psammenit* a year and a half. Necho and Apries (Pharaoh Hophra) are also mentioned in the Chronicles and Prophets; cf. 2 Kings xiii. 29, etc.; Jeremiah xliv. 30. Diodorus, i. p. 106, according to his usual custom, only names individual kings, Psammetichus, Apries, (whom he places four generations after Psammetichus,) and Amasis.

connexion with foreign nations, both Greek and Asiatic. It numbered among its rulers some mighty princes, who became both warriors and conquerors, and even with very happy consequences formed Egypt into a maritime power. The obscurity, therefore, which hovers over the early history of this country becomes gradually dispelled; and the accounts of Herodotus, who himself tells us that they only here begin to possess a higher degree of historical credibility,[1] become the more authentic, because we can compare them with those of the Jewish annalists, who in their chronicles frequently refer to Egypt and its kings, with whom that people was by various relations closely connected.

But though the throne was re-established, and the unity of the empire restored, it no longer retained its former power. The manner of its restoration by foreigners gave birth to a series of events which decided the subsequent fate of the empire. The very elements which ought to have constituted its strength, brought on its weakness and overthrow.

Psammetichus, having acquired the sole dominion by the aid of Phœnician, Greek, and Carian mercenaries, but more particularly the latter two, was naturally considered as an usurper by a great part of the nation: he had consequently to struggle with a powerful party, and was obliged to keep those foreigners in pay to maintain the authority which he had acquired by their assistance. The Greek soldiers were presented with lands in Egypt, and formed a colony near Bubastus, in one of the nomes in which the Egyptian warrior caste had resided.[2] This Greek settlement was one of the chief causes of the great change which now took place in Egypt. The Egyptian warrior caste, who were most injured by these foreigners, were naturally their bitterest enemies: their lands had been already taken from them by Sethos; and they were now exasperated by seeing foreigners preferred to, or placed on an equal footing with them.[3]

They preferred emigration to subjection. Psammetichus vainly endeavoured to stop them; the greater part expatriated themselves from Egypt and settled in Ethiopia.[4] It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this must have greatly diminished the strength of the nation, whose whole armed force had consisted of this caste alone.

[1] Herod. ii. 147, 152. He refers to the agreement between Egyptians and foreigners.
[2] Herod. ii. 152, 154; Diodorus, i. p. 77.
[3] Herod. ii. 30; cf. Diodorus, i. p. 78.
[4] See above, p. 329.

The Greek auxiliaries were from this time considered as the sinews of the Egyptian armies; they formed indeed the body-guard of the king. They retained their settlement in Bubastus (where the remains of their dwellings existed in the time of Herodotus) until the reign of Amasis, who caused them to remove, for the protection of his person, to Memphis.[1] It is probable, as they formed the principal support of the royal power, that they had a decided influence in the affairs of Egypt.

Both Psammetichus and his successor usually lived at Sais. Psammetichus was deeply indebted to the inhabitants of this town, who had restored him from exile,[2] before the institution of the dodecarchy; and he probably resided here for security, as the Greek mercenaries were not far distant. His successors moved nearer the sea, as that situation better suited their political views.

Notwithstanding this change Memphis was always considered as the capital of Egypt, and appears in that character at the Persian conquest, and even under the Ptolemies, as is shown by the inscription at Rosetta. Psammetichus seems to have paid much court to the priesthood, after the emigration of the warrior caste; and testified his friendship by resuming the building of the temple of Phtha, which had been neglected by his predecessors.[3] He built at Memphis the southern propylea, and opposite this a splendid aula and portico for the habitation of Apis.

The ambition of conquest displayed by the Egyptian kings throughout this period is remarkable: it formed at other times no part of the general character of the nation, but seems to have been called forth by the valour of the Greek mercenaries, and the success of their arms. Psammetichus and all his successors seem to have been animated with this feeling, which prepared the way for the destruction of their dynasty.

Both from the narrative of Herodotus and the Jewish annalists it is clear, that one leading object was hereditary, as it were, among them: the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia. The rich commercial cities of these countries, where for centuries the treasures of the world had been heaped together, proved too great a temptation to be resisted. They in some measure effected their object; but their mania for conquest was punished in the usual manner, by other enemies equally ambitious and

[1] Herod. l. c. [2] Ibid. ii. 152. [3] Ibid. ii. 153.

more powerful than themselves. The traditions of the expeditions and victories of the ancient Pharaohs, which they saw represented on the walls of their temples and palaces, probably stimulated them to these undertakings. But the situation of affairs was no longer the same. When the former undertook their expeditions, there was no powerful empire in the west of Asia; but victorious nations now dwelt here, ready to repel every invader.

Psammetichus himself made a beginning by besieging Azotus, a frontier town of Syria. He conquered it at last; but not till after many unsuccessful attempts, which occupied altogether twenty-nine years; for we cannot well imagine one siege, though turned to a blockade, to have lasted so long.[1] His son and successor, Necho, made a more rapid and more successful progress. He defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, captured Jerusalem, and overran Syria as far as the Euphrates.[2] He lost all these conquests, however, as rapidly as he had gained them. After the fall of the Assyrian power, a new conquering empire, the Chaldæan-Babylonian, arose in Central Asia, and, under its ruler Nebuchadnezzar, arrived at a high, though transitory pitch of greatness. The Egyptian and Babylonian conquerors met at Circesium, where a single battle not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests, but laid open their country to the danger of a hostile invasion.[3]

One of the first and most important consequences of these foreign conquests was the establishment of a navy. The Phœnician commercial towns were sea-ports, and the Egyptian kings must have soon discovered that these could not be overcome without fleets. Necho, therefore, resolved to have one; and prosecuted the formation of it with so much vigour, that greater results might have been expected from it. He built a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, and these he intended to join by means of a canal from one sea to the other.[4]

This undertaking, which at the first glance we should suppose would necessarily alter the general course of trade, was only half executed by Necho; but seventy years later it was completed by Darius the son of Hystaspes. Herodotus, who

[1] Herod. ii. 157.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. Herodotus (ii. 159) mentions also the conquest of Jerusalem, which he calls *Cadytis*.

[3] Compare the description of this battle as given by Jeremiah, xlvi., and the remarks of Michaelis. It seems that it led to an invasion of Egypt by the victors.

[4] Herod. ii. 158, 159.

saw this canal after it was finished, and who has described its direction, proves, by his statement, the incorrectness of all later writers, who assert that Darius abandoned the undertaking because he heard the Red Sea was higher than the Mediterranean, and that it was completed by Ptolemy the Second.[1]

The purpose for which it was cut, as well as other circumstances, show that it was originally intended for vessels of war rather than trade; for it was made sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail abreast.[2] It began immediately above the town Bubastus, and winding southwards till beyond Memphis, took its course thence near the great stone quarries, and joined the Red Sea. Natural obstacles, particularly the dangerous navigation of the upper parts of the Red Sea, were probably the chief reasons why it had so little influence upon commerce; for even in the period of the Ptolemies, when it must have been navigable, a caravan road was made a little more to the south from Coptos to the Red Sea, and the vessels coming from the southern seas went no farther than Myos Hormos.

The maritime power of the Egyptians ceased with their possessions in Asia. Apries employed a fleet in his war against the Phœnicians, and conquered Sidon;[3] but it afterwards fell into decay, and in Herodotus's time only some remnants of the vessels were left.[4]

The rebellion of the Egyptians against Apries, after his unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, which raised Amasis to the throne, sufficiently evinces that the extravagant projects of their kings were but little in unison with the feelings of the people. The consequence of this rebellion was a war between the Egyptians and the mercenaries,[5] in which the latter were defeated, and Apries soon after lost his life. Amasis, under whom Egypt is said to have enjoyed its greatest happiness, preferred peace to the splendour of conquests, and died just in time to escape being a witness to the capture of Egypt by Cambyses.

The causes, therefore, which led to the downfal of the Pharaohs will be immediately understood from what we have said. After the Ethiopian conquest and the usurpation of Sethos, their throne, which had been founded on the unity of the priest and warrior castes, never recovered its former stability. After

[1] Strabo, p. 1157, where will be found collected, in the notes, the testimony of other writers. The traces of many canals running from the eastern branch of the Nile are still visible; they unite, however, together near Belbeis. It is very well known that one of the first operations of the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt by Omar, was to open the canals, that Arabia might be supplied with corn from Egypt.

[2] Herod. ii. 158, 159. [3] Ibid. ii. 161. [4] Ibid. ii. 159. [5] Ibid. ii. 169.

the defection and emigration of the latter, the nation was left without succour. Foreigners, whom she hated, were called in to protect her. These strangers were employed in foreign wars and conquests, which the nation disliked; and these wars and conquests miscarried. Dislike broke out into open rebellion; the ruling dynasty was overthrown: a bold adventurer seized the crown; he favoured foreigners, and enriched Egypt thereby; but he at the same time excited the rapacity of conquerors. What had Egypt to oppose them with but an undisciplined mob?

Various causes are assigned for the Persian invasion; but whatever its pretext, the true cause was a hankering after the riches and good things of Egypt. A single battle and a ten days' siege of the capital, Memphis, decided the fate of the whole country.[1]

It is well known that excessive cruelty towards the priests, and the destruction and pillage of the temples, are imputed to Cambyses. The difference between the religious worship of the Persians and Egyptians is not often considered as the cause of this proceeding, and of the national hatred of the Egyptians against the Persians, and their frequent revolts, which do not seem to accord with their general character, if we may judge of it from their conduct towards the Ptolemies.

A more correct notion may be formed of all this by considering the whole conduct of the Persians in Egypt as a struggle, not so immediately directed against religious opinions and usages, as against the aristocratic body of the Egyptian priests; although it is impossible to separate one entirely from the other. Under the reigns of the latter Pharaohs, the Egyptian priest caste was certainly no longer what it had been; but its political influence, though weakened, was not destroyed. Both Psammetichus, and more particularly Amasis, had treated them with the greatest consideration, and testified their veneration by the building of new temples, or by extending and decorating those already erected.[2] They still formed the noble class of the nation; and they still continued to possess the learned sciences, and the same high offices of state which they had held formerly. The interests, therefore, of the ruling caste and of the foreign conquerors must have clashed; and the profanation of the temples and

[1] Herod. iii. 11, 13. [2] Ibid. ii. 175, 176.

deities was a consequence of this political animosity. But the accounts respecting this are probably exaggerated, as all we know of Cambyses' character is drawn entirely from the statements of the Egyptian priests, who were his enemies. We are but imperfectly acquainted with the history of the succeeding revolts of the Egyptians against the Persians; and of their origin, and of the means by which the people were stirred up, we know nothing whatever. But that the priests were the principal movers seems evident from the fact, that after the re-establishment of the Persian monarchy in Egypt they were punished for it.[1]

A theocracy in itself bears the seeds of its own destruction, if the authority of the priesthood declines, and the troops withhold their obedience. Both happened in Egypt; and neither the swords of the mercenaries, nor the treasures of the people, were able to uphold the throne of the Pharaohs.

[1] Diodorus, ii. p. 112. When Artaxerxes had driven away Nectanebus, and brought Egypt again under his authority, the persecution of the priests began. Their temples were pillaged, and even their sacred books taken from them; these, however, according to Diodorus's account, they got permission through Bagoas to redeem by the payment of a large sum of money.

APPENDIX.

I. *Aristotle upon the Carthaginian Government.*

(Aristot. Politica, ii. 11.)

The government of the Carthaginians seems to have been admirably adjusted, and in many things superior to others. This is especially the case in those matters in which it agrees with the Spartan. For these three governments, the Spartan, Cretan, and Carthaginian, bear a resemblance to one another, and are very different from all others: many of their institutions are excellent. But a proof of this being a well-constituted government is, that the people continued within the limits assigned them, without any act of sedition worth notice, nor did the government become tyrannical. The Carthaginian government also had, like the Spartan, common tables for the associates: it also resembled it in having its council of one hundred and four, similar to the Ephori at Sparta, but superior to it; for every one might attain to this dignity at Sparta, but at Carthage only the most worthy were elected. Again, the kings and the gerusia resembled those of Sparta, but were again superior; as the kings are not chosen from one family, neither from every one. But distinguished merit is preferred (and justly) to age and every other claim. For as the kings have the management of the most important affairs, it cannot fail to be hurtful to choose men to that dignity who have not the capacity fitted for it; the state of Sparta has already suffered from this cause. Most of the faults common to the above-mentioned governments have sprung from deviations (from the legal forms). With respect, however, to those principles which pertain to an aristocracy or republic, some of them incline towards a democracy, but others to an oligarchy. For the king and the senators have the power to determine respecting those matters upon which they are unanimous, whether they shall be brought before the people or not; but where they do not agree the matter is referred to the people. And upon what is thus brought before the people, they have the power not only to decide, but every one is free to speak against it, which is not allowed in other governments. But the *pentarchies*, who many and great affairs have to transact, choose one another, and also the council of the hundred, who form the highest magistracy; they also continue longer in office than any others, (for it commences before they enter into that office, and continues after they leave it,) and in this the government is oligarchic. As, however, they serve without pay, and are not elected by lot, and whatever else may be of this kind, is aristocratic. So also is the determining of all causes by the same magistrates, and not different causes before different tribunals, as is the case at Lacedæmon.

The Carthaginian government also leans, as many believe, in one respect towards an oligarchy; because it is there conceived that the magistrates should not be chosen merely on account of their personal merit, but also according to their property; for they say it is impossible for the needy to govern well and find sufficient leisure. Now because the choice according to property is oligarchic, and that according to personal merit aristocratic, there arises among the Carthaginians a third (middle) class of government; for they look to both these points in their choice, especially of the highest magistrates, their kings and generals. This degeneration of the aristocracy must be considered as a defect in the legislation; for it is highly necessary to see at the first, that the most worthy have leisure (for the affairs); and may do nothing indecorous either as

magistrates, or as private persons. If, on the other hand, it be necessary to look to affluence for the sake of obtaining leisure, it is (still) a fault, as the highest offices, the dignity of king and general, are venal. For this custom raises wealth above personal merit, and makes the whole commonwealth given to avarice. For that which the ruling classes hold to be honourable, will necessarily be so in the opinion of the other citizens. Where, however, merit is not especially honoured, it is impossible for an aristocracy to be firmly established. It is to be expected that those who purchase the magistracy will endeavour to enrich themselves by it; for it is absurd to suppose, that if a man, who is poor and worthy, be willing to enrich himself, that a depraved man, after the expenses he has incurred, should not be willing to do the same. Hence it is necessary that those should rule who are able to govern aristocratically. But it would have been better if the legislator had passed over the poverty of worthy men, and had paid attention to the leisure of those who hold offices. It would also seem to be a bad thing that one and the same person should hold several offices, which by the Carthaginians is held honourable; for one business is best performed by one person. The legislator, therefore, should have a care to this, and not appoint the same person to be a piper and cobbler. Where, then, the commonwealth is not small, it is more politic and more popular to permit many persons to have a share in the government; for it is better and more usual, as has been already said, that one thing should be done by one person; it is also executed more rapidly. This is also evident in many things pertaining to the army and navy, in which every one, as I may say, is commander, and, in his turn, under command. As the government of the Carthaginians inclines to the oligarchical, they avoid the bad effects of it, as they always enrich a portion of the people whom they appoint to the government of the cities. For they thereby escape the evil and make their government lasting. This is certainly a chance means; but states should by the laws be secure from seditions; but now, if an adverse fortune takes place, and the people revolt from their rulers, the law affords no remedy by which peace may be restored. In this manner, therefore, the celebrated governments of the Cretans, Spartans, and Carthaginians are carried on.

II. *Commercial Treaty between Rome and Carthage, concluded in the year* 509 B. C.[1]

(From Polyb. i. p. 434.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*,[2] unless compelled by bad

[1] I subjoin the following extracts,—which we might call Carthaginian records,—not merely because I have so often referred to them in these inquiries, but, rather, because I believe they illustrate much better the spirit of Carthage, than a long-winded commentary would do. The first two are also highly important in Roman history. They relate to the younger days of Rome, ere this city had even subjugated the whole of Latium; the first treaty was concluded a year after the expulsion of the kings, and the other one hundred and sixty-one years later. They both show us Rome in a somewhat different character from what Livy and other historians are wont to represent it.

[2] The *Fair Promontory* is accurately pointed out by Polybius himself to be the promontory lying north of Carthage, (τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους.) and cannot, therefore, well be any other than that which is elsewhere called the *Promontorium Hermæum*. (Compare the treatise of Heyne, in *Opusc.* ii. p. 47, where the other passages are collected, upon which some wished to decide upon another situation.) The authority of Polybius in this case is certainly superior to later writers. The sense therefore is, "The Romans shall not sail to the south of this promontory, along the coast of the Carthaginian territory, towards the Lesser Syrtis;" where a number of cities, and the most beautiful and fertile part of their possessions, especially in Byzacium, were situated. It is thus explained by Polybius, and this explanation will seem so much the more probable, if what has been already said be borne in mind, that just in these districts were the staples for the trade in Inner Africa. The only difficulty in this passage arises from the cities of *Tarseium* and *Mastia* being named in the *second* treaty together with this promontory. Now no cities of this name are known in the territory of Carthage, but only in the south-west of Spain, near Tartessus. (See Steph. *de Urb.* under Ταρσήιον and Μάστια.) But supposing that these cities are here meant, it does not then follow, that the Fair Promontory was situated near them, and to be sought for in Spain; (for Heyne, *Opusc.* i. p. 61, has already very properly remarked, that the words of Polybius, πρόσκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ καλῷ ἀκροτηρίῳ Μάστια καὶ Ταρσήιον, must not be translated, "but near the Fair Promontory lies Mastia and Tarseium," but rather, "to the Fair Promontory *is added* Mastia and Tarseium;") but the sense would then be, "beyond the Fair Promontory, on the one side, namely, towards the east, and beyond the cities of Mastia and Tarseium on the

weather or an enemy. And in case that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase anything, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice. They shall depart within five days. The merchants that shall offer any goods to sale in Sardinia, or any part of Libya, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the scribe and crier; and the public faith shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of these officers. If a Roman lands in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, he shall suffer no wrong or violence in anything. The Carthaginians shall not offer any injury to the people of *Ardea*, *Antium*, *Laurentium*, *Circeii*, *Terracina*, or any other people of the Latins that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction. Nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the Latins that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in its entire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortress in the Latin territory; and if they land there armed they shall not remain there a night.

III. *Second commercial Treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage, in the year* 348 B. C.

(From Polyb. i. p. 437.)

Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians,[1] Uticeans, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions. The Romans shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffic, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not subjected to the Romans, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If the Carthaginians shall make any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the subjects of their empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports; in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim and set them free. The same condition shall also be observed by the Romans; and if a Roman lands, in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart, without offering any violence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the public cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia or Libya: nor shall they even visit those countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by a storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do everything that is permitted to the citizens of the republic. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians at Rome.

other, namely, towards the west, in the Atlantic Ocean, the Romans shall not sail," etc. This explanation must still gain in probability, if the great value be remembered which the Carthaginians placed upon their western possessions without the Pillars of Hercules, and the great secret they made of them. The objection, that the Romans at the time of this treaty did not navigate so far, seems to me to have but very little weight; for how do we know that? And then, it was about the period that this alliance was concluded, that the Carthaginians had stretched out the farthest, and it seems that they had extended their colonies beyond the Pillars, exactly in the interval between the first and second treaty, which explains why these cities came to be mentioned as the boundaries in the second treaty, and not in the first. On the other hand, it certainly may be objected, that this sense is not expressed with sufficient clearness in the words of the treaty; and it might consequently be asserted, that it is more probable that there were two, to us unknown, cities of this name in the Carthaginian territory, near the Fair Promontory, where there certainly were a much greater number of cities than is generally supposed. It may still, however, be, that the translation of the treaty by Polybius might not be so literally exact, but that a mere trifling variation might render the reference to the cities of Spain probable. Nothing, therefore, can be here concluded with certainty; and by mere verdicts without evidence nothing would be done.

[1] It is not probable that the Tyre in Asia should here be understood. Either there must have been a Tyre in Africa, or Tysdrus must be meant. See above, p. 13. If, notwithstanding this, some will still contend that the Phœnician Tyre must be understood; then, perhaps, the mutual piety which mother states and their colonies observe towards one another, may be given as the reason why Tyre was included in the treaty.

IV. *Treaty concluded between Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Philip, king of Macedonia, in the fourth year of the second Punic war*, 215 B. C.[1]

(From Polyb. ii. p. 598.)

This is the treaty which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have sworn with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Poseidon; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and who are witnesses of this faith!

Hannibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said; with the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and of concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect and help the people of Carthage, Hannibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into friendship and alliance with us in those countries.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all the other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of those parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings, and cities, and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy peace. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them, we shall insist, that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall at no time make war against us: that they shall not remain masters of Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimalle, and Atintania. And that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos all the persons of his kindred who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against

[1] Hannibal was at this time in Lower Italy, and hoped by this union with Philip, who was to invade Italy by crossing the Adriatic Sea, to annihilate Rome.

us; those cities and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent.

V. *The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which he deposited in the temple of Saturn.*

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries.

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterium. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea, and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants, and a great number of other wild beasts, were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Caricontícos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytæ, men of various appearances, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found in a recess of a certain bay a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men, clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles and river horses; whence returning back we came again to Cerne.

Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitæ, who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea; on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn. In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the day-time except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island. Sailing quickly away thence we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account

of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.

Observation. The opinions respecting the Periplus of Hanno differ very widely from one another, both as regards its authenticity and the circumstances attending it. I cannot, however, believe that any critic will, in the present day, doubt its authenticity in the whole; though they may its completeness. Its shortness has led many to suppose that it is only the abridgment of a larger work; and this opinion is favoured by Rennel, and seems confirmed by the passage in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 67, where he says, Hanno sailed from Gades round Africa to Arabia, and has given a description of the voyage. But another writer has already justly observed, that Pliny had not himself read the Periplus, but depended on the uncertain testimony of another; and that the passage of Pomp. Mela, iii. 9, clearly shows that Mela had read *our* Periplus. Gosselin, *Recherches*, i. p. 64. The Periplus was not, certainly, the description of a voyage, in our sense of the phrase, but a public memorial of the expedition, being an *inscription* posted up in one of the principal temples of Carthage. This is evident, *first*, from its being a general custom of the Carthaginian commanders to leave behind them such public monuments of their enterprises, which is shown by the example of Hannibal, see above, p. 128; and, *secondly*, by the superscription of the Periplus itself. It is there called "Αννωνος Περίπλους ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει. "The voyage of Hanno, which he has *posted up* in the temple of Kronos." For so must ἀνέθηκεν be translated, which is well known to be the proper expression among the Greeks for the Donarii in the temples; on which account they were called ἀναθήματα. This inscription was, without doubt, in the Carthaginian language. We, however, have only the Greek translation, whose author is unknown. It is therefore highly probable that it was a Greek traveller, perhaps a merchant, who made a translation for his own use; and we know what a series of accidents must have happened to bring down to us this curious document, being the personal narrative of the commander of the first voyage of discovery on the western African coast, about five hundred years before Christ! To this translator, therefore, must be attributed, in my opinion, any irregularities in its form and contents; they cannot, however, justify us in asserting that there are any interpolations.

The more early commentators upon the Periplus are, Bochart, *in Geograph. Sacr.* i. 33; Campomanes in his *Antig. Maritima de Carthago*, vol. ii.; Dodwell, in *Dissert.* I. *in Geograph. Min.* ed. Hudson, vol. i.; and Bouguainville, *Mémoires sur les descouvertes d'Hanno*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. xxviii., all of whom make the navigation of Hanno reach to the coast of Guinea. Besides these, two of our most celebrated geographers have, more recently, bestowed considerable labour upon the Periplus, but differ in a remarkable manner in their conclusions; i. e. Gosselin in his *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens;* and Major Rennel in his *Geography of Herodotus*. The former of these so shortens the voyage of Hanno, as to make the island Cerne the most southern of the settlements he planted, the present Fedalla, which is found under 33½° N. Lat., while Rennel so extends it, as to place this island about thirteen degrees farther south, under 20½° N. Lat.; this difference naturally occasions a great discrepancy in the boundary of the more distant navigation, which Gosselin carries no farther than Cape Nun, in 28° N. Lat., while Rennel extends it to Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the equator. A difference of reckoning, which is the more surprising, as Hanno chiefly states the distances according to the number of days' sail. The calculation of Gosselin, however, is founded upon hypotheses to which but few critics will be inclined to assent. First, he would have it, that the expression, *without the Columns*, must include the strait itself, because the Columns of Hercules signify the two rocks Calpe and Abyla at the inner entrance of the strait. In accordance with this he computes from this point, and not only places the city of Thymiaterium within the strait, near the present Ceuta, but also holds the promontory Soloë, which it cost Hanno two days' navigation without the Columns to reach, for Cape Spartel, forming the outward part of the strait on the African coast. But the expression, *the Columns*, is not usually meant so much of the rocks, as of the strait in general; and the national resolution of the Carthaginians, that Hanno should found colonies "without the Columns," certainly could bear no other sense than that he should plant settlements on the western coast of Africa, in the Atlantic Ocean; nay, the following cities, according to

M. Gosselin's own statements, lay there. Secondly, M. Gosselin proposes a computation, by following which, a day's sail will amount to no more than five great leagues, or sea miles (20=1°). For as when Cooke sailed along the eastern coast of New Holland he could not make more than seventeen leagues in twenty-four hours, we ought not to allow to Hanno, who lay by during the night, and had a whole fleet in company, more than five such leagues a day. This comparison, however, is very little to the purpose. Cooke sailed along a coast of which he wished to draw an accurate map, while his progress was interrupted by the numerous coral reefs with which it was beset, and which compelled him to have constant recourse to the plumb-line. Hanno had no such hinderances, and sailed in a climate where the trade-winds and currents, both known to come from the north, were in his favour. M. Gosselin stands also opposed to the express authority of the most credible ancient writers, who state the day's navigation to be much greater; namely, Herodotus (iv. 86) at seven hundred stadia, sixty-eight geographical miles, and Scylax (p. 30) at five hundred stadia, fifty geographical miles. These hypotheses then of M. Gosselin being erroneous, his particular statements drawn from them of course lose their credit. Major Rennel, on the other hand, in my opinion, makes Hanno's voyage extend somewhat too far. I will not, however, here dispute his statements in detail, nor attempt a proper commentary upon the Periplus, which, without maps drawn expressly for the purpose, would not be understood. I shall, instead of these, make a few remarks, which I think will serve as general principles to explain it. Therefore,

1. It must not be expected that every point can be determined with certainty, as the author himself has not always stated the number of days' navigation, and consequently not the distance. Besides this, we have not yet, in my opinion, any sufficiently accurate description of the coast of this part of Africa, that can serve us for a guide. The reader will therefore necessarily be satisfied with some of the principal particulars.

2. In order to obtain these, we must separate the two great parts of the voyage, which had a double object; first, that of founding colonies, and these, as is apparent from the fact, not far beyond the straits; and secondly, that of exploring the more distant coast of Africa. According to this, therefore, the length of the day's voyage in the first and latter part of the expedition, though similar in all other respects, might not be the same; for the first part was performed with a whole heavy-laden fleet; the second, without doubt, with one or two vessels. The first part of the voyage extends to the island of Cerne, the second to the gulf called South Horn.

3. In the first half we come to *a.* the city of Thymiaterium, two days' voyage from the end of the strait, or Cape Spartel. Let us take the day's navigation here with the whole fleet at about ten sea miles—according to the above remarks a very moderate distance—then must this city be near El Haratch, or between El Haratch and Marmora; this cannot be far from their true situation. *b.* The promontory Soloë; Hanno does not say how far this was from Thymiaterium; but it is evident from his narrative that it must have been the first western promontory he came to. Herodotus also clears up this, who not only knew it, but quotes it as the most western point of Africa, Herod. ii. 32. From this I have no doubt of its being Cape Blanco, near Azimur, 33° N. Lat., (not to be confounded with the southern Cape Blanco, 20° N. Lat.,) which they would reach, according to the above calculation, in two days' voyage from Thymiaterium: and I prefer this on the above grounds to Cape Cantin, which is one day farther to the south, and therefore adopted by Rennel. *c.* The successive settlements of Acra, Gytte, Cariconticos, Melitta, and Arambys, lay at about a day and half's sail from the promontory; they must therefore have stood in the districts of Safy, or Asafy, just beyond Cape Cantin, about 32° N. Lat. The great river Lexitæ, at which they next arrived, would then be the river Morocco, (on which is built the city of the same name,) or, as it is called, the Tersif. From this point to the island of Cerne, the last of the settlements, the number of days' navigation is not stated; hence the conclusion that the voyage from the Columns to Cerne may have been just as long as that from Carthage to the Columns. If the distances be judged equal, then the island of Cerne must be sought for beyond Cape Bojador, where it is placed by Major Rennel, under 20° N. Lat. I cannot, however, believe that in the same length of time they would make the same way, as from Carthage to the Pillars they navigated a well-known sea, where they had no obstructions, and might sail as well by night as by day; but beyond the Pillars, in a sea of which they were entirely ignorant, much more circumspection was necessary. I think it therefore more probable that the island or islands of Cerne must be sought for either near Mogador, 31½°, or near Santa Cruz, 30½°. But though the situation of this place remains rather uncertain, there cannot be any great error in determining that of the others.

4. The second part of the expedition, starting from Cerne, is simply a voyage of discovery, and must as such be considered. This was, however, a double voyage. The first time, Hanno proceeded southwards, and came to a great river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. The number of days this occupied is not mentioned, but as no such river is found short of the Senegal, I hold that to be the one meant. From this point the expedition returned, from causes not stated, back to the island of Cerne; but it commenced from this place the second voyage, in which the number of days' navigation is mostly, though not always, noted; namely, first twelve days' voyage along the coast till they came to high mountains; then two days' voyage to a bay, where they took in water; then five days' navigation farther, till they came to another bay, which was named the West Horn; together nineteen days' voyage. After this the expedition proceeded along the hot region of Thymiamata, without determin-

ing the number of days' navigation. Then four days' voyage to the high mountain called *God's Chariot;* and then again three days' more to the bay called South Horn, whence they turned back. If we now allow four days for the voyage along the country of Thymiamata, the whole will make a voyage of thirty-one days from Cerne. Now, as in this whole voyage the current as well as the wind was always favourable to the navigators, as will be found noted upon Rennel's maps, it certainly is a very moderate computation to estimate a day's navigation at forty geographical miles=12½ sea miles, which makes the whole distance from Cerne amount to 1200 geographical miles. Taking the island of Cerne to be near Santa Cruz, this will bring us to the mouth of the Gambia, and it seems a fair conjecture that the bay called South Horn was in fact the mouth of this river, and the West Horn that of the Senegal. It is well known that the Greeks called the mouths of rivers their horns. If this be granted, then the computed distance leads at once to the coast of Senegambia, which I take for the hot country of Thymiamata, and Major Rennel has already so validly shown, that all the particulars related exactly correspond with this conjecture, that it would be superfluous thereupon to dwell any longer. Against M. Gosselin, to whom this voyage appears much too long, I will only oppose the single fact which I have already set forth at page 84, but which has escaped his observation, that in the time of Herodotus the Carthaginians had a regular intercourse by sea with the Gold Coast, to which Hanno's voyage of discovery probably first paved the way.

VI. *Fragments of the Account given by the Carthaginian commander Himilco, of the Countries of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules.*

(Taken from Rufus Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, ed. Wernsdorf, *Poetæ Latini Minores*, tom. v. p. 3.)

Besides the expedition of Hanno, another was fitted out at the same time, and sent, for the same purpose, to the western coast of Europe. A narrative also of this voyage, similar to that of Hanno's, was extant in antiquity,[1] but unfortunately has not descended to us. Festus Avienus, however, made use of it in the above-mentioned metrical composition, which was drawn up by him for the instruction of his relation Probus. The poem is only valuable from its bringing us acquainted with many ancient geographers, but is come down to us in a very imperfect state; and almost seems to have been rather a collection of materials than a finished poem. It is deficient in order, contains many repetitions, and the author does not appear to have had a clear notion of the coast which he describes. See the notice of it by Professor Ukert, (which is rendered more valuable by a map,) in †*Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Th. ii. *Abth.* i. the second Appendix. I have extracted only those passages which relate to the document of Hanno and Carthage.

I. *Ora Maritima*, v. 80—130.

Terræ patentis orbis effuse jacet,
Orbique rursus unda circumfunditur,
Sed qua profundum semet insinuat salum
Oceano ab usque, ut gurges hic nostri maris
Longe explicetur, est Atlanticus sinus.
Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius:
Hic sunt Columnæ pertinacis Herculis,
Abila atque Calpe: * * * *
* * * * * * * *
Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput,
(Œstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius)

I. *Ora Maritima*, v. 80—130.

Where the ocean flood presses in, and spreads wide the Mediterranean waters, lies the Atlantic bay;[2] here stands Gadira, of old called Tartessus; here the Pillars of Hercules, Abyla, left of Libya, and Calpe.[3] * * * * * Here rises the head of the promontory, in olden times named Œstrymnon,[4] and below, the like-named bay and isles;[5] wide they

[1] Pliny, ii. 67. Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto: sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilcon.

[2] The bay between Cape Vincent and Trafalgar.

[3] Something is here probably left out, as he likewise mentions a second bay.

[4] The promontory of *Œstrymnon* must be sought for on the north coast of Spain. We may take it for *Cap Finis Terræ*, or some other; for how can an accurate statement be expected, where the poet himself seems to have had but a very confused idea of the subject.

[5] Sinus Œstrymnicus, et Insulæ Œstrymnides.

Molesque celsa saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime vergit notum.
Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice
Sinus dehiscit incolis Œstrymnicus,
In quo insulæ sese exserunt Œstrimnides,
Laxe jacentes, et metallo divites
Stanni atque plumbi, muta vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus:
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere,
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos: sed rei ad miraculum
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.
Ast hinc duobus in sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
Hæc inter undas multam cespitem jacet,
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
Tartessiisque in terminos Œstrymnidum
Negotiandi mos erat: Carthaginis
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora:
Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor,
Ut ipse semet re probasse retulit
Enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit.
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,
Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet,
Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites
Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti vice
Retinere puppim. Dicit hic nihilominus,
Non in profundum terga demitti maris,
Parvoque aquarum vix supertexi solum;
Obire semper huc et huc ponti feras,
Navigia lenta et languide repentia
Internatare belluas.

II. v. 263—274.

——————————— Namque ex ea
Geryona quondam nuncupatum accepimus.
Hic ora late sunt sinus Tartessii;
Dictoque ab amni in hæc locorum puppibus
Via est diei; Gaddir hic est oppidum:
Nam Punicorum lingua conceptum locum
Gaddir vocabat, ipsa Tartessus prius
Cognominata est; multa et opulens civitas
Ævo vetusto, nunc egena, nunc brevis,
Nunc destituta, nunc ruinarum agger est.
Nos hoc locorum, præter Herculaneam
Sollennitatem, vidimus miri nihil.

stretch and are rich in metals, tin, and lead. There a numerous race of men dwell, endowed with spirit, and no slight industry, busied all in the cares of trade alone. They navigate the sea on their barks, built not of pines or oak, but wondrous! made of skins and leather. Two days' long is the voyage thence to the Holy Island, once so called, which lies expanded on the sea, the dwelling of the Hibernian race: at hand lies the isle of Albion.[1] Of yore the trading voyages from Tartessus reached to the Œstrymnides; but the Carthaginians and their colonies near the Pillars of Hercules, navigated on this sea, which Himilco, by his own account, was upon during four months; for here no wind wafted the bark, so motionless stood the indolent wave. Sea-weed abounds in this sea, he says, and retards the vessel in her course; while the monsters of the deep swarm around.

II. v. 263—274.

—— Far off is seen Geryon's hold; here wide expands the bay of Tartessus, and from the river thither is one day's voyage; here lies the town of Gadira, of yore called Tartessus; then great and rich, now poor and fallen; where I saw nought great but Hercules' festival.

[1] These statements clearly show, that the *Œstrymnide* islands were situate in the neighbourhood of *Hibernia* and *Albion;* they only agree with the Scilly islands, which are eighty miles from the Irish coast.

III. v. 304—317.

Gerontis arcem et prominens fani, ut supra
Sumus elocuti distinet medium Salum ;
Interque celsa cautium cedit sinus.
Jugum ad secundum flumen amplum evolvitur :
Tartessiorum mons dehinc attollitur
Silvis opacus, hinc Erythea est insula
Diffusa glebam, et juris olim Punici :
Habuere primo quippe eam Carthaginis
Priscæ coloni : interflusque scinditur
Ad continentem quinque per stadia modo
Erythea ab arce, qua diei occasus est,
Veneri marinæ consecrata est insula,
Templumque in illa Veneris et penetral cavum,
Oraculumque.

IV. v. 375—412.

Ultra has Columnas, propter Europæ latus,
Vicos et urbes incolæ Carthaginis
Tenuere quondam : mos at illis hic erat,
Ut planiore texerent fundo rates,
Quo cymba tergum fusior brevius maris
Prælaberetur, porro in occiduam plagam
Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta,
Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit,
Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,
Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet :
Dehinc quod æthram quodam amictu vestiat
Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitem,
Et crassiore nubilum præstet die.
Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul
Circum latrator, iste pontus maximus.
Hic gurges oras ambiens, hic intimi
Salis inrigator, hic parens nostri maris.
Plerosque quippe extrinsecus curvat sinus,
Nostrumque in orbem vis profundi illabitur,
Sed nos loquemur maximos tibi quattuor.
Prima hujus ergo in cespitem insinuatio est
Hesperius æstus, atque Atlanticum salum ;
Hyrcana rursus unda, Caspium mare ;
Salum Indicorum, terga fluctus Persici ;
Arabsque gurges sub tepente jam Noto.
Hunc usus olim dixit Oceanum vetus,
Alterque dixit mos Atlanticum mare.
Longo explicatur gurges hujus Ambitu,
Produciturque latere prolixe vago,
Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,
Ut vix arenas subjacentes occulat.
Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens,
Atque impeditur æstus hic uligine ;
Vis belluarum pelagus omne internatat,
Multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.

III. v. 304—317.

Geryon's fort and temple overtops the sea ; a line of rocks crowns the bay : near the second rock disembogues the river. Close by rises the Tartessus' mount bedecked with wood. Next follows the island Erythea, ruled by the Carthaginians, for in early days the Carthaginians had there planted a colony. The arm of the sea, which divides it from the continent and from the fort, is but five stadia broad.[1] The island is sacred to Marine Venus, it contains her temple and oracle.[2]

IV. v. 375—412.

Beyond the Pillars, on Europe's coast, Carthage's people of yore possessed many towns and places. Their practice was to build flat-bottomed barks, for the convenience of navigating shallows ; but westward, as Himilco tells us, is open sea ; no ship has yet ventured on this sea, where the windy gales do not waft her, and thick fogs rest on the waters. It is the ocean which far roars around the land ; the unbounded sea.—This the Carthaginian Himilco saw himself ; and from the Punic records I have taken what I tell thee.

[1] Therefore a small inlet near Tartessus, like the opposite coast ; perhaps St. Pedro, opposite Chicklana. [2] Probably Astarte : see above, p. 65.

To the Carthaginian documents also belongs a Punic inscription, which Professor Hamacker of Leyden, *Diatribe aliquot monumentorum nuper in Africa repertorum interpretationem exhibens, Lugd. Bat.* 1822, refers to the vintage; but privy-councillor G. Kopp, (Heidelberg Year-book, 1824,) on the contrary, takes it, I think rightly, for an epitaph, and translates it: *Deploravit familia traditum (positum) dum operata est (intulit) ad lapidem nostrum. Baal Haman (Deus Solis) vos subjecit succidendo tempora. Lex (fatum) Hassad filium Abamel subjecit.* The inscription should be compared with that of Bres, published in *Malta Antica.* Another epitaph, given by Bishop Munster, is so uncertain, that Professor Kopp could form no judgment respecting it. It makes mention of a college of priests.

VII. *Fragments of the Works of Mago on Husbandry.*

(See above, p. 48.)

[I deem it advisable, on many accounts, to give here a collection of the fragments of the only works of Carthaginian literature of which any remains are extant. The information which may be deduced from them is very interesting. They plainly evince that agriculture was considered in Carthage as the most honourable employment, and was followed by the first men in the state. It further appears that every branch of husbandry, and certainly with such helps to human industry as were then known, was cultivated. It is also evident that the work of Mago was not the only one of this kind, as Hamilcar and the Carthaginian writers in general are mentioned with him (No. 17). How much indeed must have been written previously, to complete a work like that of Mago's in twenty-eight books! Its value is sufficiently evident from the testimony of Columella, who calls Mago the *father of Husbandry.* Should some of his rules not seem convincing to our agriculturists, it must be remembered that he wrote in Africa, and that therefore they cannot fairly judge of his works, without some knowledge of the soil and climate.

The name of Mago and Hamilcar were very common among the Carthaginians. Which Mago and Hamilcar are in this case to be understood, we are not informed; thus much, however, we know, they were both renowned generals, who devoted the leisure which their profession of arms left them, to agriculture. But that this Hamilcar was not the father of Hannibal, will be readily acknowledged by every one, who remembers that the latter must have passed the greater part of his life out of his native country.' I think I do not err in taking this Mago to be the same with the general who first established the dominion of Carthage, (Justin, xix. 2,) who was contemporary with Cyrus, and the founder of that house which for above a century stood at the head of the republic, and whose genealogy I have given in the next appendix. Hamilcar, then, would be his son, and the same who fell in battle, 480 B. C., against Gelon in Sicily. And besides, if my conjecture, which I think highly probable, be admitted, that Hanno and Himilco, who founded colonies in Africa and Europe, and explored their coasts, were his sons, it will throw a stream of light upon the most brilliant period of Carthaginian history; and account for the aggrandizement of a state, with a family of heroes at its head, which, during three generations, gave it chiefs, illustrious for their deeds as generals, writers, and adventurers; and who, with the noble simplicity of the truly great, and therein only faithful to their nature, returned to the ploughshare when their country no longer needed their services.]

I. From VARRO *de Re Rustica.*

1. The worth (*nobilitas*) of the writers hitherto quoted, is eclipsed by Mago the Carthaginian, in the Punic language, as he comprised the subject in its various branches in twenty-eight books, which Cassius Dionysius of Utica translated into Greek in twenty books, and sent to the prætor Sextius, whereto he

added many things from the above-mentioned Greek writers, and omitted eight of the books of Mago. Diophanes brought these from Bithynia, in six books, and sent them to king Dejotarus. Varro, i. 1, 10.

2. Mago and Dionysius wrote, that mares and female mules do not bring forth till twelve months after they have been impregnated. Varro, i. 1, 27.

3. Upon the health of black cattle I have borrowed a good deal from the books of Mago, which I make my herdsmen carefully read. Varro, ii. 5, 18.

4. There are two sorts of feeding; one upon the lands for black cattle, the other in the farm-yard for poultry, doves, bees, etc. Of these Mago of Carthage and Cassius Dionysius have treated in several parts of their works. Sejus of Sicily seems to have read these, and, in consequence of it, to have raised more produce on a single farm, than others upon their whole estate. Varro, iii. 2, 13.

II. From Columella *de Re Rustica.*

5. Diophanes from Bithynia has collected together, in six books, the whole of Dionysius of Utica, the translator of the Carthaginian Mago, whose works fill many volumes. Col. i. 1, 10.

6. But, in addition to those mentioned, we would honour above all, Mago the Carthaginian, the father of husbandry, whose twenty-eight well-known books, in consequence of a *senatus consultum*, have been rendered into Latin. Col. i. 1, 13.

7. This I believe is what Mago the Carthaginian would express, who begins his work with the following sentence: "Who would buy an estate, let him sell his house, that he may no longer be encumbered with his town-house, but give himself up entirely to that upon his land. He to whom an abode in the city lies close at heart, has no need of a country estate."

8. Democritus and Mago praise a north aspect for the vine; because they believe it bears most in this situation. But in goodness it will not surpass others. Col. iv. 12, 5.

9. In the planting of vines, let the sides of the trenches every now and then be lined with stones, which should not, however, be above five pounds' weight. For these, says Mago, keep out the wet in winter, and in the summer the moist and damp from the roots.—Even so this writer is of opinion, that the pressed-out grapes, mixed with dung, strengthens the seed laid in the earth, because it draws new roots; but this in wet and cold weather warms at the proper time, and in summer nourishes the young vines, and makes them fruitful. If, however, the soil in which the vine is set be poor, then must rich earth be found and put in the trenches. Col. iii. 15, 4, 5.

10. For the pruning of the vine once every two years suits very well. The best time, however, as Mago says, is the spring, before the shoots become long, because, being still full of sap, they may be easiest and most evenly cut, and they do not oppose the sickle. Col. iv. 10.

11. Mago the Carthaginian adds also to the rule for setting the vine: that the seed being planted, the trench should not be immediately filled up, but half of it left to the following year; by which, he says, the root of the plant is forced to strike downward. Col. v. 5, 4.

12. In the purchase of cattle for the plough, there are certain rules for the farmer to attend to, which Mago the Carthaginian has thus laid down for his instruction. The steer should be young, strong, with large joints; long, blackish, and stiff horns; broad and curled forehead, rough ears, black eyes and lips, white and distended nostrils, long and bowed neck, white dewlap, which should hang down to the knees, a broad chest, large haunches, a spacious belly, extended sides, broad loins, exact and even pace, round buttocks, straight legs, not far asunder, and rather short than long, stiff knees, long and hairy tail, a short and thick head, red or brown colour, and soft to the touch. Col. vi. 1, 2, 3.

13. The castration of calves should be performed, according to Mago, while they are young, and not with an iron, but with a split rod, with which the testicles should be pressed together and gradually squashed. See further in Col. vi. 26, 1, sqq.

14. Some writers, not to be passed by, as Cato, and before him Mago and Dionysius, mention, that the foaling of she-mules was so far from being considered a prodigy in Africa, that it was almost as common as that of mares. Col. iv. 37, 3.

15. Mago, as well as Democritus and Virgil, asserts, that at certain times bees proceed from the belly of a slaughtered young cow. Mago asserts that it also happens in the paunch of oxen. Col. ix. 15, 3.

16. Some are of opinion, that among bees the ancient brood should be entirely destroyed, which I, referring to Mago, do not maintain. Col. ix. 15, 3.

17. History informs us that neither the Carthaginian nor Greek writers (upon farming), nor even the Roman, have neglected to attend to small matters. For Mago the Carthaginian, and Hamilcar, held it not beneath their dignity, when they were unoccupied by war, to contribute thereby their quota towards human life. Col. xii. 4, 2.

18. Mago gives directions for making the very best sort of wine, (*passum optimum,*) as I myself have done. Take bunches of grapes, quite ripe, and well boiled; take away the dry or faulty parts; form a frame of stakes or forks, spreading thereon a layer of reeds; spread the grapes upon these, and place them in the sun, covering them at night from the dew. When they are dry, pluck off the berries, throw them in a cask, and make of them the first must. If they have well drained, put them the sixth day in a vessel, press them, and take the (first) wine. After adding thereto must, quite cold, the berries must be again pounded and pressed. The second wine may then be placed in a pitched vessel lest it become sour. After twenty or thirty days, when it has fermented, clear it off into another vessel, whose cover must be immediately stopped close, and covered with a skin. Col. xii. 39, 1, 2.

19. Mago the Carthaginian directs, that the pomegranate should be dipped in hot sea-water, then rubbed with flax or tow till they lose their colour; they are next to be dried in the sun for three days, and afterwards hung up in a cool place. Before being used they must be soaked in cold fresh water for a night or day. He also recommends that they should be smeared over, when fresh, with thick chalk, and hung up in a cool place; before using, steep them in water to get off the chalk. He also gives another method, which is to lay them by layers in a new earthen vessel, strewing saw-dust between every layer, till the vessel be full, then place on the cover, which must be carefully smeared over with thick glue. Col. xii. 44, 5, 6.

20. Mago recommends that the olive-tree should be planted in a dry soil, soon after the autumnal equinox, before the shortest day. Col. *de Arb.* 17, 1.

III. From Palladius *de Re Rustica.*

21. Mago advises that the trench in which vines are planted, should not be filled up at once, but gradually, which causes the roots to strike the deeper. Pallad. *Feb.* x. 3.

22. Mago gives instructions for the castration of calves, etc. (See above, No. 13.) Pallad. *Maj.* vii. 1.

IV. From the ΙΠΠΙΑΤΡΙΚΑ, *Basil,* 1538.

23. When a horse suffers from violent asthma (*δύσπνοιᾳ*) he draws in one side, his eyes are dull, if not both, at least the right one, his mouth is hot, and he stumbles in his gait. This disease, if taken at the beginning, may with proper care be easily cured. Examine, therefore, closely the shape of the horse; if he draws in his right side he will be soon healed, but if he draws in the left it is a chance if he gets over it. One of his veins must be opened, and a draught administered composed of crocus, myrrh, nard, white pepper, pure honey, old oil, resin oil (*ἐλαίου ῥοδίνου*), seethed together in honey water. *Medicinæ Veterinari,* lib. ii. p. 95.

V. From Plinii *Hist. Natural.*

24. Among the trees which are raised from kernels, Mago is particularly copious upon nuts. Almonds should be planted in soft loam, towards the south. They thrive best in hard, warm soils; in rich and damper ones they become unfruitful or die. The best sort to plant are the sickle-formed, after they have been three days soaked in muddy water. They should be set with the top downwards; the sharp side towards the north: they are planted in triangles, a palm from each other; and should be watered every ten days till they become of a good size. Plin. xvii. 11.

25. Mago recommends that poplars should be planted in trenches, which have been prepared a year before, whereby they imbibe the sun and rain. If this direction is not followed, let a fire be made therein two months before planting, which must only be done after rain. Plin. xvii. 16.

26. Mago says of olive trees, that they should be planted seventy-five feet from each other; or, in hard soil, exposed to the wind, at least forty-five feet. Plin. xvii. 19.

27. Mago says that the olive tree should be planted upon hills, in dry and stiff soil, between autumn and winter. In rich and damp soil, between harvest and winter. It may easily be seen that these directions were intended for Africa. Plin. xvii. 30.

28. Even kings have written upon agriculture, as Hiero, Attalus Philometor, and Archelaus; also generals, as Xenophon, and Mago the Carthaginian, whose work was so honoured by the senate, that when, after the conquest of Carthage, it sent the libraries of that city to the king's there, it caused his work in twenty-eight books to be translated into Latin, by persons well acquainted with the Punic language, among whom D. Silanus, belonging to one of the first families, surpassed all others. Plin. xviii. 7.

29. Mago goes rather beyond the mark, and not according to what is evidently best, when he desires, that he who would take a farm should sell his house. As he, however, thus opens his preface, he shows, at least, that it requires great industry and attention. Plin. xviii. 7.

30. Concerning the manner of grinding or pounding, Mago says, that maize should be first sprinkled with water, then cleaned, then dried in the sun, and pounded in a mortar. Barley the same. Twenty measures thereof should be moistened with two measures of water. Lentils should be first dried, then lightly pounded with the bran; vetches just the same. Sesame must be first soaked in warm water, then rubbed and thrown into cold, when the chaff will float on the top; it must then be dried in the sun upon linen cloths. Plin. xviii. 23.

31. Mago directs that the albucum should be mown, if it has blown, at the end of March or beginning of April. He also says, the Greeks named *pistana*, (what we call adder's-tongue,) arrow-head, among the *Sagittaria*. Plin. xxi. 68, 69. The further translation of the passage, which shows how accurately Mago treated of the various sorts of rushes, requires botanical explanations. The above shows that he was not unacquainted with Greek literature.

VIII. *On the Genealogy of the ruling Houses of Carthage.*

The whole tenor of Carthaginian history and government is much easier apprehended by our observing, that, even in the most flourishing times of the republic, before the commencement of the Roman wars, single families, throughout many generations, stood at its head. Among these, as is mentioned in the text, the first and most important is that of Mago, which for one hundred and fifty years gave generals to the republic. The genealogy of these houses is interwoven with great difficulties, because in Carthage there were no family names, and the

descent of each member can only be known by the father's name being stated. It may, however, and especially of that of the house of Mago, be collected from Justin and Diodorus, as the following attempt will show, in which I have set down the authority for every statement.

1. Mago, the founder of the house, became also the founder of the Carthaginian predominancy, by the introduction of military discipline and tactics in the army. Justin, xix. 1. As his sons were contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, he must have been the contemporary of Cambyses and Cyrus, between 550—500 B. C. He left behind him two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who inherited at the same time his power and greatness. They were engaged in the African and Sicilian wars. Justin, xix. 1. The first of them,

2. Hasdrubal, was eleven times general, and four times enjoyed triumphs. Justin, xix. 1. He fell, sorely wounded, in Sardinia, when the command descended to his brother,

3. Hamilcar. This general carried on extensive wars in Sicily, during which ambassadors came to Carthage from Darius. He was killed in the Sicilian wars (Justin, xix. 2) while contending with Gelon of Syracuse, 480 B. C. Herod. vii. 165. Diod. i. p. 420.

Each of these brothers left behind three sons. Justin, xix. 2. Those of Hasdrubal were,

4. Hannibal. 5. Hasdrubal. 6. Sappho. All three generals, probably in Africa, against the native tribes, by which Carthage was freed from paying tribute. Justin, xix. 2.

The three sons of Hamilcar were, Himilco, Hanno, and Gisco. Justin, xix. 2. The first,

7. Himilco, succeeded to his father in the command in Sicily; lost his army by a pestilence; and killed himself. Justin, xix. 2, 3. (Other historians relate the latter as happening to the younger Himilco, the grandson, No. 11. It is therefore very probable that Justin has here made a mistake.)

8. Hanno, the second son of Hamilcar, has nothing mentioned respecting him by Justin except his name. According to a conjecture, not improbable, he is held to be the author of the celebrated Periplus, in which case, his brother Himilco would be the author of the other Periplus, (now lost,) along the coast of Spain. See above, p. 43. He must not be confounded with the Hanno mentioned by Justin, xx. 5, and xxi. 4; but it is very probable that he is the father of Himilco spoken of under No. 11.

9. Gisco, the third son of Hamilcar, is known with certainty from history; as well as from Justin, xix. 2, and Diod. i. p. 574, 588. Through the defeat of his father, he was unfortunately doomed to exile, and closed his life at Selinus. Diod. l. c. He had a son named

10. Hannibal, Diod. i. p. 590. A successful commander in the Sicilian wars, 410 B. C. He was again elected general, 406, in the first war against Dionysius I., and chose as his colleague, on account of his own great age, his cousin.

11. Himilco, (or, as he is oftener called, Hamilcar,) the son of Hanno, of the same family. Diod. i. p. 603. It seems therefore very likely that he was the son of Hannibal's father's brother, Hanno; but at all events of the house of Mago. He prosecuted the war with success, and brought it to a close in 405. It can scarcely be doubted but it was this same Himilco who, in the second war with Dionysius I., 398, obtained, as king, the command of the Carthaginians, Diod. i. 681, but who, in the year 396, losing his army by the plague, secured a safe retreat for the Carthaginians that still survived, and left the hired troops to shift for themselves. After his return to Carthage he made away with himself. Diod. i. p. 700, 701.

It seems very probable that with this Himilco his house fell into decay, at least there is no proof that the later generals belonged to it. His successor in the command was Mago, Diod. i. p. 711, whose father is not named. He closed the war, 392, by a treaty. Diod. *ib.* In the third war against Dionysius, 333 B. C., he again obtained the command as king; but was beaten and slain. His son, of the same name, quite a youth, was his successor, Diod. ii. p. 15, who successfully ended the war in the same year, by a treaty.

So far as can be gathered from the fragments that are left of the history of Carthage for the succeeding periods, there does not seem to be any single ruling house previous to the time of Hamilcar Barca, that maintained itself so long at the head of the government as that of Mago. What little is left to be said respecting the consanguinity of the chiefs and generals of the republic is as follows:

In the war against Timoleon we read of, as generals, Mago, who lost the command through a defeat, and killed himself, 341 B. C.; Plutarch. *Op.* i. p. 244. It is uncertain whether this be the same Mago who put an end to the war in the year 383. He was succeeded by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, slain by Timoleon, 340 B. C. Plutarch. i. p. 248. Their family is unknown.

Another house now raised itself, and became so powerful as to endanger the public liberty; that of Hanno, who had one son, Gisco, and he again two sons, Hamilcar, and one whose name is not stated, who was the father of Bomilcar.

1. Of HANNO, the founder of this family, nothing is known, if we do not take him for the Hanno whose unsuccessful attempt at a revolution, 340 B. C., is described by Justin, xxi. 4. We must, to be sure, in that case, change what Justin says, namely, that all his sons were executed with him, to a sentence of banishment, from which his son Gisco might then be recalled in the same year, 340. Perhaps this opinion will be strengthened by the reproach which Bomilcar cast upon the Carthaginians for their injustice, Justin, xxii. 7, when he takes the examples from his own family, and among them Hanno. However this may be, Hanno had a son named

2. GISCO, who was recalled from exile in order to take command, 340 B. C. Diodorus, ii. p. 144; Plutarch. in *Timol. Op.* i. p. 248. One of his sons,

3. HAMILCAR, (Justin, xxii. 23,) a Carthaginian of the highest rank, Diodorus, ii. p. 399, was general against Agathocles in Sicily, but being made prisoner by the Syracusans, he was by them put to death. Diod. ii. p. 426. Justin, xxii. 7, confounds him with another Hamilcar, who chiefly supported Agathocles, but who is carefully distinguished from him by Diodorus.

4. His BROTHER (whose name is not any where mentioned) is only known by being the father of

5. BOMILCAR, who, according to Justin, xxii. 7, wishing to desert to Agathocles, was, on that account, put to death by the Carthaginians, 308 B. C. But, according to Diod. ii. p. 473, this happened because he wished to obtain the chief authority by force.

HOUSE OF MAGO.

1. MAGO, from 550—500 B. C.

- 2. HASDRUBAL, general in Sicily and Sardinia.
  - 4. HANNIBAL. 5. HASDRUBAL. 6. SAPPHO. Generals, probably in Africa.
- 3. HAMILCAR, † in Sicily, 480 B. C.
  - 7. HIMILCO. General in Sicily.
  - 8. HANNO.
    - 11. HIMILCO. General, 406—396. Killed himself, 395.
  - 9. GISCO, † at Selinus, in exile.
    - 10. HANNIBAL. General, 410—406, B. C.

HOUSE OF HANNO.

1. HANNO, executed, 340 B. C.
   |
2. GISCO. General, 340 B. C.

- 3. HAMILCAR. General, 311 B. C. Prisoner, and put to death in Syracuse, 309.
- 4. ANONYM.
  - 5. BOMILCAR. Executed, 308 B. C.

For the next sixty years after this, when the house of Barca attained the lead, from 247 B. C., there was no ruling family in Carthage. The genealogy of this house, consisting of Hamilcar Barca, the son of Hannibal, (of whom we know nothing further,) his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, is generally known. While of the family of Hanno the Great, which so long maintained a preponderance, history has preserved no account.

IX. *See page* 145.

Since the year 1825, when the last German edition of this work appeared, considerable advances have been made in the exploration of the interior of Africa. By the travels of Denham and Clapperton, not only (as was remarked at p. 113) has the position of the kingdom of Bornou, formerly placed eight degrees too far eastward, been corrected, so that its western frontier town, Lari, and Angornow, lie under the same meridian as Mourzouk in Fezzan, thus the continuation of the road by Bilma, the seat of the Atlantes, brings us directly upon it, but also the kingdom of Cuffa and the Fellatahs, to which, however, no information of the ancients extend, are by their means freed from obscurity.

The question, too, respecting the mouth of the Joliba, is, according to the public Journals, now decided by the journey of Lander, the former servant of Clapperton, in such a way that this river, changing its eastward course, and turning westward, discharges itself into the Atlantic Ocean in the Bight of Benin; for that traveller, sailing down this stream, reached the sea in that bay, and thus ascertained that the mouths of the Benin river are those of the Joliba: we still, however, hope for more exact information on this matter.

But even now the general course of the rivers of Northern Africa or Soudan is very imperfectly known, and the question, how it came to be believed by the ancients (a belief which still exists) that the Nile flows from the west, and that it communicates with the Joliba, remains unanswered. It has been remarked already, that this opinion prevailed as early as Herodotus, and that he or his informants founded upon it their idea, that the stream which he knew of, and which the Nasamones had discovered, was the Nile. As long as the size of the large lake Tsaad, discovered by Denham and Clapperton, is unknown, and the course of the White River remains unexplored to its source, so long is there still a possibility that, at least during the annual inundations, such a connexion of their waters may still exist.

A recent historian, the late B. G. Niebuhr, has given a sense to the words of Herodotus, by which a completely erroneous idea of the geography of the interior of Africa is attributed to him.[1] He assumes that, according to Herodotus, the course of the Nile *immediately above Egypt or Elephantis* must be considered as flowing from the west. To agree with this, all that Herodotus places to the south of Egypt up to Meroë and the country of the Automoli (the emigrants of the Egyptian warrior caste) falls to the westward: so that on his map Meroë is placed on the southern frontier of Fezzan, the land of the Garamantes; and the Automoli near Bilma. This view of the subject is one of those paradoxes which are so abundant in this writer, though we willingly do justice to his acuteness and learning in other respects. But though Herodotus brings the Nile from the west, and founds upon this notion the conjecture, (for only as such does he give it, ii. 33,) that the Nile in Libya runs parallel with the Danube in Europe; he has *no where* stated that this is its direction immediately above Egypt and Elephantis. He rather asserts the contrary, since he makes it first run by the Automoli; and according to his notion the stream which the Nasamones discovered is probably the Nile (ii. 32, 33). But they did not reach this river till they had crossed the desert, consequently it lay much deeper in Africa. Besides, how could Herodotus have formed such an opinion, when he not only clearly drew his knowledge from persons who had followed the course of the stream above Egypt to Meroë, but had also—he himself having been at Elephantis (ii. 31)—seen the contrary?

The long-celebrated Tombuctoo also has been at last reached by the French traveller Caillié, and described by him in his *Voyage à Tombuctoo* (p. 292). It is true, that in splendour and size it is far from answering the expectation previously entertained respecting it. Nevertheless, it still appears as an important place of trade, especially as a staple for salt, so considerable an article of commerce even in ancient times.

[1] *A Dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus, with a Map;* and *Researches into the History of the Scythians, Getæ, and Sarmatians,* translated from the German of B. G. Niebuhr, in 8vo. Oxford, 1830.

How old the present Tombuctoo may be we do not know; the name does not occur in Edrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century; but is found in Leo Africanus in the fifteenth. But Ptolemy (*Geograph.* iv. 6) places his *Niger-Metropolis* on the north side of the Niger, in lat. 17° 40′ and long. 25°, which, after the reduction of the degrees of longitude necessary with him, gives 18° long. from Ferro, which suits the spot on which Tombuctoo stands in our latest maps. This then shows at least thus much, that in *his* age a considerable town existed in the neighbourhood of the modern Tombuctoo; whether such was the case in that of Herodotus we are unable to determine.

[ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.]

X. *The Travels of Mr. Hoskins into Ethiopia.*

Travels in Ethiopia, above the second cataract of the Nile, exhibiting the state of that country, and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohamed Ali, and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq., with a map, and ninety illustrations of the temples, pyramids, etc. of Meroë, Gibel el Birkel, Solib, etc., from drawings finished on the spot, by the author, and an artist whom he employed. Large 4to, xvi and 367 pp. 1835. Longman and Co.

This is the most extensive work that has been yet published upon ancient Ethiopia, and especially upon Meroë, which was the great object of the author's journey, and for which he prepared himself not only by a long abode in Greece and Italy, in order to study the monuments of these countries, but also in Egypt, where he resided a whole year, for the same purpose. He set out from Thebes in Upper Egypt, February 1st, 1833, penetrated as far as the ancient city of Meroë, and arrived, on his return, at Wadi Alfa, the second cataract of the Nile, on the 16th of June, when his account closes, so that his journey into Ethiopia lasted four months and a half. His retinue consisted of twelve persons whom he hired to accompany him; among them was an expert Italian painter named Baldoni, to whom we are mainly indebted for the beautiful drawings by which the descriptions are illustrated. The work is cast in the form of a journal; to which are added four chapters on the history and affairs of ancient Meroë.

It will be unnecessary, however, for us to follow the author step by step; it will be sufficient for our purpose to select such parts of his work as may serve to extend our knowledge of these remote regions. He obtained from the Ababdés, after some delay, eleven camels, the number he required. From Philæ, he at first followed the course of the river, but left it to cross the Nubian deserts to Korosko, which are already known by the Travels of Bruce and Burkhardt, whom this author always mentions with great respect. The party only in one place met with water, which was salt; the skeletons of famished travellers and dead camels were lying in heaps along the way. Near Macharif, the present capital of Nubia, they again reached the Nile, and henceforward continued their journey along the river; and thus, after passing the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile, they arrived on the 4th of March at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. The town has entirely disappeared; the Necropolis with its pyramids alone remains. With these we are already acquainted from the accounts of Caillaud; but the descriptions and drawings here given us are much more complete and accurate. "Never," says he, "were my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent, but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroë. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for awhile lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, whilst the dilapidated state of

many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful, as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination, and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to more distant ages." The author first gives the position of the single pyramids in a general plan, in which we remark twenty-one in greater or less preservation, as well as the traces of several others. These, however, are only the pyramids of the principal group, which the author first reached, on the west side of the river. But he mentions three groups, in which eighty pyramids may be counted. The principal group is situate on a hill, two miles and a half from the river. Drawings of some of them are given in the following part of his work, with their dimensions. The largest is sixty feet high, and the same in diameter. Most of them may be ascended, but others are without steps. One has a window, but it is only an architectural ornament, and not for the purpose of admitting light. All have a portico with an entrance, which always faces the west. The principal group contains thirty-one pyramids, and the plan of twenty-three of them may be distinctly traced. Another group contains thirteen; two out of three other groups consist each of two; a third, of six. At the distance of 6500 feet from the chief group towards the west may be discerned the remains of twenty-six pyramids, all of them, however, in ruins. The porticoes generally contain a room from six to twelve feet in length and as many in breadth, the façades of which are much ornamented. We may clearly recognise in them, says the author, the origin of the Egyptian propylons. At the end of most of these porticoes, opposite to the entrance, there is the representation of a monolithic temple, with sculptures, which are, however, much defaced. It is evident that attempts have been made, either from curiosity or rapacity, to break open several of these temples. No where is there the slightest vestige of their having contained corridors; probably they were erected over wells, in which the bodies were deposited. The entrance of one of these porticoes was arched, from which the author infers that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, which he considers to have originated in Ethiopia. But the example of a single one, which may possibly have been built at a later period, is by no means conclusive. And even had the arch been known in Egypt, it could not have been introduced in the temples, where everything was done in conformity to the strict rules laid down by the priests, from which no departure was allowed.

The walls of the portico are adorned with sculptures, of which fac-similes are here given. They consist of processions with libations and sacrifices, in honour of a goddess, or, as the author supposes, a queen represented as a goddess. The principal figure, which is in a sitting posture, is covered with a long close robe, which is not usual with Egyptian figures. The whole figure is unlike the Egyptians. It is also distinguished by marked corpulency, which, as is well known, is considered one of the principal beauties in the East. Two other sheets contain a representation of a second procession of the same kind, in which, however, it is impossible to determine the sex of the principal figure, or to distinguish whether it is a king or a queen. From the work of Caillaud we know that there are also representations of military subjects, such as the execution of prisoners, but none of these are here repeated. And whenever discrepancies are found between the drawings given here and those of Caillaud, the author vouches for the correctness of Mr. Baldoni's and of his own, the latter of which were executed partly with the assistance of the camera lucida. The pyramids are of sandstone. The quarries from which they were built are still to be seen in the mountains. Time, and the effects of a tropical sun, have given them a brownish, almost a black tinge. The climate is, however, favourable to the preservation of these monuments. Hence the dilapidated condition of many of them is the most convincing proof of their great age.

There are no remains of the ancient city of Meroë, except some masonry, and some of the bricks of which, according to Strabo, the houses were built. As at Memphis, there is scarcely a vestige of a temple or palace: the City of the Dead alone remains! Gazelles now fearlessly pasture upon the plain which surrounded it; the neighbouring hills abound in wolves and hyænas. But the name Meroë still lives in that of a neighbouring village. From thence the author went to Shendy, which is sufficiently known from the accounts of Burkhardt.

The town now only contains from 3000 to 3500 inhabitants, and from six to seven hundred houses. The bazaar is chiefly appropriated to the sale of slaves and camels; sheep and goats are also sold there. The coloured portraits of its inhabitants, of both sexes, show that their complexion was brown, but not black. Before their subjection to the pacha of Egypt, Shendy, Dongolah, and other towns, had their own chiefs, (meleks,) who were more or less subject to the great melek of Sennaar; these were so many petty tyrants, who, with their families, constituted the aristocracy of the country. Now they are all subject to Hurschid Bey, the governor of Sennaar, who sends from five hundred to three thousand slaves annually to Cairo to the pacha.

From Shendy the author went, on the 9th of March, through the desert to the ruins of Mezara or Wadi Owataib, which are already known from Caillaud, and drawings of which are again given here; and reached them on the following day, the 10th of March. "I was surprised to find such extensive remains of antiquity in such a situation, as it were, in the interior of the desert. They consist of a building containing temples, courts, corridors, etc., which were not only destined for religious, but also for civil and domestic purposes, and upon the whole measured 2854 feet in circumference. In the centre there is a small temple, forty-seven feet long and forty wide, which is evidently the principal temple. It is surrounded by a colonnade, which on the north side is double. The interior contains four columns. The temple is approached by a long corridor. At each side of the gate to which the corridor leads, there is a colossal image hewn in the wall; but it is mutilated, the head and arms being wanting. The style of the one is tolerably good; that of the other far inferior. An accurate notion of the buildings which surround the central temple cannot be conveyed by description; they must be referred to in the plan. This is the building in which the reviewer in his inquiries respecting Meroë thought he recognised the old temple of the oracle of Ammon. He considered himself borne out in this assumption partly by its situation in the desert, according to the statement of Diodorus, and partly by the enigmatic plan of the building itself, whilst the four columns in the interior immediately suggest the idea that they were destined to support the sacred ship, by means of which, as is well known, the oracles of Ammon were delivered, and a representation of which may be seen on many of his temples in Thebes. This, however, was limited expressly to the central temple, as it is obvious that the surrounding buildings were not erected all at once, but gradually, as occasion required, and especially as residences for the priests. But the author, who elsewhere generally coincides in the opinions of the reviewer, here objects that the temple would have had hieroglyphs upon it. He cannot form any more definite conjecture as to its purpose than that the whole was perhaps a pleasure-castle of the king's, or that it may have served as a hospital. The reviewer is far from being bigoted to his own opinion, but no one can deny that its destination was of a religious nature, as the principal building was a temple, the smallness of which will not excite surprise when it is considered that it was intended for the reception of the ship of the oracle; and as for the want of hieroglyphs, the six columns of the portico, according to Caillaud, certainly appear to be furnished with them. We willingly leave this to the judgment of the readers, especially as the reviewer has not made this assumption the basis of further hypotheses; and the above remark, that the whole building only arose gradually, also serves to explain the traces of Grecian architecture, as we know from Diodorus that the temple was still standing uninjured in the Ptolemaic age, in which king Ergamenes overthrew the priestly aristocracy.

From this monument the author went to the ruins of the temple of Abu-naga, of which nothing more than the area is given, and a drawing representing two pillars, which are also without hieroglyphs. The author considers these from their style to be the oldest monuments of ancient Meroë, "for," he observes, "the absence of hieroglyphs is either a proof of the highest or of a later antiquity. From hence he intended to go to the ruins of Mezaurat, eleven miles distant, for the first accounts of which we are indebted to Caillaud; this plan, however, he was obliged to relinquish. Even at the ruins of Maga they had been disturbed by lions, whose vicinity was announced by their traces and their

roar; it was only by kindling fires at night that they could scare them away. The danger to be apprehended from these unbidden guests in case they penetrated farther into the desert, was depicted as so great that his companions refused to follow him, and thus he saw himself reluctantly obliged to return. To ascend the White River to its source the author considered at present impracticable, on account of the feelings which the inhabitants of its banks entertained towards the pacha of Egypt.

On the 14th of March the author set out from Shendy, on the opposite Metammah, on his return. He determined to return by another route, namely, to the west of the Nile, through the desert Bajoudah, his description of which is a valuable addition to our geographical knowledge. This desert is not destitute of trees and springs; the sand is not very deep, and in many places there was a pleasing prospect. The immediate object of his journey was Gibel el Birkel, with its monuments, and the place called Meraweh, in which the ancient name itself has been preserved, and in which, even without this, may be recognised a colony from ancient Meroë. They reached it on the 22nd of March. The plan and the drawings differ in many respects from those of Caillaud, but he assures us that he took the greatest pains to attain the utmost possible exactness, in which respect generally the author's work may claim the preference, as he had taken a skilful artist into his service for the purpose. The monuments here divide themselves into two classes, temples and pyramids. The temples stand at the foot of an isolated hill, 350 feet in height. Two of them are entirely in ruins, in consequence of the fall of a mountain; two are excavated in the rock; the others, eight in number, the remains of which may still be perceived, are above ground. They are built in the Egyptian style, and upon them are inscribed the names of the three Pharaohs of the Egyptian dynasty, Sabaco, Senachus, Tirhako, who also reigned in Egypt, and whose reigns fall between 800 and 700 B. C., to which period must also be referred the erection of these monuments. The author has not only given an exact architectural description of them, with ground-plans and drawings, but also of the ornaments on their walls, representing processions and military scenes, which are already known from Caillaud, but are here drawn more minutely, for which we must refer the reader to the work itself. The Necropolis, consisting of pyramids, is divided into two parts; the one on the west side of the river, by Gibel el Birkel, the other on the east side near Nuri. They are in better preservation than those of ancient Meroë, and also have porticoes; the highest, near Nuri, is eighty-eight feet high. They are also of sandstone, and the reliefs around, and in the porticoes likewise, represent religious processions and military subjects. The spectacle of all these ruins produced a grand impression. "I felt," says the author, "that I was indubitably in the vicinity of a once rich and flourishing country." The pyramids may be ascended, but not without great trouble. The height of most of them is between thirty and sixty feet. The plan exhibits fourteen pyramids near Gibel el Birkel. Those at Nuri, on the east side of the river, are more dilapidated; the author reckons them among the most ancient monuments; the number of those at Nuri is thirty-five, only fourteen of which are in any degree of preservation. The subjects described on the walls leave no doubt that they are mausolea of kings and queens.

On the 3rd of April the author embarked at Meraweh on his return, descended the Nile, and on the 10th arrived at Dongolah. Dongolah is a lively town, and carries on a considerable trade with various parts. The bazaars were abundantly stocked, as were the slave markets, of which there were several, classed according to the difference of age and sex. The slaves chiefly came from Abyssinia; the greater part of them are sent to Egypt. Dongolah formerly had its own chiefs or meleks, but it is now under the supremacy of the pacha of Egypt, who has a governor there. Much interesting information is given concerning the inhabitants, and their manners and customs. He continued his journey upon the river, which he descended as far as the island Argo, in order to see and describe its antiquities. These consist of two prostrate colossal statues of grey granite. The faces are Egyptian, but the sculpture Ethiopian. They appear never to have been entirely finished. The author was here informed that a re-

volt had broken out in the province of Mahas, which it was necessary that he should traverse. As it was impossible to continue his journey in that direction, he was compelled to return to Dongolah. It was not until the reduction of the insurgents had been effected that the journey could be continued, which was performed partly upon the Nile itself, but chiefly along its left bank. It has already been mentioned that his diary ends with his arrival at the second cataract of the Nile, at Wadi Halfa.

Four more chapters follow: the first two on the history of Meroë, the next on its trade, and the last on its art. The history of Meroë is founded upon those passages in sacred as well as profane writers, which mention that city; with the assistance, however, of the inscriptions in the temples, (as the names and titles of the Pharaohs in the hieroglyphic writing, which the author saw and carefully copied, are uniformly added,) whilst especial use has been made of the accounts of Rosellini, to whom the author does full justice. A field for investigation is here opened upon various points, (e. g. when the author identifies the Sethos of Herodotus with Tirhako,) but into which we cannot follow him without exceeding our limits. It may, however, be here remarked, that the author in these four chapters concurs upon the whole in the opinions of the reviewer, to which he often refers, and according to which Meroë was the mother-country of the worship of Ammon, which extended itself from thence, by means of colonies, into Egypt, and may consequently in so far be called the mother-country of civilization, which stood in the closest connexion with this worship; a connexion, however, which was first extended and matured in Egypt. It would be superfluous to enlarge upon this subject here, as the reviewer must naturally refer to his writings. Thus much, however, he must observe, that gratified as he must be once more to see the results of those investigations confirmed by the testimony of an eye-witness, he must still protest against its being supposed (as has already been asserted in an English journal) that he subscribes to all the author's conclusions.

We have already alluded to the valuable copper-plates and vignettes with which the work is furnished, and which are in various respects highly instructive. This may especially be asserted of the coloured portraits of the races of those regions whose complexion may here be distinctly recognised. The vignettes represent, for the most part, landscapes, and are chiefly executed with the camera lucida. The larger sheets, which exhibit drawings of the monuments, give partly the general plans, partly the ruins in their present, and some of them in their former state, as far as this can still be recognised. At the end of the work there is a drawing on four large sheets, representing a grand procession in one of the royal sepulchres of Thebes, (according to the author, Thutmosis III., c. 1500 B. C.,) on which are delineated the three races, namely, the red or brown, the black, and the white; besides which it exhibits various species of animals, even the giraffe and the elephant, and many varieties of monkeys; other objects of trade, as described in Hal. III. 97 and 114, are also represented, concerning which the author has treated, and given an explanatory commentary. The large map annexed comprehends the whole region of the Nile with its rivers from $15\frac{1}{2}^{o}$ N. Lat. to its mouths.

XI. *A comparison of the ideas put forth by the author upon the high antiquity of Egypt, with those of Champollion and Rosellini.*

The progressive development of ethnographical science, and the more accurate examination and study of ancient monuments, have been of the utmost service to these researches; and in the various editions and translations of this work, which have been called for since its first appearance, (in a very imperfect form, in the year 1793,) it has been my earnest endeavour to keep pace with the age, and to take advantage of every new light which time and increasing information have brought to bear upon this subject. Egypt in this respect has been more highly favoured than any other country without the limits of Europe. Military and

scientific expeditions have greatly extended our information respecting its monuments and history. One of the most important of these, so far as science is concerned, was undertaken in 1828 and 1829, at the expense of the governments of France and Tuscany, and placed under the direction of Champollion and Rosellini. To whom, indeed, could more properly have been confided such a charge than to the learned Orientalist to whom we are indebted for the learned essay upon the interpretation of hieroglyphics? To him was committed the task of examining and developing his own system upon the very spot to which it referred. A cruel destiny, however, did not allow him to put together the materials which he had collected; scarcely had he returned to his native country when a premature death tore him from his literary labours, just as he was preparing a grammar of hieroglyphics, the publication of which is still anxiously expected.

It is some consolation to know, that those exertions which Mr. Champollion began, in conjunction with a friend every way fitted for the task, Rosellini, professor of the Oriental languages at Pisa, are still continued by that gentleman. This great work, so far as we can judge from the parts already finished, and now lying before us, could scarcely have been confided to abler hands. The plan on which the collection is made is deserving of much praise; it is divided into several sections, the subjects being arranged under separate heads; the first contains the historical part, the lives of the kings; the others treat of public and private life, arts and sciences, and the religion of the Egyptians. The author, who is much opposed to all hypotheses, and who has well studied the language and writings of this nation, strictly confines himself to the explanation of its monuments.[1]

Of the entire work, *I monumenti del' Egitto e della Nubia, designati ed illustrati dal dottore Ippolito Rosellini*, the first part, in two volumes, *I monumenti storici*, has only as yet appeared. It is accompanied by a superb atlas, containing portraits of the Pharaohs, and the inscriptions belonging to them.

It is hardly necessary, I think, for me to mention that I do not purpose to enter upon a detailed criticism of this work, for which, indeed, I do not possess the means. My object is simply to point out in what particulars, and how far, the principal results of these investigations confirm or contradict the opinions I have adopted in my works. It must not, however, be forgotten that the two volumes published by M. Rosellini only treat of the chronological history of the kings and various dynasties of Egypt; and say nothing, as yet, upon politics or commerce, the objects to which I have more particularly turned my attention. But before I enter upon this subject, there is one point to which I feel bound to direct the attention of the reader, even though I should thereby incur the charge of presumption for calling in question the opinions of men who have seen the country and examined its monuments upon the spot.

The history of Egypt, arranged according to the thirty-one incomplete dynasties of Manetho, is divided, as regards its sources, into two parts or periods; one comprising the seventeen first dynasties, the other the eighteenth to the thirty-first. It is only of this latter period, about eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, that any monuments remain, or, if any, they are mere fragmentary morsels of very trifling importance. It consequently follows, that, for this period, Champollion and Rosellini are scarcely more advanced than other historians who have not visited Egypt; and this dispenses me from dwelling upon those few points in this portion of history in which I do not altogether agree with those learned Orientalists. In the second period, in which they find monuments and inscriptions to consult and interpret, the case is altogether different.

1. *On the origin of the Egyptian nation.*

I have represented the Egyptians as an aboriginal people of Africa, and as descended from the same race as the present inhabitants of Nubia. This race insensibly spread itself by colonies along the valley of the Nile into Lower Egypt. I have confined this assertion, however, to the superior castes of priests

[1] Introduzione, p. x.

and warriors; since it appears, according to the relations of the Egyptians themselves, that it was a sacerdotal caste, emigrated from Meroë, which, by the aid of its religion and superior intelligence, founded a dominion over the nomad tribes, the primitive inhabitants of Egypt. Such is also the opinion of Rosellini, although he does not mention Meroë, but only cites the generic name of Ethiopia.[1] I shall show, a little further on, that Champollion also held the same opinion, which is still further strengthened by the statements of other travellers quoted in my work.

2. *Foundation of the first States of Egypt.*

These were formed, according to my representations, by colonies transported from Meroë into Upper Egypt and along the valley of the Nile. My grounds for this opinion are the ordinary propagation of nations in high antiquity, coupled with what Herodotus[2] tells us of this custom among the priests of Meroë, and of some of those colonies to which oracles were attached, as Thebes in Egypt, Ammonium in the Libyan desert, and even Dodona in Greece, which the Thebain priests claimed to have founded. I have shown also that there is still found upon the site of ancient Meroë, a little sacerdotal state, that of Damer, devoted at once to commerce and oracles.[3]

Every one, moreover, must perceive, as I have frequently proved as regards Egypt, that it is in the nature of these colonies that the central point of each of them should consist of a sanctuary or temple.

Champollion has laid down his notions respecting the first population and civilization of Egypt, in a memoir addressed to the viceroy, before his departure for France.[4] According to this, first, Egypt was peopled by colonies from Abyssinia and Sennaar (Meroë); secondly, the Egyptians derive their origin from the race of Berbers, or Nubians; thirdly, these Berbers arrived in Egypt as nomades, entirely ignorant of the arts and sciences; fourthly, in taking to agriculture and a settled form of life, they laid the foundation of cities which in course of time became great and powerful; fifthly, the most ancient of which cities were Thebes, Edfou, and others; Middle and Lower Egypt were not inhabited till a later period; sixthly, in the beginning, the Egyptians were governed by priests, each canton having its pontiff, who had other priests under his command, and who reigned in the name of some deity.

The sacerdotal caste was overthrown by the military caste, whose chiefs raised themselves to the rank of kings about 2200 years B. C., the epoch at which the regular establishment of royal power took place in Egypt.

The points upon which Champollion and myself agree and differ may now very easily be seen. I cannot think that the first tribes which came into Egypt, founding colonies and building temples, could be nomades altogether so barbarous. But, fully believing that the germs of civilization were brought from Meroë into Egypt with the worship of Ammon, I am still willing to admit, that it did not grow and flourish until it was brought into this latter country.

With regard to the victory gained by the warriors over the priests, not only is this fact destitute of proof, but it is refuted by all the following history, in which the sacerdotal caste always holds the highest place. If, at the commencement, these pontiffs reigned in the various districts of Egypt in the name of some deity, and not of a king, they were themselves naturally princes or kings, even though they did not bear that title. Hence also it follows that their authority was connected with the temples. It will consequently be seen, that with little more than the difference of title, this agrees with my assertions; for these cantons, placed with their capitals and temples under the dominion of independent pontiffs, formed, in reality, so many little states. Champollion himself would undoubtedly have come to this conclusion, if he had been permitted to examine, leisurely and seriously, the notions which he only hastily put together in the shape of a memoir.

[1] Rosellini, ii. p. 323. [2] Herodotus, ii. 29. [3] See above, p. 219.
[4] Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie, p. 432—440.

3. *Of the seventeen first Dynasties of Manetho.*

I must here refer my readers to the comparison made in my fourteenth Appendix, of the dynasties of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus distinguishes these dynasties; one merely observes that, according to a list given him by the priests, (probably of Memphis,) the first king, Menes, had three hundred and thirty successors, of which they knew only the names, because they had left no monuments. It is only in setting out from Mœris and Sesostris that he gives the names of some few kings, but certainly not a consecutive list, although the priests might have given it to him as such. Diodorus, it is true, mentions some other kings, but he does not determine the number. It follows, therefore, that it is quite impossible to found upon the dynasties of these two authors any exact chronology. But Manetho, in his work, of which we possess only a few incomplete extracts, classes in chronological order the thirty-one dynasties preceding the conquest of Alexander. The question, then, which here presents itself, is, whether the first sixteen or seventeen dynasties succeeded each other regularly, or, whether several of them reigned over various states at the same time in different parts of Egypt, in the cities whose names they bear?

This question has been solved in various ways by historians; the majority, however, have declared for the latter opinion, and I have enlisted into their ranks for the reasons which I have set forth in the body of this work, without, however, meaning to assert that all these dynasties taken separately were contemporaneous with one another.

It is known that in very early times sacerdotal colonies did, aided by oracles and a common worship, spread civilization among the natives of Egypt. Antiquity, moreover, offers us several examples of this same kind of civilization among other nations, and particularly among the Phœnicians and Greeks. But I by no means intend to maintain that these various little states of Egypt remained independent of each other; on the contrary, it appears to me very probable that they were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes and Memphis. Thus it may have happened, that the Pharaoh who assigned dwellings to Jacob and his family in Lower Egypt, and who himself probably held his court at Memphis, was also master of Upper Egypt. It may have happened even, that before the invasion of the Hyksos, the Pharaohs of the seventeenth dynasty might have reigned over all the valley of the Nile. Possessing, however, no historical documents of this period, it is quite impossible for us to decide this question. It is only upon the expulsion of the Hyksos, and with the eighteenth dynasty, that all these Egyptian states became re-united into one single empire. Independent of all the reasons already brought forward, it seems beyond the limits of probability, that more than three hundred kings of divers families should have regularly succeeded during a long course of ages. It is also difficult to conceive that Egypt was all at once formed into a large empire, especially as the occupation of the southern parts was not effected by conquest, but by a succession of migrations.

The contrary opinion, namely, that the list of the kings of Egypt from Menes downwards, the pretended founder of the first dynasty, suffered no interruption, is adopted by M. Rosellini, who has devoted a separate chapter of his work to the consideration and establishment of this notion.[1] His chief support is the authority of Manetho, who, he asserts, must be understood in this sense. This, however, is debateable ground, as Eusebius lets drop, at least under the form of a conjecture,[2] the opposite opinion, and as the passage cited from Manetho may be made to help the proof of the contrary. But even admitting that such was really Manetho's opinion, still there is the question to be considered, how did he arrive at this opinion? The Egyptian priests, anxious to give to their state a high antiquity, had already cited to Herodotus and Diodorus catalogues of kings, certainly not following one another in chronological order. Might not, then, the same thing have taken place with regard to the lists furnished to Manetho?[3]

[1] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 98—111. [2] See above, p. 310, note 2. [3] Ibid. p. 311, note 1.

Among the Hindoos the names of kings are often thus mentioned as sovereigns of all India, when the great epics prove that this country contained several small states.[1]

I must leave the reader to judge between the opinion defended by M. Rosellini and mine, founded upon incontestable proofs deduced from historical inquiries. Fortunately all this has no bearing upon the question respecting the brilliant period of Egypt, to which the monuments direct us. Here M. Rosellini and myself do not differ except in a few particulars of little importance. With regard to the question whether the Sesostris of Herodotus is the Ramesses of the eighteenth dynasty, as M. Rosellini believes,[2] or Ramesses IV., Sethos, the first of the nineteenth, as M. Champollion supposes, I will not attempt to decide, for in all these sacerdotal traditions Sesostris is always mentioned as the great king of the Egyptians, to whom is necessarily attributed the exploits of sundry Pharaohs.

Not having attempted a history of Egypt, and chronological investigations, in the strict sense of the word, forming no part of my plan, I shall not enter upon a discussion of this subject with M. Rosellini. I have strictly confined myself to the establishing of certain general epochs, so as to determine pretty nearly the period in which the great monuments were built under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. This period I have placed between 1700 and 1200 B. C. According to M. Rosellini, the eighteenth dynasty began in the year B. C. 1822, and ended in 1474; but the nineteenth reaches down to B. C. 1270. I will admit willingly that the eighteenth dynasty goes back a century earlier than what I have placed it at, since we are both agreed that the most brilliant period of these two dynasties fell between 1800 and 1200. With regard to the great uncertainty which prevails in the chronological classification of the fifteen or sixteen first dynasties, M. Rosellini has allowed himself such an ample latitude in his explanation of them, that the subject seems to me exhausted.[3]

4. *On the origin of the Hyksos.*

The Hyksos, who inundated a great part of Egypt in the time of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasty, and who established themselves in Middle and Lower Egypt, were nomades. In this fact M. Rosellini agrees with me, which, moreover, is placed beyond a doubt by their being represented on the monuments with their flocks and herds. All are very naturally led to consider them as being the nomad tribes dwelling on the borders of Egypt. I have believed that I could recognise in them the Arab race, characterized by their beards, their long garments, and clear complexion; an opinion strongly corroborated by the testimony of Josephus:[4] M. Rosellini, on the contrary, takes them for Scythians; although we cannot comprise under this vague denomination any but the nomad tribes of the Mongol race of Central Asia. But none of the given statements will apply to any of these tribes; besides which there is nothing whatever to show that they had ever thus early undertaken any expeditions for conquest so far distant. M. Rosellini founds his assertion upon no other proof than upon an etymology, according to which he makes the name these tribes went by in Egypt to have been *Scios*, which appears to him the same as *Scythes*, and which signifies *destroyers*.[5] I dare not enter upon this question, but I must confess that I cannot renounce my own explanation.

[1] See Heeren's Researches, India, p. 164, sqq.
[2] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 266.
[3] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 95.
[4] Josephus, p. 1040: Τινὲς λέγουσι αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι. Syncellus calls them Phœnicians, a denomination which is applied to the neighbouring tribes of Syria and Arabia.
[5] Rosellini, vol. i. p. 172—177.

XII. *The passage of* Clemens Alexandrinus *respecting the Egyptian characters.*

These passages from St. Clement will be found in Stromata, v. 4, p. 555, Sylb. In the original it is as follows: *Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ᾗ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν· ἧς ἡ μὲν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, κυριολογικὴ· ἡ δὲ συμβολική. Τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμούς. Ἥλιον γ' οὖν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος. Τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσι· τοὺς γ' οὖν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. Τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμοὺς, τρίτου εἴδους, δεῖγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὀφέων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον, τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου.* Jam vero qui docentur ab Ægyptiis, primum quidem discunt Ægyptiarum litterarum viam ac rationem, quæ vocatur epistolographica; secundo autem hieraticam, qua utuntur hierogrammates; ultimam autem hieroglyphicam, cujus una quidem species est per primas litteras, cyriologica dicta, altera vero symbolica. Symbolicæ autem una quidem proprie loquitur per imitationem; alia vere scribitur velut tropice; alio vero fere significat per quædam ænigmata. Qui solem itaque volunt scribere, faciunt circulum; lunam autem, figuram lunæ cornuum formam præ se ferentem, convenienter ei formæ quæ proprie loquitur. Tropice autem per convenientiam traducentes et transferentes, et alia quidem immutantes, alia vero multis modis transfigurantes, imprimunt. Regum itaque laudes fabulis de diis immiscentes, anaglyphicis describunt. Tertii autem generis, quod fit per ænigmata, hoc sit indicium: alia quidem astra propter obliquam conversionem assimilabant corporibus serpentum, solem vero scarabæo.

The principal difficulty found in this passage is the giving the correct signification of *κυριολογικὴ* and *κυριολογεῖται*. But that this refers to a *phonetic* system seems pretty evident from its being opposed to the tropical; and from the fact that all the other varieties or applications of picture writing are distinctly enumerated and exhausted in the succeeding parts of the description. It is, therefore, expressive of objects in a *proper* (and not figurative) manner. Now this may be done in two ways, either by letters, or by proper pictures. If we therefore proceed bearing this in mind, the whole will be very intelligible. Clement first distinguishes the three sorts of writing in use among the Egyptians, the epistolographic, which is by others called the demotic, as it is found upon the Rosetta stone; the hieratic or sacerdotal writing, which was used by the *hierogrammatists*, or sacred scribes; it was, therefore, probable that in this the holy writings were written; finally, the hieroglyphic, whose proper destination was to be sculptured or engraved, as is afterwards shown by the word *χαράττουσι*. The first of these then is the alphabetical, by initial letters. It is called the kyriologic, because it expresses the objects *properly*, and not tropically. The other is the symbolic, which makes no use of letters, but only pictures. But the symbolic has again, first, a *proper* method, *κυριολογεῖται*, by imitation; that is, by a proper picture without allegory: secondly, *tropic*, because it makes use of pictures, from a certain similarity which they bear to the object they are intended to signify; therefore what we usually call hieroglyphic writing: thirdly, properly allegoric by riddles, where no such similarity exists, or is too distant to be perceived. This is further explained by examples; and these confirm the correctness of our interpretation. The example of the proper method by representation is the picture of the sun and the moon. The example of the tropic is the sacred traditions in praise of the kings, of which many are found in Herodotus, which cannot be understood in their proper signification. The example of the enigmatic is the indication of the course of the stars by a serpent, the sun by a beetle, etc. In this way every obscurity seems to me to be cleared up; and the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics furnishes a key to the proper meaning of the passage above quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus.

XIII. *Inscription on an Obelisk at Heliopolis; extracted from* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. xvii. 4; *and some remarks on the sacred dialect,* ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, *in* SYNCELLUS.

MARCELLINUS has preserved to us, from the writings of a certain Hermapion, the Greek translation of a hieroglyphic inscription on an obelisk, which stood originally at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, but which was transported to Rome by Cæsar Augustus, and placed in the Circus Maximus. The following are the words of Ammianus: "Qui notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti, interpretatum litteris subjecimus Græcis." Of this Hermapion we only know what Ammianus says, that he had written a book containing translations of hieroglyphics into Greek. He therefore must have understood hieroglyphic writing and language. It is very probable that he was an Egyptian priest, who, in the period of the Ptolemies or Romans, had written a book of this kind for the use of the Greeks. (See page 368.)

I give a translation of this inscription here for two reasons: first, to prove the correctness of my assertion, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments contain phrases in praise of the deities and kings, with their names and titles (see page 277.) Secondly, to prove that the titles deciphered by Champollion are pure Egyptian, without however vouching for the correctness of every interpretation. A commentary upon the inscription would require a separate treatise, and would contain but little that has not already been said by Zoëga (*de Obeliscis*, p. 26, etc.) and Champollion (*Précis*, p. 146, etc.).

I shall only further remark, that as the obelisk was erected at Heliopolis, it was natural that the deities worshipped there should be more especially mentioned on it, as the protecting deities of the king.

These names are expressed in Greek; the following are Egyptian: Helios, the god of the Sun, *Phré*. All the Pharaohs, according to Champollion, p. 166, were called sons of the sun. Apollo, in Egyptian *Arveris;* Ares, in Egyptian *Som;* (*?*) finally, Hephaistos, in Egyptian *Phtha*.

The king to whose honour the obelisk was erected is called Ramesses; but we have seen that there were several of this name. From his history we only know that he conquered the foreigners (ἀλλοεθνεῖς). This applies to Ramesses the Great, or Sesostris, the expeller of the Hyksos (see p. 424). The titles here given also agree very well with him. The expulsion of the foreigners must have been of great importance to Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, which had been most oppressed by them.

INSCRIPTION.

"Thus says Helios to the king Ramesses: I have given to thee with joy to rule over the world; whom Helios loves, and Apollo the powerful the true son of Heron, the son of the gods, the ruler of the world, chosen by Helios the brave, son of Ares, king Ramesses, to whom all the earth is subject by valour and boldness; the king Ramesses, the son of Helios, the everlasting."[1]

"Apollo the powerful, the true lord of the diadem,[2] of whom Egypt boasts; who has glorified the city of Helios; who rules over the earth; and who honours the gods dwelling in the city of Helios; whom Helios loves."

"Apollo the powerful, the beaming son of Helios, chosen of Helios, and who was gifted by Ares the brave; whose benefits never fail, whom Ammon loves; who fills the temple of Phœnix with blessings;[3] to whom the gods presented length of life; Apollo the powerful, the son of Heron, Ramesses to the king of the world; who has protected Egypt, by conquering the strangers; whom Helios

[1] The separate phrases στίχοι, form just so many vertical columns on the obelisk. Champollion, *Precis*, p. 146.

[2] Here there seems to be an omission of, *to the Ramesses*. As in the fourth paragraph.

[3] Or, according to another reading, *with the blessings of the Phœnix*.

loves, to whom the gods have given long life, the lord of the world, Ramesses the ever-living."

"Helios, the great god, the lord of heaven, I have to thee given life free from care, Apollo the powerful, the lord of the diadem, the incomparable, the statue has placed in this royal city of the lord of Egypt, and has adorned the city of Helios, and Helios himself the lord of heaven. He has completed the glorious work, the son of Helios, the immortal king."

"Helios the lord of heaven; to king Ramesses have I given might and power; whom Apollo loves, the lord of time, and the chosen of Hephaistos, the father of the gods through Ares, the glorious king: the son of Helios beloved of Helios."

"The great god of the city of Helios, the heavenly, Apollo the mighty, the son of Heron, whom Helios loves, whom the gods honour, who governs all the earth, whom Helios has chosen, the powerful king through Ares, whom Ammon loves; and the beaming one destined to be king for ever."

The translation of this inscription, moreover, seems to me important, because it brings us acquainted both with the contents and forms of these documents; because it acquaints us, to use a modern expression, with the style and language of the chancery of the Egyptians. It is in the nature of things, that this should differ from the language in common use. And I perfectly agree with Professor Seyffarth of Leipsic, in making a difference between the Coptic as the language of the people, and what is called the sacred language, ἱερὰ διάλεκτος. But if this difference is so great, that the key for the deciphering of the hieroglyphic texts is not to be found in the Coptic, I do not know where else it is to be sought for. It seems very doubtful to me, whether we ought, from the single passage in Syncellus,[1] in which a ἱερὰ διάλεκτος is mentioned, to understand a sacred dialect, altogether different from the vulgar; because this ἱερὰ διάλεκτος is here by no means opposed to the Coptic, or language of the nation, but to the Grecian. At all events this difference can have no influence on the deciphering of the names of the Pharaohs, and certainly but very little, if any, on that of their titles, of which alone use has been made in the present work.

XII. *A comparison of the Egyptian kings, as given by* Herodotus, Diodorus, *and* Manetho.

In attempting here a comparison of the series of the Egyptian kings, it is not my intention to make them agree where they do not, but rather to show the relation in which they stand to one another in these writers. I flatter myself that even this attempt may lead to important results.

I shall proceed upon the principle, which I think sufficiently established in this work, that all the three writers drew from the tradition of the Egyptian priests, oral and written; but with this difference, that Herodotus used, in his succession of kings, the tradition of the priests at Memphis; Diodorus that of Thebes; and Manetho that of Heliopolis. From this variety of sources, the difference in their statements may be best accounted for.

I place first in one table the succession of kings according to Herodotus and Diodorus.

Herodotus, ii. 99—182.	Diodorus, i. p. 54—82.
Menes.	*Menes.*
He was followed by 330 kings belonging to the previous period, concerning whom nothing was known but their names, because they had left no monuments behind; among	Followed by 52 successors, ranging over a period of more than 1400 years.
	Busiris I. and 8 successors; the last of whom was

[1] Georg. Syncellus, *in Chronographia*, p. 40, ed. Paris. Μανεθὼ χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν, ἱερᾷ φησι διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θώθ, καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, etc. Is not the opposition spoken of in the text, evident from these last words? Is an opposition made in them to the native language of the people? I think not. Before the passage can have any weight as a proof, the new reading proposed by Zoëga, *de Obeliscis*, p. 36, note, must be adopted, who, instead of εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, would read εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον. This, however, admits of a doubt.

Herodotus.	Diodorus.
those sovereigns were 18 Ethiopians, and 1 queen, named Nitocris.	*Busiris II.*, the founder of Thebes.
	Osymandyas and 8 successors; the last of whom was
	Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis.
	Ægyptus, grandson of the foregoing. After the lapse of 12 generations of men,
Mœris.	*Mœris.*
	7 generations of men.
Sesostris.	*Sesostris* or *Sesoosis.*
Pheron, the son of Sesostris.	*Sesostris II.*, son of the foregoing: he assumed his father's name.
	Interval comprising several generations of men.
	Amasis, and the Ethiopian.
	Actisanes.
	Mendes, or *Manes*, the builder of the labyrinth.
	Anarchy which lasted 5 generations of men.
Proteus, in the time of the Trojan war.	*Proteus*, or *Cetes*, in the time of the Trojan war.
Rhampsinitus.	*Remphis*, son of the foregoing.
	7 generations of men, in the course of which flourished *Nileus*, from whom the Nile took its name.
Cheops, builder of the great pyramid.	*Chemmis* or *Chembes*, from Memphis, builder of the great pyramid.
Chephres, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.	*Cephren*, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.
Mycerinus, son of Cheops, builder of one pyramid.	*Mycerinus*, son of Chemmis, builder of one pyramid.
Asychis the legislator.	*Bochoris* the legislator.
Anysis, who was blind.	Interval of several generations of men.
Sabaco, the Ethiopian.	*Sabaco*, the Ethiopian.
Anysis, king for the second time.	
Sethos, a priest of Vulcan.	
Dodecarchy.	Dodecarchy.
Psammetichus, from Sais, sole ruler.	*Psammetichus*, from Sais, sole ruler.
Nechos, his son, conqueror in Syria.	4 generations of men.
Psammis.	
Apries, with whom the house of Psammetichus becomes extinct.	*Apries.*
Amasis of Sais.	*Amasis*, defeated and taken by Cambyses.
Psammenit, conquered by Cambyses.	

In order to judge of the statements of the two writers, it is necessary that we should consider them each separately in their true light.

As to Diodorus, we perceive clearly that it was not his intention to give a complete and connected succession of Egyptian kings. He only mentioned such as were most remarkable, either because the accounts of the Theban priests contained no others, or because—which seems the more probable of the two—his intention was only to give extracts from them. He does not, however, totally neglect chronology; but endeavours, by stating the number of generations which lived between the kings he mentions, to fill up the chasms. But that it is impossible to settle the chronology by these, is clear from the fact, that two chasms of many generations occur, without the number being stated.

The tradition of the priests of Memphis, which was followed by Herodotus, was still more deficient; it consisted of only two elements. Previous to Sesostris, or his predecessor Mœris, it comprised merely the names of three hundred and thirty kings, "because they had left us no monuments behind;" and from Sesostris down to Psammetichus, only of such kings as had made additions to the great temple of Memphis, that of Phtha, and the neighbouring pyramids, no matter whether they had resided in Memphis or in Thebes, or in both. It is therefore a history dependent upon monuments. But the priests gave it to him, from Sesostris downwards, as an uninterrupted succession, in which the father was always followed by the son; and as such he gives it to us.

But that such was not really the case, is clearly evinced by comparing it with Diodorus's account. We therefore can only consider them as separate kings; and by so doing, Herodotus, except in the correct spelling of a few names, is brought to agree with Diodorus. There is no contradiction between them.

But if Herodotus's succession of kings is not a continuous one, it is impossible to build upon it a continuous chronology; as would also have been the case even if the length of each reign had been stated; which has not been done previous to the time of Psammetichus. Nevertheless Herodotus has left us an important help for determining the chronology, when he says, "Mœris, the predecessor of Sesostris, died nine hundred years before the time that I was in Egypt." And since, from his own reckoning, he was in Egypt about the year 450, the death of Mœris must, according to his calculation, have taken place about 1350 before the commencement of our era. And from this two important consequences result.

First: the age of Sesostris, a successor of Mœris, falls, according to Herodotus, in the midst of the fourteenth century before Christ. He certainly, therefore, places Sesostris a century later than we believe he should be. I am not able to give any further explanation, since Herodotus has withheld from us the data for his chronology. This discrepancy, however, does not affect the general statement respecting the chronology of the splendid period of Thebes.

Secondly: the three hundred and thirty kings previous to Mœris extend over this period.

Now let us inquire how the accounts of these two writers agree with those of Manetho. If we had his work entire, it would be the great authority for this history. The priesthood at Heliopolis was the most learned in Egypt (Herod. ii. 3). He was superintendent of this body, and wrote, moreover, by command of Ptolemy. Their archives were open to him. "I have made use," he says, "of the writings in the *adytum* of the temple; which Agathodæmon has copied and translated from the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments (obelisks) of Thos."[1]

But even in the scanty extracts which have come down to us of the dynasties, however defective and corrupt the errors of transcribers may have made them with regard to dates, he must still be considered the principal authority. I make use of the Armenian edition of Eusebius, cited at page 311, containing a Greek and Latin translation, as being the most critical. I shall have no recourse to alteration or expunging of names, much less of whole dynasties. The single remark, however, must be borne in mind, that the Sesostris mentioned in the twelfth dynasty, is not Sesostris the Great; and that the facts mentioned of him have been taken into the text, from a marginal gloss; which is the less to be doubted from Manetho himself having declared, that Sethos or Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty was the same as Ramesses. This being admitted, the great masses of history are easily arranged.

A comparison with Herodotus cannot begin before the time of Sesostris, and the period of the Sesostridæ; because previous to this he has given no names of kings. But the priests read to him the names of three hundred and thirty monarchs. But who are these? They are the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. For, first, the number of kings coincides. Eusebius certainly enumerates only two hundred and seventy-six; but of two dynasties, the sixth, lasting two hundred and three years, and the tenth, lasting one hundred and eighty-five years, the number of kings is not given. It therefore may have amounted to the number mentioned by Herodotus. Secondly, according to Herodotus, there was, among these three hundred and thirty sovereigns, one queen, whose name was Nitocris; she is also named by Manetho, in his sixth dynasty. Thirdly, according to Herodotus eighteen of them were Ethiopians. According to Manetho the fourth dynasty, consisting of seventeen kings, was a foreign one; and one of them, Suphis, who built the great pyramid ascribed by Herodotus to Cheops, was in the beginning a calumniator of the gods, which was also related of Cheops by the priests of Memphis. Fourthly, according to

[1] Syncellus, l. c. It seems therefore from this passage of Manetho, that the historical documents in the temples were commentaries and translations of the inscriptions upon the monuments; or were esteemed as such. Compare Zoëga, *De Obeliscis*, p. 36.

Herodotus these three hundred and thirty sovereigns had not immortalized themselves by any monuments. The same applies, with the exception of Suphis, to the kings of the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. This fact, then, cannot be doubted: the question is, how the names of Manetho's kings, from the nineteenth dynasty, agree with those of Herodotus and Diodorus. A general agreement is found here, but not without discrepancies. In Manetho they begin with Sethos or Sesostris, who was succeeded by his son, who, according to Diodorus, adopted the name of his father. In Manetho he is called Rhamasses or Ramesses, and then, as according to him the father was called so too, there can be no contradiction. The following names differ down to Bochoris,[1] who is mentioned also by Diodorus, and who was overthrown by the Ethiopian Sabaco. The difference in the other names may be accounted for, in my opinion, from the circumstance, that the kings of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties, were kings of Tanis and Bubastus; whose names therefore can scarcely be expected to be found in the tradition of the Theban priests. That the dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus ruled in these cities, has been shown in the last chapter. The only difficulty that remains therefore is, why the names of the kings mentioned by Diodorus between Menes and Mœris, Busiris, Osymandyas, Uchoreus, and Ægyptus, do not occur in Manetho. Upon this I have nothing certain to offer. They might, however, have belonged to the sixth and tenth dynasties, of which Manetho has left out the number and names of the kings.

XV. *Upon the Relation between Theocracy and the Monarchical form of Government.*

The study of the early government of Egypt naturally leads us to reflections upon theocracy, as this form of government arrived in no state at so high a point of perfection as in Egypt. The question is, what relation does this form of government bear to monarchy? And this will be best answered by taking a rapid survey of governments in general.

We make a distinction between republics and monarchies. One might expect that, after so many inquiries and so much experience, the nature of them would be understood, if our modern constitutions, which are considered as the ripest fruit of political wisdom, did not convince us to the contrary. I refer the reader to my treatise on the influence of political theories and the preservation of the monarchical principle in Europe, in which I have fully explained my opinions on this subject. I have there shown, that it is impossible to draw a line between monarchies and republics, so long as we apply popular sovereignty to monarchies; for it is the essence of monarchies that the ruler should be absolute (*supremus*); that is to say, that he alone should represent the state in foreign relations, and that in the interior nothing should be transacted but in accordance with his will: he thus stands *over* the people. The essence of republics, on the contrary, is, that the sovereign power is in the hands of the people, or a part of them; consequently, all magistrates, whatever title they may bear, are *subordinate* to them.

The monarchical forms of government, for these only come here under consideration, are determined by the relation in which the monarch stands with the people; which, without detriment to his sovereignty, may be of three kinds.

The *despotic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which places in the hands of the monarch not only the legislative and executive power, but also a power over the property and persons of individuals, of which he may dispose according to his will. For all despotism consists in the arbitrary encroachments of the higher upon the rights of the lower order. The monarch therefore, in this case, is proprietor of the persons and goods of his

[1] See above, p. 423, note. The attempt there (namely, in Manetho) to identify Thonis with the Polybus of Homer, is a bad proof of the learning of the Greek interpreters in Egypt. Polybus, who with his consort Alcandra made such splendid presents to Menelaus and Helen, is not called king by Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 125—130, but expressly an inhabitant of Thebes.

subjects: they are, in name and in fact, slaves or serfs, as in the negro empire of Dahomey and others.

The *autocratic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which confers upon the ruler the legislative and executive authority, but gives him no power over the private will of individuals. It is therefore perfectly consistent with personal liberty, but excludes political liberty, since it gives to the governed no share in the legislation. The people are no longer slaves, but subjects.

The *constitutional* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, in which the former certainly exercises the executive, but not solely the legislative power. The people have a share in this, either in popular assemblies, or by standing or chosen representatives; but still with this essential restriction, that without the consent of the monarch no law can be passed. Under this form of government the people enjoy both personal and political liberty—they are not only subjects, but citizens.

Let us now inquire in what relation theocracy stands with these various forms of monarchical government.

I understand by theocracy, that form of government in which the state is governed after the prescriptive laws of one or more deities. If the deity resided amongst us, he might govern immediately, and would thus be sovereign, and no other could stand near him; as this, however, is not the case, it follows, of course, that at least the executive power must be delegated to a monarch. Though the deity may prescribe laws for particular cases, it is not possible that they should contain directions for every case that might happen; hence the authority of the deities becomes principally limited to this, that nothing can be transacted without their consent.

Their will therefore must be consulted, their oracles interrogated. If the ruler did this himself, he found it no difficult matter to make them speak as he wished; he then stood, as it were, in the place of the deity himself, and instead of his power being limited thereby, it was rather extended. In consequence of this, it was usual in theocratic states to consider the usurpation of this power by the king as unlawful. Samuel broke with Saul as soon as he took upon himself to consult Jehovah. This right the priests reserved to themselves, and this was the foundation of their political power.

Theocracy, therefore, determines nothing with respect to the relation in which the ruler stands towards the people; it determines only the relation in which he stands towards the deity. It is compatible with the despotic and the autocratic form of government; only, however, with the essential restriction, that the relation of the priesthood to the monarchs differs from that of the rest of the people. With a representative government it seems to be incompatible; because the delegation of such a power would be superfluous here, where it seems already usurped by the priesthood.

But a theocracy may very well be composed of laws, as was the case in Egypt and other places. These laws, however, necessarily required a higher sanction —that of the deity—and therefore not only appeared to have, but had in reality, the efficacy of divine legislation. It follows as a consequence, that in all the Oriental countries legislation bears this character; government there having always been in a certain degree theocratic.

In a strict theocracy the ruler cannot possess absolute power, because there is a higher will in the state than his. Gradations, however, become naturally formed in theocracies; as monarchs cannot, or will not, question the deity upon every occasion: they also vary with the personal character of the rulers. The power of the ruler must, nevertheless, always be in a vacillatory state in a theocracy; because, from its very nature, it is impossible to determine precisely its relation with the deity.

That theocracy is also compatible with republican government, and to what extent, will appear from what has now been said. It would happen when the people in general obtained power, as in a democracy, or only a part of them, as in an aristocracy. Did not the auspices, so influential in the Roman government, give it a tinge of theocracy?

XV. *Upon the Commercial Routes of Ancient Africa.*

As I have annexed an Appendix to my Researches upon Asia respecting the trading routes of that quarter of the world, I shall now do the same for Africa. It is true that I have scattered much information respecting them over the whole work, and that I have scarcely anything new to add. My object, however, now is, to point out each route to the reader, with the bare quotations which prove their existence, so that he may be in a situation to form his own judgment respecting them. In this I shall likewise carefully distinguish the certain from the merely probable, as I have already done in the body of the work. In doing this I hope I shall have sufficiently fulfilled the duties of a fair critic. To facilitate the survey, I have distinguished the trading highways of the Carthaginians and the Egyptians, although they are connected, from one another.

I. THE CARTHAGINIAN ROUTES.

Under the Carthaginian trading routes I comprise those which led from the Carthaginian dominions or ended there, including that between Egypt and Fezzan, or Phazania, because that leading thence to the Syrtes districts was only a continuation of it.

1. *Route from Egypt to the country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan.*

It goes from Thebes in Upper Egypt to the borders of the land of the Garamantes near Zuila. It is certain, because Herodotus, iv. 181—185, describes it by stations and distances, across Ammonium and Augila. The omission of two stations, the great Oasis and Zala, (whether chargeable upon Herodotus or upon those from whom he obtained his information, the first of which, however, Herodotus himself refers to, iii. 26,) forms no objection, because, where the beginning and end of the journey are known, the intermediate stations are easily supplied, though they should not be all named.

2. *Route from the Garamantes to the Lotophagi in the two Syrtes, and therefore into the territory of Carthage.*

It is certain from Herodotus, iv. 183, who states the number of the days' journeys, and this is most accurately confirmed by modern travellers. See above, p. 106, sqq. Both these routes are the ones now in use.

3. *The route from the land of the Garamantes to that of the Atlantes.*

This is a continuation of the two preceding routes; and it runs in a southern direction into the interior of Africa. It depends upon the determination of the abode of the Atarantes and Atlantes. These are not given as historically certain, but as possessing a high degree of probability; because—1. No other direction can be reasonably adopted; and nothing in Herodotus contradicts it. Because—2. The distances agree; and—3. Not less the particulars respecting it. And, finally—4. It still continues the great trading route of interior Africa, as well to Bornou as Soudan.

A single apparent objection against this is, that the Atlantes, from their name, must be sought for in the Atlas mountain. That this, however, is not a necessary consequence must be plain to every one. But the difficulty is without any weight; for the name of the Atlas mountain is not a native African one, but is one bestowed upon it by the Greeks. According to the testimony of Strabo,[1] the mountain in Africa itself is called the Dyris mountain; and this name bears no affinity to the native proper name of the Atlantes. Why the trading route was directed to the Atlantes, is likewise in a very satisfactory manner proved by modern travellers. The Garamantes, Nasamones, and Carthaginians could give Herodotus no further information, because *their* trading journey ended here.

[1] Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1181.

That the trade of Inner Africa could only be carried on by caravans, is evinced by the nature of the country and of its inhabitants. It is proved that it was principally in the hands of the inhabitants of the Syrtes and the Garamantes; because—1. The people from their nomad life were best adapted to it, and were in possession of the necessary beasts of burden for carrying it on. Scylax, in *Geograph. Min.* i. p. 48. 2. Because Herodotus, as he says himself, could have obtained his information respecting it from them in Thebes. Herod. ii. 28, 32, 173. 3. Because they made regular journeys to Augila, Herod. iv. 172, and visited Ammonium, Herod. ii. 32. 4. Because there can be no doubt but that their voyage of discovery, Herod. ii. 32, reached to the banks of the Niger, or Joliba; as the accounts of Herodotus can be referred to no other stream. And this, *a.* Because it was a large stream beyond the desert, and we know of no other there. *b.* It flowed towards the east. There is no other that does. *c.* Crocodiles were found in it. We know of no other in which they are found. *d.* On its banks was a city inhabited by negroes. This will agree with no other. According to the rules of criticism, unless this can be altogether denied, I must consider the discovery of the Joliba by the Nasamones as certain. And admitting that the seat of the Atlantes is correctly determined to be the place of barter for the Libyans and the inhabitants of Soudan, how natural does all this appear! The Nasamones wished them to advance beyond the usual termination of their journey; and by doing so they naturally came to the Niger, because they were upon the high road to it.[1] That also beasts of burden, namely, the camel (it has been attempted to render this doubtful, and what is there of which man has not doubted?) and mules were at that time naturalized in Africa, has already been proved in the last chapter upon the trade and manufactures of the Egyptians.

II. THE EGYPTIAN COMMERCIAL ROUTES.

Under this head I comprise such roads as led from Egypt, or ended there. In the time of Herodotus all these went from Thebes; as at that place he obtained all his information respecting the interior of Africa, and from that place all his distances are reckoned.

1. *Trading route from Thebes to the land of the Garamantes and the Carthaginian territory.*

This has just been described.

2. *Trading route from Thebes to Ethiopia and Meroë.*

It was twofold: *a.* That along the banks of the Nile, and partly on the Nile. It is *certain* from Herod. ii. 29, who has described it in days' journeys.

b. That from Thebes to Merawé, the colony of Meroë, across the Nubian desert. It can scarcely be doubted, although not strictly proved from history. See above, p. 245.

c. The French have given it as their opinion, that a trading road went on the left of the Nile, from Merawé to Abydos in Upper Egypt, then the later principal seat of the Ethiopian slave trade.[2] As Abydos was one of the most important cities of Egypt, and only second to Thebes, Strabo, p. 1167, and as the Ethiopian conquerors seemed to have fixed their residence there, I cannot consider this opinion otherwise than as *very probable*, although I can give no other historical proofs in its favour.

3. *Trading route from Edfu in Upper Egypt to the Arabian Gulf and Berenice.*

This was discovered to be an Egyptian trading route by Belzoni;[3] and from the remains of Egyptian buildings being found upon it, its high antiquity is cer-

[1] Upon the map of course only the direct road can be given.
[2] *Descript. Antiquités*, liv. iii. p. 18.
[3] *Narrative*, p. 304, etc.

tainly *very probable;* though I can give no strict proof of it. According to another account,[1] a broad *trading route runs from Thebes to Cosseir*, the ancient Myos Hormos; which for two-thirds of the distance winds between rocky hills. Whether it existed in the time of the Pharaohs, I cannot determine; but if these maintained fleets upon the Arabian Gulf, there certainly must have been well-frequented roads leading to it; and the direction from Thebes makes its high antiquity very probable.

4. *Trading route from Meroë to the Arabian Gulf.*

It is pointed out by the ruins of Axum and Adule. Cf. Plin. vi. 34.

5. *Trading route from Memphis to Phœnicia.*

The proofs of this have already been given in my researches upon the Asiatic Phœnician trading routes.

Thus much of the trading roads, and their proofs in detail. A still stronger proof may be given of them in general: as the nature of the country admitted no other kind of trade, and no other roads, we are driven to this alternative; either there was a period in which the coasts of Africa were the seats of a commercial population without the existence of any commerce in the interior, (whose productions nevertheless appeared in it in large quantities,) or, it was carried on in this way and upon these routes, because it was indissolubly connected with nature.

[1] From *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy*, by the author of *Sketches of India*, Lond. 1824.

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